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Modern Philology

Vol. X *July, 1912* No. 1

ZUR SPANISCHEN GRAMMATIK

V.[1] *ser* + Adverb

Aus der Fülle dessen, was sich über diese Erscheinung sagen liesse, seien für diesmal ein paar Einzelheiten hervorgehoben. Ich beschränke mich dabei weiter auf solche Fälle, in denen die Aussage sich auf ein bestimmtes Subjekt bezieht.

Zum lat. Gebrauch s. Kühner II § 4, 3; Schmalz[4] § 153.

Nur wenig ist bei Meyer-Lübke III § 400 zu finden; etwas mehr bei Diez 993 (=III 314).

a) Unter den Adverbien, die prädikativ zu *esse* treten, zitiert Diez an erster Stelle *bene* und *male*. Sp. *soy bien* (*mal*) ist nicht erwähnt. Encina 323 (Suplicio zu Vitoriano) *Por muerta cierto la* (sc. Plácida) *ten; Mas mira quién* (sc. der Angeredete) *es muy bien. No te desmayes, despierta Y levanta.* (Ich verstehe: Sie ist tot, aber Du befindest Dich wohl, bist am Leben.) Alex. 2061 *Al sennor los uassallos ueenlo mal seer* (Morel-Fatio 2203 mal Seȳer) [=sehn ihn in übler Lage]. Prim. Crón. Gen. 702 a 50 *et los de Baesça, ueyendol daquella guisa uenir* (sc. fuyendo), *entendieron que mal era et que uençudo uinie.*

Hierher gehört *ser bien con uno*, gut stehn mit E., das dem afz. *estre bien d'aucun* (nfz. *avec q.*)[2] entspricht: Milagros 484 *Conffiessate con elli è seras bien comigo.* Wiederum häufiger *estar bien* (*mal*) *con uno:* Milagros 531. Prim. Crón. Gen. 550 b 35. 569 b 25 *quando*

[1] Cf. Mod. Lang. Not. XXVII 166.

[2] Cf. Berte (Scheler) 2717 Anm. Ebenso Li Chevaliers as .II. espees 7798 *Et de ce k'il est malement D'aucun de chaiens, moi en poise.* Vgl. Littré s.v. *Bien* 2, 7.

sopo que estaua mal Abeniaf con los almorauides . . . etc. Rim. Palacio 521 *con Dios mejor estaua.*

Hat *ser* in den besprochenen Fällen konkrete Bedeutung, so ist es blosse Kopula in der Verbindung *ser bien para:* Boc. Oro 222 *la vengança es peligrosa a* (*peligro para* hgpTV) *anbos,* [*e el guyamiento es bien para vos amos*]. (Doch könnte *bien* hier, wie in anderen Fällen, die ich nicht erwähne, auch das Subst. sein. Vgl. die V.L. zu *peligrosa.*) Corvacho 196 *Estos tales* (sc. flematicos) *son tibyos, nin buenos para acá, nin malos para allá,* . . . *dormidores, pesados, mas floxos que madexa, nin byen son para reyr nin byen son para llorar, frios* . . .

An dieser Stelle noch ein Wort über *como,* prädikativ bei *ser.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 566 b 49 *Agora queremos contar commo fue la muerte del rey de Valencia.* Wohl am häufigsten mit Beziehung auf *nombre, gracia:* Celestina (1501) 143 *Ce, señor, como es tu nombre?* Leyendas Mor. I 142 *¿Cómo és tu nombre?* II 59 *¿Y cómo es tu nombre?* 331 (wie I 142. Antwort: *Me llamo Zaidi.*). Primavera I 90 *Digasme tú, el caballero, ¿cómo era la tu gracia?—A mi dicen don Rodrigo* . . . Autos II 317 Moysen . . . *dezime, si fueredes servido, como es vuestra graçia.* Bobo. *Yo, señor, llamome* . . . Einige Zeilen weiter: Bobo . . . *Como es su donbre*[1]*?* Moysen. *Yo Moysen me llamo.* Erklärlich, weil daneben steht: *¿Cómo te llamas?* etc. Ebenso it.: Viaggio Carlo Magno II (Scelta 124) 119 *Chi siti voi, cavaliere, e come è il vostro nome?* Ein zweites Beispiel (aus Sacchetti) bei Vockeradt § 449, 5, der auch das deutsche "wie ist dein Name?" vergleicht.

b) Auf *bene, male* folgen bei Diez Orts- und Zeitadv. Als sp. Beispiele giebt er: *la ciudad es lexos; es ya tarde.*

Ich wähle *circa, longe:* Appollonio 143 *Demostróle la via, ca bien*

[1] Die Form begegnet auch I 141 (*donbres;* im Munde des Bobo) und II 316 (*donbres;* zweimal; im Munde des Bobo). Sie ist den Beispielen für Dissimilazion *n—n* (*m*)> *d—n* (*m*) anzureihen, die Schuchardt, ZrP V 305, gegeben. Was *denguno* anbetrifft, das an letzterer Stelle zitiert wird, so ist es nicht nur and. und ast., sondern ebenso häufig in Murcia (Canc. panocho 41. 43. 47. 52.); in Aragón (Lopez Alluć, Capuletos y Montescos 100. 158. 163; Casañal Shakery, 333 Cantares baturros 65. 76. 80.); in Santander (Pereda, Escenas montañesas 273. 367. 418.); in Extremadura (Rev. Extremadura IV 366). Auch Munthe, ZrP XV 231, hat Schuchardts Erklärung "sehr annehmbar" gefunden. Er verweist darauf, dass "Combinationen wie nen nengun, sin nengun, en nengun der Dissimilation besonders förderlich sein mussten" und vergleicht sp. *péndola = pennola.* Schuchardts Erklärung passt gleichfalls für prov. *degun,* trotz Stimming, ZrP XVIII 548.

açerqua hera. Buen. Prov. 36 *mando tomar un animalia el*[1] (*la* h) *que es mas cerca de la natura del omne.* 52. Corvacho 248 *çerca es ya el dia de la vuestra perdiçion.* Mehr Beispiele bei Cuervo, Dicc. II 120.

F. Juzgo 34 b *si las testimonias, ó los parientes, ó los amigos . . . son muy luenne* (V.L. 34 Bex., E.R., Esc. 5 *muy longe;* Camp. *muy lonni*). 37 a *Si por ventura los omnes libres fueren luenne de la tierra.* 119 a *si el rey es luenne* (Malp. 2, Esc. 1 *luen;* Camp. *lonni*) *de la tierra.* Boc. Oro 110. Vida S. Maria Eg. 534 (die Heilige zu Maria) *mucho eres tu luenye de mi.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 33 b 30 *estonce era el rey aluen daquel logar.* 34 b 3. Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 196 *Et el dito rey don Pedro qui no les era luent*[2] . . . Marco Polo 57, 9 *car la mar es luent solament una iornada.* Gestas D. Jayme 44 *era .iij. leguas luent dela ciudad.* 290 *Et el vido la ciudat, que no era luent vn trecho de ballesta del real.* Quatorze Romances judéo-espagnols, Rev. hisp. X 597, *la fuente era longe.* Gleichfalls sehr häufig.

Daran seien Beispiele für *primero* angereiht: Prim. Crón. Gen. 87 b 41 *Et primeramientre et en so cabo* (sc. ponemos) *los reyes, ca fueron primero . . .* 48 *Et contaremos luego de los reyes que fueron primero.* García-Arista, Cant. baturras 59 *la desciplina es primero.* Aber La Olla ast. 8 *los celos son lo primeru.*

c) Den Beschluss machen bei Diez die Adv. auf *-mente.* Seine Beispiele sind dem It., Prov., Afz. und Mhd. entnommen.

Dönne, Syntaktische Bemerkungen zu Don Juan Manuels Schriften, 1891, S. 10, sieht einen sp. Beleg in LCaza 2, 15 *enla caça ha estas quatro cosas muy conplida mente.* M.E. gehört das Adv. zu *ha.* Ich habe nur ein Beispiel notiert: Siete Part. I 34 *et asi como el mercado se face públicamente, asi ha de seer el fuero paladinamente et manefiesto* (*manifestado públicamente* Tol. 3; *paladino et manefiesto* Esc. 3, S.). Durchaus unsicher.

[1] Mask., etwa wegen *animal* oder wegen *el animalia.* Gewöhnlich Fem.: F. Juzgo 144 a. 145 a. Prim. Crón. Gen. 90 a 24. Libro de Enxemplos 464 b.

[2] Die ziemlich häufige, arag. Form ist seit Grimm, Gramm.[2] III 117, wohl kaum wieder zitiert worden. (Grimm erwähnt *luentes,* das ich nur als attributives Adj. kenne: Leyendas Mor. II 301 *nosotros somos de tierras luentes* [Hrsg. *lejanas*].) Borao hat die Form nicht, ebensowenig C. Michaëlis, Rom. Wortsch. 244. Ich erkläre mir das paragogische *t* durch den Einfluss der Adv. auf *-ment* (besonders *luengament* Gestas D. Jayme 171). Oder wäre *luent* "umgekehrte Schreibung" unter dem Einfluss von *ont—on, dont —don, aquent—aquen, allent—allen, adelant—adelan* Prim. Crón. Gen. 78 b 15, *orient* Prim. Crón. Gen. 12 b 12—*orien* 19, *mient—mien* Leyendas José 204 (Hrsg. *mientes*), etc.?

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d) Von grösserer Wichtigkeit als das Vorgebrachte scheint mir, dass die Adv. des Grades *poco, mucho, cuanto, tanto* prädikativ zu *ser* treten können, ein Gebrauch, an dem auch das It.[1] teilnimmt.

a) poco. Boc. Oro 364 *¡commo es poco* (*poca* p TV) *la pro del mucho saber . . . !* Prim. Crón. Gen. 738 b 33 *Et pues tan poco* (*poco* EI, *poca* SDM) *es*[2] *la uida deste mundo . . .* P. Alfonso XI 292 *Quiso Dios e su ventura, Que muy poco fue ssu vida.* S. Teresa (BAE LV) 57 b *poco es mi vida: muchas quisiera tener.* Autos II 200, 424 *la ofensa es tan grave mal qu'es poco pena eternal.* Canc. panocho 41 *Con la luna de Enero tiés semejanza, qu'es de tuisquias las lunas la qu'es más clara; yo m'anquivoco, el sol paece tu cara, la luna es poco.*— Adamo (Scelta 106) 21 *allora conobe Moisè che poco sarebe la sua vita.* 23 *Be' signori, la mia vita poco sarà oggimai.* Altneapol. Regimen sanitatis 540 *e poco sia la toa ademurata.* Dazu bemerkt Mussafia S. 115: "statt prädic. Adj. oder *poco* adv. und *sia* als Verbum exist.: *poco sia la toa ademurata* 'sei gering, dauere wenig.'"

Dagegen: S. Domingo (S.) 494 *poca es la mi vida.* Boc. Oro 105 *la vida deste mundo es tan poca que . . .* Canc. d'Herberay (Gallardo I) 545 *Porque es poca mi vida.* Lope de Rueda (CLER) II 277 *poca es mi vida.*

Wären alle Beispiele der Art S. Teresa 57 b *poco es mi vida* oder Boc. Oro 364 *¡commo es poco la pro del mucho saber . . . !* d. h. ginge überall das Prädikat dem Subjekt voran, so könnte man von Nichtkongruenz eines prädikativen Adjektivs im Geschlecht sprechen, und die Erklärung wäre dieselbe, welche Tobler, V.B. I 234, für *As matines, as heures dur leur est li levee,* G Muis. II 81, etc. gegeben. S. auch Stimming, Bueve de Hantone (GRL XXV) 408. Für Entsprechendes im It. verweist Tobler auf Blanc S. 502 und Mussafia "über Fanfanis Decameron."[3] Gleicher Art sind die folgenden sp.

[1] Was vor mehr als zwanzig Jahren zu "Beiträgen zur historischen italienischen Syntax" von mir gesammelt wurde, mag jetzt im Gefolge sp. Beispiele ein bescheidenes Plätzchen finden.

[2] *ser* =dauern: Alex. 2485 (Morel-Fatio 2614) *Quanto el mundo sea nunca nos iuntaremos.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 316 b 33 *quanto sea el mundo.* Autos II 66, 129 *si la fuese la vida* 73, 347 *si la vida me fuese.*

[3] Mussafias Arbeit ist mir nicht zugänglich. Zu Blanc seien hinzugefügt: Sercambi (Scelta 119) 55 . . . *Gherardino Spinora, a cui dato fu per moglie una bellissima donna.* S. Guglielma (Scelta 159) 46 *Et Gulielma non obstante questa fusse la seconda volta, che gli fusse apparso la vergine pretiosa . . .* Facezie dei s. XV e XVI (Scelta 138) 65 *Era suto tolto a' Fiorentini Serezana per tradimento . . ., (et per la recuperatione della quale, da Ferrando re di Napoli . . . , era suto loro promessa ogni loro opera).* 87 *gli fu dato in mano una bachetta sucida.*

Fälle von Nichtkongruenz des prädikativen Adjectivs in der Zahl: S. Teresa (BAE LV) 25 b *General han sido estas tercianas.* Familia de Alvareda (CEC, 1893) 344 *Bendito sean estos ojos, esta boquita, estas manitas.*

Aber wir haben auch Canc. panocho 41 *la luna es poco,* Adamo 23 *la mia vita poco sarà oggimai* etc. Die Diskrepanz kann also nicht von der Stellung von *poco* etc. herrühren. Auch werden *poco* etc. keine Adjektiva sein. Was dann? Etwa substantivierte Neutra wie *triste* in Vergils *triste lupus stabulis* (Schmalz § 40 a)? Grammatisch stände einer solchen Auffassung nichts entgegen. Allein mir scheint, die romanischen Sprachen greifen in den vorliegenden Fällen, um den Gedanken "ein Geringes, etwas Geringes, etc." auszudrücken, überwiegend[1] zur Umschreibung mit *causa.* So heisst es z. B. Balbo, Storia d'Italia 2, 1 (Vockeradt § 356, 4) *Roma fù poca cosa dapprima.* Wie dem auch sei, ich bin eher geneigt, in *poco* etc. das Adverb zu sehen. Eine solche Auffassung dünkt mich ungezwungener. Zum Gebrauch bei *ser* wird der Umstand beigetragen haben, dass erstens *poco* etc. in der alten Sprache in weiterem Umfang verwandt werden, und dass sie zweitens so häufig zum Verbum treten statt zu dem Adjektiv oder Adverb, das sie näher bestimmen.

β) *mucho.* P. Alfonso XI 199 *Ssy mucho fuer la ssu vida.* Dagegen Celestina (1501) 73 *no es mucha su vida.* 109.

γ) *cuanto.* F. Navarra V *Quoanto es la pecha que es clamada azaguerrico. Quoanto es la pecha que es clamado*(!) *basto. Quoanto es la pecha que es clamada alfonsadera.* (So das Inhaltsverzeichnis; der Text liest in den beiden letzten Fällen (S. 53 b) *Quoanta es la pecha . . .*) XIII *Quoanto deve ser la bustalizia.* (So auch der Text [S. 128 a]; dagegen z. B. IV *Quoanta deve ser la zena del Rey* etc.)— Specchio dei Peccatori (Scelta 73) 8 *vuole Iddio che tu cognosci quanto è la tua fragilità.* Adamo (Scelta 106) 20 *io vi voglio mostrare quanto è la sua potenzia.* Paradiso degli Alberti III (Scelta 88) 175 *Quanto fosse la velenosa e pestifera rabbia tra guelfi e ghibellini . . . , non bisogna narrare.*

qué tanto = cuanto. Libros de Astr. III 79 *sabe qué tanto es la altura del sol.* Dagegen kurz zuvor *cata si ouier la cipdat en que tú*

[1] Selten dürften Beispiele wie die folgenden sein: Fernan Caballero, Cuadros de Costumbres (CAE) 200 *Pues un imposible es que vuelva Gabriel.*—Paradiso degli Alberti III (Scelta 88) 129 *parendogli uno impossibile quello che veduto avveva.*

tomas la altura. ladeza ó non. et si la ouier. sabe qué tanta es et su parte. Dann 92 *cata . . . qué tanta es su ladeza.* etc.

δ) tanto. Sp. Belege fehlen mir. Ein it. Beispiel ist Novelle antiche (Scelta 93) 128 *e fue tanto la paura, ch'ella lasciò lìe uno suo mantello.*

ε) tanto-cuanto.

1. Buen. Prov. 6 *Quien te mester a, es su cobdicia atanto quanto* (*como* h) *te a mester.* Libros de Astr. III 79 *et si fuer* (sc. la altura) *tanto cuemo la mayor altura dell yguador . . .* Ib. *et si non fuer la altura tanto cuemo la mayor altura . . .* Ib. *la su declinacion será tanto cuemo la ladeza de la uilla.* 80 *cata en quál dia será la altura del sol . . . tanto cuemo la mayor altura dell yguador.* Dagegen 95 *la ladeza de la uilla es tanta cuemo la longura de la estrella.*

2. F. Juzgo 26 a *deve pechar cada uno al rey tanto quanto era la demanda.* 27 a *aquel iuez que envió sus letras deve tomar cerca sí tanto de sus cosas daquel iuez á quien envió sus letras, si las pudiere fallar, quanto era la demanda* (M. *quanto podie valer la demanda*). F. Brihuega 136 *el sennor de la casa desafie. et coia calonnas : quanto fuere la part del querelloso.*

VI. FORMEN DES PRÄS. IND. IN DER FUNKZION EINES IMPERATIVS

Verweise für den lat. Gebrauch in der Vulgata und bei Kirchenschriftstellern giebt Blase in Landgraf, Hist. Gramm. III, 1, 250 Anm. 3. Zur Literatur wäre nachzutragen Vollmöller, Krit. Jahresber. I 44.

Gröber, Grundr. I 302, heisst es: "Auch der mit einer Ausdrucksweise sich verbindende Ton bewirkt Erweiterung der Funktion. Er macht z. B. die Aussageform des Verbums zur heischenden, imperativischen. Die Tätigkeit, die vom zum Gehorsam Verpflichteten ausgeführt werden soll, wird im Futurum als eine im bestimmten Zeitpunkt wirklich zur Ausführung gelangende bezeichnet (*à Charlemagne* irez, Rol., = ihr werdet, eig. ihr habt zu, gehen; so auch süddeutsch), oder bei dringlicherer Heischung wie eine angesichts des Redenden sich schon vollziehende ausgesprochen (*chantez, chantons, faites* = cantatis cantamus facitis). Auf solchem Wege wurde im Französischen der Imperativ der zweiten Pers. Pl. (lat. cantate) beseitigt."

Vom französischen Gebrauch (*vous chantez=chantez*) handelt Mätzner, Syntax I 62, 65; Gramm. 314; vom italienischen Vockeradt § 224, 2; vom portugiesischen Moreira, Rev. lus. XII 205: "Com valor equivalente ao do imperativo emprega-se algumas vezes o presente do indicativo, como quando se manda um criado nestes termos: 'Tu *vaes* por aqui adeante; ao fim d'esta rua *voltas* á esquerda, *procuras* a casa nº 20 e *entregas* lá esta carta;'" vom deutschen etwa Blatz, Nhd. Gramm.[3] II 537.

Hier einige span. Beispiele: Echegaray, Ó Locura ó Santidad I 2 Áng[ela] . . . *Vas allá, y le suplicas y le ruegas.* Lor[enzo]. *¡Yo suplicar! ¡Yo rogar!* . . . I 5 *Vete* . . . *Vete* . . . *Si no son las dos todavía* . . . *Si faltan quince minutos* . . . *Te vas á la Carrera de San Jerónimo; das un paseo mirando la gente, y á las dos en punto vuelves.* El Hijo de Don Juan I 4 *Mientras se ventila la habitación, te quedas*[1] *quietecita detrás de esta cortina* . . . (Colocándola detrás del cortinaje de la derecha.) *Quietecita, ¿eh?* . . . *En seguida entrarás.* II 2 *Bueno, bueno* . . . *si ya pasó* . . . *en fin, cuando vuelva mi madre, me avisa usted.* El loco Dios II 3 Doña Andrea. *¿Y no la digo* (=soll ich sagen) *nada de tu parte?* Paco. *Sí* . . . *La dices* . . . *algo triste* . . . *algo tierno* . . . *algo nuevo* . . . III 2 *Mira, lo que has de hacer es buscar á Gabriel y le indicas algo de lo que pasa.* Blasco, Cuent. arag. I 4 (aus einem Gespräch zwischen einem Verliebten, der nicht weiss, wie er um die Hand seiner Angebeteten anhalten soll, und dem Ratgeber)—*Le compras á la chica un regalo cualquiera, algo que le cumpla.—¡Un chuflete!—Eso es pa los niños pequeños. Una cosa que le guste.—Un frasquico de aceite de hígado é bacalao, qu'icen que es muy bueno pa las jóvenes.—Bueno, allá tú. Y te vas á casa de tu novia cuando estén todos juntos.—¡A la hora é cenar!—Y allí, con habilidad, "con idea", hablas de unas cosas y de otras, y de cosas que tengan relación con la chica ó con el santo matrimonio, y en una de estas revueltas le dices al tío Andrés: "Pues con este motivo, aprovecho la ocasión pa decirle á usté que si está usté conforme, yo quiero á la muchacha* . . ." 12 (D. Simón, ein Jäger, der gern aufschneidet, zu Juan, seinem Diener) *desde esta noche vas á venir á la tertulia de la botica, y cuando yo te pregunte si es verdad lo que digo, respondes que sí. ¿Qué te cuesta?* El Tiu Xuan 51 (Xuan zu José) *Dáila* (sc. la

[1] Vgl. Götz von Berlichingen III *Georg, Du bleibst um mich.*

carta) *y que conteste, y si dempués que la llea i conoces que ñon va venir elli acá, vas enseguida, ¡pero á escape!, á Pedro el de Xico y que jaga el favor de venir al galope . . . y si conoces que el indianu va á venir, entonces dices á Pedro que venga como á les doce, pa que ñon encuentre equí al otru. Ve en pelu del diablu, ¡cuerri!* Ib. (der Alguacil zu Xuan) *Sí, pero tovía tengo que citar.* Xuan. *Citas dempués.*

Im folgenden Beispiel schliesst sich an einen Imp. ein Präs. Ind. an: Rev. Aragón III (1902) 23 a— *¡Antonio!—Mande el señor.—Márchate en un momentito, y me compras una mano de papel, que no sea fino.* Und umgekehrt: El Tiu Xuan 51 (Xuan zu José) *Vas á casa de Francisco el indianu y dai esta carta; toma.*

Es ist kein Grund abzusehen, warum das Spanische nicht auch negative Sätze wie die deutschen: Du sagst ihm nichts von unserer Verabredung.—Du hörst nicht auf ihn etc. gebildet haben könnte. Doch fehlen mir sichere Belege.

EINZELHEITEN

Auffällig ist das häufige Vorkommen von *vas*.[1]

1. a) *vas*

Celestina (1501) 68 *O vieja Celestina, vas alegre! sabete que la meytad esta hecha, quando tienen buen principio las cosas!* . . . (in der dritten Zeile darauf) *Pues alegrate, vieja,* . . . (Mabbe [Fitzmaurice-Kelly, 100] übersetzt: "O thou old Celestina; cheere up thy heart, and thinke with thy selfe . . ."). Blasco, Cuent. arag. I 31 *¡Mañana te vas al cuartel!* Caveda 275 *Pe la man derecha Vas á los Pilares Y dempués non pares Fasta la ciodá.* Munthe, Folkpoesi från Asturien I 112, 66 *No te asustes, Gerineldo, que has de hacer lo que yo te digo: báste por estos jardines cuchiendo rosas y lirios.* Dazu die Anm.: " =vaste, imperativiskt" und Hinweis auf das folgende Beispiel. 117, 9 *¡Báste, Narbolina, báste, bas parir al Balledal!* II 36, 284 *Anda, báste por el mundo que el mundo te dará el pago.* 39, 338 *Anda, báste, que no buelbas.* III 55, I *Palumbina blanca, báste que hace fríu.*

[1] Und nicht bloss im Span. Drei afz. Beispiele (s. xi–xii) unter vier (bez. 5) bei Englaender, Der Imperativ im Altfranz., 1889, 11 (für Jourd 777 l. 1777). Ich füge hinzu Aliscans (1903) 5471 *Sire Bertran, ne t'en vas mervillant!* Alart de Caus, Hist. litt. XXIII 523 *Hé! serventois, arriere t'en revas, Droit en Artois ne te vas atarjant, Et ma dame si me salueras, Qui tant est douce.*

Für den verneinten Imp. kann ich mich auf Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 258, berufen: "... *Hombre, no vas allá*, dice casi todo el mundo granadino, en lugar de '*no vayas*.' (Don Ulpiano González.)"

b) *vamos*

Plur. 1 erscheint in der alten Sprache häufig genug als *vayamos:* C. Cid[1] 208 *vayamos priuado.* 676 *Vayamos los ferir.* 1531 *Vayamos posar.* 2226 *vayamos Recabdando.* etc. Sacrificio 263. Milagros 425. Alex. 378. 649. 1574. 1693. Prim. Crón. Gen. 164 b 44. 193 a 26. etc. Carlos Maynes (NBAE VI) 529 a b. 531 a. J. Ruiz 1181. 1398. Libro de los Enxemplos (BAE LI) 506 b. Iosaphat 357.

Wenigstens seit dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts findet sich *vamos:* Plácidas 129 *Ora vamos toste demandar el santo bautismo de los christianos.* Rrey Guillelme 180 *Ora vamos en el nonbre de Dios, e Dios nos guye.* 235 *Dixieron ellos: "Vamos e amostrárvoslas hemos." Dixo el rrey: "Vamos . . ."* Florençia 438 *vámonos ayna, ca mucho avemos de andar.* 451 *Vamos, dixo él, contra ella* (sc. la fada).

Zum verneinten Imp. habe ich angemerkt: Libro de los Enxemplos (BAE LI) 531 b *dijo el su compannero: "Non vamos por este camino . . ."* Gil Vicente [Böhl de Faber] 47 *Id vosotros al lugar muy presto, carillos mios, y no vamos tan vacíos, traed algo que le dar.* Torres Naharro II 25 *No nos vamos sin hablalle.* Barahona de Soto 358 *No vamos uno de otro dividido.* Dazu die Anm.: "*Vamos, por vayamos.* Era cosa frecuente en el siglo XVI."

c) *vades* (*vais*)

Amadís 194 a *Dueña, á Dios vais.*[2] Romance, Gallardo I 1216 *Vades con Dios, nuestro hijo, Y él vos quiera encaminar; Vais con nuestra bendicion.* Primavera I 226 *Vais con Dios, Hernan Rodrigo, luego vos querais tornar.* II 227 *Con Dios vades, los romeros, que no os puedo nada dar.* Torres Naharro II 160 *Vais en buen hora.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 155 Fraile. *Con gracia de Dios quedad.* Clér-[igo]. *Vades con Dios soberano.* Salamantina 461 *Hijo mio, vays con Dios.* Autos I 57, 180 *Norabuena vais, gañan.* 366, 261 *Yd, pues norabuena vays* (:*mandais*:*veays*), *Dios os encamine en bien.*

[1] Ich zitiere fortan nach der Edición paleográfica, 1911.

[2] Daneben 249 b *A Dios vayais, dijo don Grumedan.* 264 b. Ob Valdés diese Form im Auge hat, wenn er (Diál. de la Lengua 390, 27) sagt: "El que compuso a Amadis de Gaula huelga mucho de dezir *vaiais* por *vais*, a mi no me contenta"?

III 443, 497 *Mi hijo, en buen hora vais* (:*mandais*:*detengais*). Timoneda (BAE III) 179 b *A la senectud* (sc. decia): *enhorabuena vais.* D. Quixote I 35 *A Dios vays, señor, dixo Anselmo. Con el quedeys, respondio el ciudadano.* II 26 *vays en paz, o par sin par de verdaderos amantes.*

Beispiele des verneinten Imperativs sind: Crón. rim. 985 *Quedo, dixo, los reynos, non vos vades coytando.* Santillana 471 *Dixe: "Non vades sennera, Señora . . ."* Corvacho 211 *desaventurada, venid acá, non vades allá.* Primavera II 411 *No vades allá, el buen rey, buen rey, no vades allá.* Lucas Fernandez 69 *N'os vais tan desconsolada.* Torres Naharro II 70 *Por Dios, no vais.* La lozana Andaluza 288 *Vení acá, Lozana, no os vais.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 143 *Esperá, padre, no os vais* (:*nojais*). Salamantina 1383 *No vays tan apresurado.* Lope de Rueda I (1895) 156 *no vais tan alborotado, seguid . . .* Horozco 203 a *andaos aquí en compañía y junta con mis criadas, y no vais á otras segadas.* Autos II 409, 194 *No vais, hijo, a casa agena; no's partais de Betania.* Lope de Sosa [1603] (Gallardo IV) 635 *No vais de aquí, doncella.* Tirso (BAE V) 459 a *Esperad, no os vais.* Quevedo (BAE LXIX) 501 b *No os vais, detened el paso.* 513 b *No os vais, comeréis cocina.*

d) Bello[6] § 582 (267) sagt: "En el presente de subjuntivo tiene bastante uso la síncopa *vamos, vais:* 'Os suplico con todo encarecimiento que os vais y me dejéis' (Cervantes). En el modo optativo no se dice nunca *vayamos,* sino *vamos.*" Cuervo, Nota 81 (S. 88), verweist dazu auf *vades* "como optativo" in Primavera II 227 (s. oben 1 c) und auf *vais* in D. Quixote II 26 (s. oben 1 c). Weitere Beispiele für *vamos, vais* als Subj. im Nebensatze in der Prosa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts bei Cirot, Bull. hisp. XIII 83. Ich füge hinzu:

a) Encina 82 *¿Quereis que vamos allá?* 98 *Ántes que vamos de aquí.* 354. Lucas Fernandez 71. Torres Naharro I 334 *Mas mejor es que nos vamos.* 363 *¿Tú quieres, cuerpo de mí, Que vamos á las migajas?* II 24 *será bien que nos vamos, Y tambien que proveamos . . .* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 427 *¿Quieres que á misa nos vamos?* Autos I 39, 115. III 15, 424 *bueno sera que nos vamos.* IV 36, 228 *cunple que vamos alla.*

β) Florença 393 *ruego uos que me la vades demandar.* Encina 244 *Mejor será que os vais d'hí.* 284 *Antes os ruego que os vais.*

350. Gil Vicente 85 *La merced que nos hareis, siendo huérfanas, señor, y sin madre, que os vais y nos dejeis . . .* Torres Naharro I 233 *Para que vais más contentos . . .* 251 *Quiero que vais en galera.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 12. Lope de Rueda I 25 *Y es menester que . . . vais al arroyo, y saqueis mi cuerpo.* Horozco 18 a *muy bien será que no os vais* (vgl. 19 b *y será bien que dexemos*). 49 b *digos . . . que mireis por el pellejo y os vais vro. paso á paso.* 190 b *yo os mando que luego vais.* 194 a *Conviene que luego vais.* Autos I 81, 434 *Delbora, es mi voluntad que vais con mi hija.* 443, 193 *lo que suplico es que os vais.* II 283, 120. Aparicio (Gallardo I) 222 *Á deciros y her saber Que atendais ó que os vais.*

Bellos Ansicht, es seien *vamos, vais* synkopierte Formen für *vayamos, vayais,* ist nicht unmöglich. Bei so häufig gebrauchten Formen hätte Synkope nahe gelegen. Aber dasselbe könnte man dann z. B. von (alt) *trayamos* erwarten.

Cuervo hat sich m. W. nirgends über die Entstehung dieser *vamos, vais* ausgesprochen. Wohl aber über *vas.* Nach der oben (1 a) angeführten Stelle fährt er fort: "Del mismo pie que la anterior (sc. no vas allá) cojean estas frases: 'siento que te *vas*'; 'me alegro de que te *vas.*' . . .

Este uso de la forma *vas* como subjuntiva procede ciertamente del empleo autorizado de *vamos, vais,* en iguales circunstancias, como se ve en [el] lugar de Cervantes, citado por Bello (*Gram.*, § 267 [s. oben 1 d]) . . ." In einer Anm. hierzu bemerkt Cuervo: "Véase un ejemplo curioso en el *Quijote, pte II, cap. XXVI* [s. oben 1 c].—*Vas, i,* están en realidad por *vais, id.* Véase §§ 265. 266."

Beginnen wir mit *i.* "*i poniendo los platos,* dicen las mujeres, cuando menos malo sería *vé poniendo*" heisst es zu Anfang desselben § 258. *i* ist also Imp. Sing. und der Verweis auf § 266, der von *mirá=mirad* etc. handelt, wohl ein Versehen. Wie ich mir dies *i* erkläre, ist Mod. Lang. Notes XXVII 170 gesagt.

Auch dass *vas* 2 für *vais* stehe, glaube ich nicht. Der Verweis auf § 265 betrifft *vais* 5. Dies hätte gewiss zu *vas* werden können, wie z. B. *presumáis>presumás,* Lucas Fernandez 20. (Cuervo hat kein Beispiel; ich auch nicht.) Aber wo ist *vais* 2 belegt?

Menéndez Pidal äussert sich zur Frage Manual § 116, 5 (S. 212): "vadam dió el analógico † *vaya* ó el etimológico arcaico y raro *vaa,*

vaas [mir unbekannt], *vaamos*, etc. [?], que en la lengua común se usó sólo en Nos y Vos, 'hacedme merced que os vais', y aun hoy en frases optativas *vamos!*" Und Cantar 267: "Son analógicos: *vayas* 2620 . . . en vez del etimológico '*vaa*' F Avilés 19, '*vaamos*' Alex 1252, que en los siglos XVI y XVII se decía 'vamos, vades, vais'."

Aber *vaamos*<*vadamus* ist mir keineswegs sicher. Morel-Fatio 1393 liest *vaȳamos*. *vaamos* der Hs. O ist eher aus *vayamos* entstanden. Ausfall von *-y-* nach *a, o* kommt in dieser Hs. in nicht wenigen Fällen vor: *maores* 9. 198 (M.-F. 9. 204 *maȳores*). *maor* 76. 172. 243. 292 (M.-F. 86. 178. 250 *maȳor*. 299 *mejor*). *maor-mientre* 115 (M.-F. 127 *mayor mente*). *Mao* 1630 (M.-F. 1772 *maȳo*). *Audól* 1197 (M.-F. 1337 *ayudol*). *Troa* 299 (M.-F. 306 *Troȳa*). *poal* 2374 (M.-F. 2502 *poȳal*). *poales* 2416 (M.-F. 2544 *poȳales*). Und auch anderwärts. Hier nur noch ein Beispiel für den Ausfall von *-y-* nach *u:* F. Juzgo 145 V.L. 26 B.R. 1 *fuos* (S.B.; Esc. 4; 6; E.R. *foyos*— Text *fuyos*). Doch tritt dieser Ausfall auf beschränktem Gebiet auf; nicht in Kastilien. Bis ein *vaamos* hier nachgewiesen, muss ich *vamos*<*vaamos* ablehnen.

Ich selber möchte folgende Erklärung vorschlagen. Da zu *vamos, vades* der Inf. *ir* lautet, konnten jene Formen leicht für Subj. III angesehen werden. Und besonders zu einer Zeit und an einem Ort, wo neben *vamos, vades* noch *imos, ides* standen, was Proporzionen wie *vivimos : vivamos = imos : vamos* und *vivides:vivades = ides : vades* nahelegte.[1] Diese "Subj." wurden zunächst im Nebensatz, dann im Hauptsatz verwandt. Eine strenge Unterscheidung zwischen *vamos* und *vayamos* etc. in der Schriftsprache ist erst eingetreten, als *imos, ides* (*is*) in dieser ausser Gebrauch kamen. Doch blieb *vamos* als positiver Optativ.

Dann aber gehören weder 1 b noch 1 c in dieses Kapitel, das natürlich nur von solchen Formen handeln soll, die für den Sprechenden Indikativformen sind. Auch über *no vas* (1 a) sind Zweifel berechtigt. Dagegen dürften sich einwandsfreie Belege für *vais = id* und zwar aus neuerer Zeit beibringen lassen.

[1] Das Aragonesische ist weiter gegangen und hat zu *imos* ein *amos* gebildet, das aber auf den Hauptsatz beschränkt ist: Blasco, Cuent. arag. I 3 *Vaya, chico, amos á bebenos medio cántaro é vino á casa . . .* Ib. *¡Amos á ver qué moño es esto!* 9 *Amos, que son unas lambrotas* (*lambroto* = *gloton*, Borao). 16 *Ahora li visto; muy cachorro es pa nosotros; pequeñico, pocho; amos, un arguelluz* (= respectivo de *arguellado*, B. 22). *¡Amos, calla, calla, que como hables así, te voy a matar . . . !* Ib. *¡amos, que yo no aguanto más!* 27 *¡Amos á dales de cenar á escote!* etc.

2. *ves, vedes (veis)*

Wie nahe in der Bedeutung sich häufig *ves, vedes (veis)* und *ve, ved* stehen, lässt sich auf verschiedene Weise darlegen. Unter augenscheinlich denselben Umständen wird das eine Mal eine indikative Form gebraucht, das andere Mal eine imperative. Man vergleiche, wie der Autor des Corvacho seine Schilderung der sieben Todsünden beschliesst: 85 *Pues vees aquí el primero mortal pecado cometydo . . .* 86 *Pues veste aquí el segundo pecado mortal cometydo . . .* 88 *Por ende vee aquí cómo el que ama en pecado de envidia le conuiene de pecar.* 92 *Pues ves aquí cómo el sesto mortal pecado se comete . . .* 93 *Pues vee aquí cómo el septimo pecado mortal comete el que . . .* Oder die Vorstellung eines Ritters im Amadís: 39 a *Entonces le tomó por la mano é fuese donde la Reina estaba é díjole: "Ved aquí el fijo del rey Perion de Gaula."—Si me Dios salve, Señor, dijo ella, yo he mucho placer . . ."* 71 b *Amadís fincó los hinojos ante la Reina, tomando á Galaor por la mano, é dijo: "Señora, veis aquí el caballero que me enviastes á buscar.—Mucho soy dello alegre," dijo ella.* etc.

Gegenüber einer imperativen Form der einen Hs. eines Textes haben andere eine indikative: Lucanor (Knust) 56, 18 *Et una de las perdizes que estava biva en la rred començó a dezir a las otras: "Vet (vedes* MAGg), *amigas, lo que faze este omne! . . ."*

In zahlreichen Fällen sind dann *ves, vedes (veis)* von den Übersetzern als Imp. aufgefasst worden. So z. B. Celestina 55 *Veslo* (sc. el hilado) *aqui en madexitas* = Mabbe 82 *Looke you (Lady) on some of the same in skaines.* 71 *O desuariado, negligente! veslos* (sc. Sempronio und Celestina) *venir . . .* = M. 105 *O thou carelesse absurd Asse; . . . See them comming . . .* 173 *ves alli a la que tu pariste* = M. 280 *looke out and beholde her, whom thou broughtst forth.* D. Quixote I 17 *ves aqui tengo el santissimo balsamo* = Ormsby (Fitzmaurice-Kelly) I 120 *see, here I have the blessed balsam* = Braunfels (Spemann) I 170 Sieh, hier habe ich den benedeiten Balsam. I 28 *ves aqui te doy la mano* = O. II 44 *see here I give you my hand.* II 41 *pero veis aqui, quando a deshora entraron por el jardin quatro saluages* = O. IV 10 *But lo! suddenly there came into the garden four wild-men* = B. IV 28 Aber siehe da traten urplötzlich vier wilde Männer in den Garten. II 50 *y veis aqui donde esta buena señora, con ser Duquessa, me llama amiga* = O. IV 72 *And see here how this good lady, for all she's*

a duchess, calls me "friend" = B. IV 98 Aber sieh mir einer da die gute Herrschaft an; wiewohl sie eine Herzogin ist, heisst sie mich ihre Freundin. II 52 *veis aqui a deshora entrar por la puerta de la gran sala dos mugeres* = O. IV 83 *lo and behold suddenly there came in through the door of the great hall two women* = B. IV 112 siehe da traten unversehens zur Thüre des grossen Saals zwei Frauen herein. etc.

Ohne dass immer Einstimmigkeit herrschte: D. Quixote I 8 *Porque ves alli amigo Sancho Pança, donde se descubren treynta, o pocos mas desaforados Gigantes* = O. I 58 *for look there, friend Sancho Panza, where thirty or more monstrous giants present themselves* = B. I 97 denn dort siehst du, Freund Panza, wie dreissig Riesen oder noch etliche mehr zum Vorschein kommen.

a) *ves* statt *ve*

Torres Naharro I 422 *Va*[1], *ves quién llama, Mira por entre las puertas.* Wohl auch in den gleichfalls nicht häufigen Fällen, wo *ves*, durch die Konjunkzion *y* einem andern Imp. koordiniert, diesem folgt: Novelas ej. (Bibl. Rom. 41–44) 37 *Cántale, Preciosa, y ves aquí mis cuatro cuartos.*

Die Entstehung dieses Gebrauchs denke ich mir so. Überaus häufig treffen wir auf *ves* ohne nominales Objekt. Auch handelt es sich keineswegs immer um Gegenstände der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung, worauf die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt wird. Hier ein paar Beispiele: Libro de Exenplos (Rom. VII) 518 *Ves aqui, este omne te do por el e aue piedat de mi e torname mi fijo.* Encina 243 *Ves, acá ven la llangosta.* Celestina 14 *Ves? Mientras mas me dizes y mas inconuenientes me pones, mas la quiero* (Mabbe 29 übersetzt: "Thou seest the more thou tell'st me . . ."). Torres Naharro I 253 *No le des tú esa palmada. Ves aquí: Ni l'has de hacer ansí, Ni tú no t'has de reir.* 284 *Á la fe que ya ibas bien. Pero ¿ves? Has de levantar los piés Y echarte como á nadar.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 380 *¿Ves? vienen los galloferos.* II 19 *¿Ves? la* (sc. la hija) *traen por las manos.* Autos III 114, 792 *Juan, propon tu la quistion, que ves viene Fide Ypsa; ten muy firme el coraçon.* etc. Man beachte die verschiedene Interpunkzion seitens der Herausgeber, selbst der spanischen. Doch sehe ich keinen Grund dafür und möchte überall ursprünglich eine

[1] Cf. ZrP XXXV 172 Anm. 3.

(rhetorische) Frage annehmen. Wie aber Imme, Die Fragesätze II 37, betreffs der Verba der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung, insbesondere der des Sehens und Hörens, ausführt, "[tritt] die Frage als solche in allen diesen Frageformeln sehr leicht völlig hinter dem Wunsche zurück, die Aufmerksamkeit des Andern zu erregen." Vom Wunsch zur Aufforderung ist in den vorliegenden Fällen nur ein Schritt. War man aber einmal gewohnt, mit *ves*, das nachgrade zur Interjekzion geworden, den Begriff der Aufforderung zu verbinden, so konnte es wohl auch dort sich eindrängen, wo die Grammatik den Imp. *ve* forderte.

b) *vedes* (*veis*) statt *ved*

Crón. rim. (Duran) 190 *desmanparó á Castellanos. E vedes por qual rrason*[1]*: porque era Leon cabesa de los rreynados.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 130 b 26 *e Nero quisolo bien . . . : lo uno, por aquellas cosas mismas: lo otro, por que se lo merecie el : lo al por un plazer quel fizo una uegada; et uedes qual : Mando Nero llegar todos los ioglares en el teatro, et . . .* Florençia 393 *ruego uos que me la* (sc. Florençia) *vades demandar, ca me es muy menester. Védes ¿por qué?*[2] *. . . Yo só viejo, et flaco, et . . .*

Koordiniert einem andern Imp. durch *y* und ihm folgend: La lozana Andaluza 319 *Señora Lozana, ensalmános estos encordios, y veis aquí esta espada y estos estafiles, vendeldos vos para melecinas.* Oder asyndetisch ihm folgend: La lozana Andaluza 192 *Tomá, veis ahí un par de ducados, y hacé que sea la cosa de sola signatura.* 289 *Pues ésta quiero yo, y pagalda, veis aquí los dineros, y enviá por una bota de vino.* 294 *Esperá, Lozana, que otra paga será ésta que no la suya, veis ahí seis ducados, y llamá dos mozos que . . .*

Interjekzional: Lucas Fernandez 54 *Pues ¿veis veis? aunque me veis Un poco braguibajuelo, Ahotas que os espanteis . . .* Torres Naharro I 290 *¡Veis aquí! ¿Quereis saber si es ansí?* 300 *agora os mostraré Como no vengo á burlarme. ¿Veis aqui? Pues entre nos es ansí Que . . .* La lozana Andaluza 78 *¿Veis aquí? querria vender esta joya.* 183 *Veis, aquí viene el malogrado de vuestro criado.* 315 *Veis,*

[1] Vgl. Prim. Crón. Gen. 196 a 34 *et uino* (sc. Costantino) *pora Espanna a librar la dunas yentes de barbaros que la tenien apremiada; et oyt en qual manera.* D. h. *ver* = *oir*, wie auch in den beiden folgenden Beispielen und oft anderwärts und kein "incredible blunder," wie Crane, Mod. Lang. Not. XXVII 115, meint.

[2] Hrsg.: "¿ Védes por qué?"

viene madona Pelegrina. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 97 Isaac. *Las manos de Esaú son.* Past[or]. *Veis, tambien mienten las manos.* 151 *Veis, veis, ya la* (sc. Santa Susaña) *van asir.* 189 *Veis, veis, no lo digo yo, Questa vieja bien parece Que con muchos fornicó . . .* 230 *¿Veis? aquí vien la lechuza.* 270 *Ó mi Dios, Dios infinito, Veis, asoma por acá Una que mira, mira, Que se me añuega el esprito. ¡O qué dama sengular! Veis, veis, que se quier sentar . . .* 282 *Veis vienen del otro vando Caballeros principales.* Timoneda I (1911) 494 *Señora, veys? aquí está este bien auenturado que . . .*

3. *oyes, oye V.*

a) *oyes.* Foerster, ZrP XXVIII 497, möchte *Os,* Aucassin 22, 15; 24, 40, "als Frage auffassen und daher ein? danach setzen." Nach Suchier, ZrP XXX 515, dem ich beistimme, wurde *os* nicht "mehr als Verbalform, sondern nur noch als ein erstarrter Ausruf gefühlt." Crescini, Man. prov.^{2} 161, verweist für einen Ind. Sing. = Imp. auf "*aus tu* (*aus* = audis), 'odi tu,' delle carte e dei diplomi." Meyer-Lübke III § 117 stellt zu afz. *oz,* in welchem er einen Ind. sieht, der dem Befehle dient, "aportg. *ouues tu, caualleyro andante* (Graall 45)."

Wenn Timoneda einmal (I 192) sagt: *Compañero, oyes, di: ¿vendeslas de cierto?* und dann (I 384): *Flabio señor, oye, dí: traes aquello?* so sind für ihn *oyes* und *oye* im betreffenden Ausdruck gleichbedeutend.

Wenigstens einen Fall habe ich notiert, wo gegenüber *oyes* des Textes die V.L. *oye* liest: Encina 205 *Pues oyes, Cardonio, tus sesos aviva.*

Auch ein Beispiel, wo *oyes* und ein folgender Imp. koordiniert sind: Cruz, Sainetes inéd. 285 *Oyes . . . . . Y avísame en siendo la hora para el sainete.*

Interjekzional. Unter den vielen Beispielen, die mir zur Verfügung stehen, wähle ich hier die, in welchen auf *oyes* ein Gebot oder Verbot folgt: Encina 204 *Oyes, Fileno, tus dichos honesta.* La lozana Andaluza 134 *Oyes, Madalena, no abras á nadie.* Timoneda I 134 *Oyes, mozo: quitarás aquellos fuelles qu'están al sereno.* Alonso de la Vega 56 *Oyes, Talancon, baste ya.* [Bonilla,] Entremeses del Siglo XVII 89 *¡Oyes, oyes, mi bien! ¡No tardes mucho . . . !* Caveda 59

(s. XVII) *Ola, Tuẍa: ¿qué, riste? pues bien oyes; Saca dos filos.* 83 *Oyes, Antón, agarra la fesoria* (=*azada*, Rato). Cruz, Sainetes (1843) I 195 b *Oyes, Juliana, mírale por donde viene.* 202 a *Oyes, procura andar listo.* II 146 b *Oyes, oyes, ven acá.* 193 a *Oyes, mira que parece que este es un grande embustero.* 222 a *Oyes, regidor; cuidado que . . .* 297 a *¡Oyes!*[1] *cuenta que me avises si . . .* 298 a *¿Oyes?*[2] *pregunta por las hermanas.* b *Oyes, mira, no me dejes caer una costalada.* 299 a. 356 a. 544 b. Castillo, Sainetes II 226 *Oyes, oyes, no me seas bachillera.*

b) Es kann nicht verwundern, auch *oye V.* als Aufforderung anzutreffen: Cruz, Sainetes (1843) II 103 a *Oye usted, ¿me hará usted gusto de decirme . . .* ? 104 a *Oye usted, este que habla es el usía que . . .* 497 a *oye usted, ¿qué es esto de paralela?* 579 b *¡Oye usted, asi quisiera, que tonadillas de sobra tiene de chupete y nuevas!* 593 b *oye usted, señora novia, ¿son todas estas doncellas?* 619 a *Oye usted ¿dónde las venden?*—[Bonilla,] Entremeses 88 *Oyen, señores: todo me lo valgo.*

Damit lässt sich vergleichen: "Sind sie froh, dass Sie in den ersten paar Vorstellungen nicht zu thun haben," Die neue Rundschau, April 1912, 507 (Worte, die Kainz dem Sohne seines Theaterdirektors Förster in den Mund legt).

Zum Schluss[3] sei hier nur noch einer Erscheinung gedacht, des graden Gegenteils der zuletzt besprochenen. Es handelt sich um eine ursprüngliche Aufforderung mit dem Verbum im Subjunktiv, die als Frage auftritt. Auch dies ein formelhaft gewordener Ausdruck. Die Beispiele sind: Cruz, Sainetes (1843) II 370 a *¿Mande usted?* 539 a *¿Mande usía, señor?* Castillo II 73 *Mande usted, seña Teresa?* 179 *Mande usted?* III 156.

K. Pietsch

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[1] Vom Ausrufungszeichen bei *oyes* macht der span. Hrsg. auch Gebrauch, wenn auf *oyes* eine Behauptung folgt: I 364 a *¡Oyes, hija, ese parece demasiado atrevimiento!* II 653 a *¡Oyes! Puede ser, porque es muy buena.*

[2] Das Fragezeichen bei *oyes* verwenden die span. Hrsg. gewöhnlich bei folgender Frage, aber keineswegs consequent. Man vergleiche: Encina 223 *Oyes, Zambardo, ¿eres tuyo ó ajeno?* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 165 *Oyesme, rey de Israel(,) Con tu campo desastrado[,] No habrá quien me salga dél Para firmar mi cartel . . .* [?] Cruz, Sainetes (1843) I 202 b *¿Oyes, y estabas caída antes de haber yo llamado?* II 158 a. 254 a *Oyes, ¿quién es esa?* 256 a. 355 b. 622 a. Castillo I 101 *Oyes, Petra, vienes sola?* II 61 *Oyes, quién es esa?*

[3] Das Kapitel über den Imperativ ist unerschöpflich. Ich hoffe, noch öfter darauf zurückzukommen. Auch auf *ves* und *oyes*, betreffs deren der Versuch, etwas Klarheit in die Verhältnisse zu bringen, einmal gewagt werden musste.

THE OLDEST FORM OF THE BEVES LEGEND

I

The almost simultaneous appearance of two independent and fundamental studies on the legend of Sir Beves of Hamtoun by Jordan[1] and Boje[2] has brought this difficult problem, which had been slumbering more or less peacefully since the publication, in 1872, of Rajna's *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia* once more to the foreground. Apparently its ultimate solution is as remote as ever, for these two studies reach conclusions diametrically opposite, but in reality a considerable step forward has been taken. Boje has unquestionably shown

> dass wir im BH keine deutsche, keine angelsächsische, keine keltische, keine Wikinger-Sage, weder persisch-armenischen, noch griechisch-römischen Ursprung, und auch kein Gemisch von fränkischer Geschichte mit deutscher und persischer Sage und andern "verschiedensten und fernliegendsten Quellen" zu suchen haben; dass wir es im BH überhaupt nicht mit einer aus geheimnisvollen Tiefen entsprungenen Sage, sondern ganz einfach mit einem Roman zu tun haben, mit dem Werk—von den Bearbeitern abgesehen —eines Einzelnen, wenn dieser uns auch nach mittelalterlicher Art seinen Namen nicht überliefert hat. . . . .[3]

I believe that this conception of the origin of the oldest French form of the story is essentially correct, but it suffers from the fact that the Italian version has not been taken into the comparison. Boje practically neglects this altogether, though the limited evidence which he presents on pp. 19–21 against its critical value is in no way conclusive. Jordan's work is in this respect undoubtedly the better. Here the Italian version is properly placed by the side of the French version and compared with it.

Brugger in his review[4] of this study concedes that henceforth the Italian *Buovo* can no longer be neglected in a comparative study of this

[1] "Ueber Boeve de Hanstone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 14. Heft, 1908.

[2] "Ueber den altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hamtone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 19. Heft, 1909.

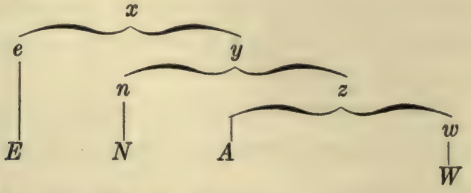
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 136–37.

[4] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV[2], 25 ff.

story. However, he declines to accept Jordan's thesis in its entirety, and criticizes his failure to institute a fundamental re-examination of the relation of all the French versions to the Italian, thus showing that he is not convinced that the Italian *Buovo* gives a trustworthy picture of the original story. In his review of Boje's study,[1] on the other hand, he appears equally cautious with reference to this author's claim that the Italian version is nothing but a derivative of the French. A new examination of the question is therefore permissible.

In order to make this discussion clear it will be necessary to outline the problem briefly.[2] The story of Beves of Hamtoun has been preserved in two versions, the one French, the other Italian. The French version falls into two groups, distinguished not so much by the sequence of incidents, as by the geographical location of the hero's home. In the Anglo-French group (referred to here as *AF*), Hamtone is located in England; in the continental French version (*CF* in this study) the location of this city is on the Continent. There are numerous other differences between the two versions. *CF* is longer and contains traits not present in *AF*, and on the other hand *AF* shows features absent from *CF*. But these differences do not affect the framework of the story; events in the two groups follow the same order.

AF was studied by Stimming in the introduction to his well-known edition of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*.[3] It is represented by four branches, English (*E*), Anglo-Norman (*A*), Norse (*N*), and Welsh (*W*), whose relation is shown (*op. cit.*, p. clxxiv) by the following diagram, in which the small letters designate lost French versions:



[1] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXV², 49–59.

[2] For a more complete orientation I may refer to the two studies of Boje and Jordan already cited.

[3] *Bibliotheca Normannica*, VII (Halle, 1899).

Stimming's conclusions have been generally accepted, and we are not called upon to re-examine the evidence.

CF comprises six unpublished forms,[1] two in Paris (*P*, P^1), one in Carpentras (*C*), and three in Italy (Turin, *T*, Rome, *R*, Venice *V*) which have been studied by Stimming.[2] To this list Boje adds a seventh manuscript in Vienna (*W*), which forms the basis of the analysis of *CF* as it appears in his study. All attempts to group these versions with reference to each other have proved futile. The story of Beves of Hamtoun was evidently tremendously popular in the thirteenth century; it was told and retold by jongleurs until variations and additions became so numerous that it is at present impossible to unravel the confusion. These continental French versions are jongleur versions, made by jongleur authors. They keep intact the central threads of the story, but they borrow freely from intermediate forms which have at present disappeared. At the same time certain large features of relationship have persisted. *CT* and *PR* are in general fairly distinct, and P^1, though frequently agreeing with *CT*, often stands alone, while *V* seems on the whole more closely akin to *CT* than to the other group. Boje's new version *W* agrees in general with *PR*.

In spite of this confusion, however, one point is clear: *AF* and *CF* represent two independent forms of the same story, agreeing in outline so closely that we are forced to look upon them both as offspring of a common source. Which of the two is the more authoritative, however, even the most searching comparisons could not establish, for *AF* always appeared as important as *CF*.

[1] [Since Matzke completed his article, P^1 has been published by Stimming: *Der Festländische Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung I, Dresden, 1911. Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band 25. A dissertation (Göttingen) on the language of this version, by L. Behrens, is announced.

Matzke's *Frc-it.* has also been published in full by Joachim Reinhold: "Die franko-italienische Version des Bovo d'Antone," *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXV, 555, 683; XXXVI, 1–32. Reinhold now plans a critical edition of the whole of MS XIII (*Litteraturblatt*, XXXIII, col. 150).

F. Oeckel (Göttingen dissertation, 1911) concludes that MS *P* (Fassung II of Stimming) "ist höchstwahrscheinlich um 1280 von Pieros du Riés geschrieben worden, und zwar in pikardischem Dialekt."

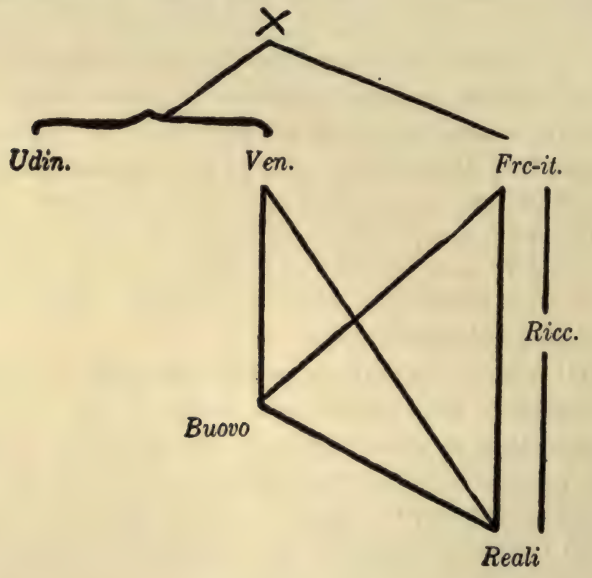
None of these studies enters into the main question treated by Matzke.—T. A. J.]

[2] "Das gegenseitige Verhältniss der französischen gereimten Versionen der Sage von Bueve de Hanstone," *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler . . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, pp. 1–44.

The manuscripts and texts important for the Italian version are the following:

1. Venice, *San Marco, Mss. frz. cod.* XIII. This manuscript is incomplete so far as our story is concerned: all that precedes the return of Buovo to his native land has been lost. It begins with the account of a battle of the hero and his governor Sinibaldo against the army of Dodone. See Rajna's *Ricerche,* pp. 134–35 (*Frc-it.*).

2. Florence, *Laurenziana, codice mediceo-palatino* XCIII; published by Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 493–566. (The *Veneto* text= *Ven.*)



3. Udine, *Archivio capitolare della cattedrale;* fragments published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XI, 162–83 (*Udin.*).

4. Florence, *Riccardiana cod.* 1030, fragment published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XV, 55–87; for a detailed discussion see *Zs. f. rom. Phil.,* XII, 463–510 (*Ricc.*).

5. *Buovo, poema Toscano in ottava rima;* see Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 155–78.

6. *Reali di Francia,* Book IV; see Rajna, *Ricerche,* pp. 178–209.

The inter-relations of these texts have been carefully studied by Rajna, and no evidence has been presented which would in any way

invalidate his conclusions. He has shown (1) that the manuscripts and texts enumerated represent two Italian forms of our story, *Ven.* and *Udin.* on the one hand, and *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.* on the other; (2) that the *Buovo* is based upon *Ven.* and the *Reali* on *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.;* (3) that either form knew the other manuscript group and was affected by it, and that in addition the *Reali* drew upon the *Buovo* as well as upon the French version. If we incorporate in Rajna's scheme[1] facts established in his later studies, the diagram on page 22 will show the grouping of the Italian versions (*It*).

II

When we compare this Italian version with *AF* and *CF* we are struck by the thoroughgoing rearrangement which the story has apparently undergone. It is shorter, incidents differ in detail, and the sequence of events in certain places is so fundamentally altered, that it is evident that we are dealing with a new form of the story, which might serve as the *tertium comparationis* which was lacking in the study of *AF* and *CF*. We note further that the traitor stepfather of Beves is Dodone di Maganza, agreeing with *CF* where he is called Doon de Maience, while in *AF* he is Doon, emperor of Germany. This fact, added to many others, makes it clear that *It* is more closely related to *CF* than to *AF*.

We now see a twofold possibility for the explanation of its origin. The shorter form (*It*) may represent a rearrangement of *CF*, or it may have come down along an independent line from the original form of the story. The former of these two explanations has been the one generally accepted by scholars. Consequently *It* has been systematically neglected, an attitude resulting from the very superficial examination accorded to it. If this attitude be correct, *It* may indeed be slighted; yet it cannot be entirely ignored. Even though it be a variant without argumentative value, it should be possible to assign some reasonable explanation for its origin and present form, and an attempt to find such an explanation was made by Brockstedt.[2]

Brockstedt maintained that the original Italian Beves story was the work of the author of the Italian *Fioravante*, that both these

[1] *Ricerche*, p. 217.

[2] *Flooventstudien*, Kiel, 1907.

texts are composed after the same pattern, and that either story, as we have it, was modified by features drawn from the other. Granted that *Fioravante* shows borrowing from *Beves*, it does not follow, however, that the reverse is equally true, unless it can be proved, first, that *It* does not represent an independent and authoritative form of the Beves story. Consequently Brockstedt is forced to outline his position with reference to the arguments that have been advanced in support of the other point of view. On pp. 31–32 he enumerates seven such arguments drawn from Rajna's *Ricerche*, pp. 135–40, and of these he discusses two in detail.

Rajna had maintained that in the Italian story, when it is not influenced by the French versions, Antone is located on the Continent and that the hero has no contact with the king of England. Where the English incidents and geography are found in Italian, as in *Frc-it.* and the *Reali*, they are due to secondary influence of the French versions. Brockstedt, on the other hand, attempts to show (pp. 33–34) that it cannot be affirmed with certainty that any one of the existing Italian versions really ignored the English features of the French Beves story. *Ven.* is incomplete and might have lost these references, and the *Buovo* poem, which according to Rajna is based mainly on *Ven.*, has an evident variant of the scene of the theft of Beves' horse by the son of the king of England, and, in canto XIV, 84 ff., it cites England as the hero's home. While this is correct, it should be noted that the *Buovo* poem is a late composition, that more than half of it represents undoubtedly the author's additions, and that the two features cited by Brockstedt might thus very easily have come in through the author's knowledge of other versions of the story which contained the English incidents. The *Ven.* text was probably not much longer than the portion that has been preserved,[1] and the reference to England as the hero's home occurs precisely in the section of the poem not duplicated by *Ven.*

In the next place, Brockstedt attempts to discredit Rajna's claim that the logical arrangement of *It* is an argument in support of its priority. He asks, "Muss denn die ursprüngliche Version auch immer die vorzüglichere, bessere sein?" It may be said that this attitude is perfectly sound, and yet the possibility that the view

[1] See Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 172, and note also Jordan's objection, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

which Brockstedt combats is actually correct is not destroyed by such a theoretical objection. Experience has shown that in general the more logical form of any story is apt to be the older. The principle might hold true also in the present instance, and if this should prove to be the case Brockstedt's whole argument would crumble.

The main support of his theory, however, lies in his belief that the rôle of Malgaria in *It* is derived from the French *Floovent*. The argument in favor of this indebtedness is rather circuitous in nature. The French *Floovent* has the figure of Maugalie, a pagan princess who from love for Floovent aids him to escape from his prison. Maugalie is called Drugiolina in the Italian *Fioravante*, consequently her name must be modeled upon that of Drusiana of the Italian Beves story. Now, in the latter story, Malgaria protects Beves in a somewhat similar way, and since this scene of the Italian story has no counterpart in the French versions, the figure and rôle of Malgaria must be that of Maugalie driven out of the *Floovent* story.[1] The weakness of this reasoning is evident. Granted that the *Fioravante* shows influence of the Italian Beves story, the reverse does not necessarily follow. If it should be shown that the rôle of Malgaria belongs to the French source of the Italian versions, the similarity of scene and name between the two poems would continue to exist, but Brockstedt's whole structure would fall to the ground. And as a matter of fact we shall see later[2] that there are some valid reasons for maintaining that the Malgaria episode stood in the French source of *It*.

Becker[3] indorsed Brockstedt's view; Brugger also apparently accepts it.[4] Yet it seems to me evident that the essential point which must be firmly established at the outset is the very question whether *It* is or is not a representative of a more original form of the

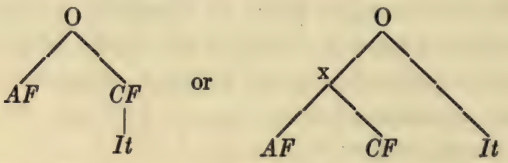
[1] "Nun ist die Gestalt der Drugiolina ausschliessliches Eigenthum des Fior., d. h. der ital. Version des Floovent; in der frz. Ueberlieferung fehlt jede Spur von ihr. Dann *kann* aber auch die Malgaria des Buovo *nicht* schon aus einer frz., womöglich noch hochalterthümlichen Beuve-Version stammen. Vielmehr *muss* sie einem ital. Bearbeiter ihre Einfügung in die Buovo-Dichtung verdanken. *Damit ist erwiesen* dass der Buovo nicht ein früheres, sondern ein späteres Entwickelungsstadium der Beuve-Sage verkörpert als dasjenige, von dem die frz. Versionen Zeugniss ablegen."—*Op. cit.*, p. 35. The italics are mine.

[2] See p. 26.

[3] *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1908, col. 29.

[4] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, *XXXV*[2], p. 50.

Beves story than that preserved in *AF* or *CF*. Until this question has been answered it will be useless to search for the models or for the formula that might have determined the recasting of the original story into its Italian form. The answer to it must lie in a close comparison of *It* with *AF* and *CF*. The Italian form must be either an offspring of *CF*, or it has come down along an independent line of transmission from the same original story from which the common source of *AF* and *CF* has sprung. Represented by diagrams, the relation of our three groups must be either



No other possibility is apparently imaginable.

III

The first to voice the conviction that *It* represents an older form of the Beves story was Rajna. When he wrote, however, *AF* and *CF* were scarcely accessible, and his argumentation was more or less general in nature, so that his conclusion was based upon the broad outline of the two versions rather than upon characteristic details. His arguments[1] are those summed up by Brockstedt.[2] Not all are equally cogent; the strongest is based upon a comparison of the general outline of the two versions. The Italian is consistent, and the various sections of the story are logically connected. While in the French version the second exile of the hero forms practically a poem by itself which can be separated from the first half of the story without interfering with its structure, in the Italian form these two sections are so consistently joined that no division is possible.

However, Rajna's reasoning failed to convince scholars, and we have just seen how Brockstedt deals with this particular argument. The better method of procedure was followed by Jordan, who subjected the three forms of the story to a critical examination, section by section, with the result that the independent value of *It* can no longer be doubted; the conclusion must be that the French form

[1] *Ricerche*, pp. 135–40.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

represents a reworking, and further investigation as to its origin must be based upon the Italian form. Doubt may exist, however, with reference to the question which of the members of the Italian group is to be given the preference. Jordan selected *Ven.*, which he completed in one or two places, where the only existing manuscript has lost a folio, by a reference to the manuscript at Udine which fortunately supplements the gap, but he apparently neglects completely the *Reali* and the fragmentary *Riccardiana* manuscript. The two Italian versions established by Rajna are fortunately so similar that this neglect does not, as a matter of fact, impair the value of Jordan's conclusions. His main thesis will have to be accepted, but his failure to include all the available material in Italian has led him here and there to overlook matter which undoubtedly stood in the French source of the Italian versions.

The method should be to reconstruct this source through the comparison of the Italian versions. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of most of them makes this impossible. Only the *Reali* version is complete; *Ven.* has gaps in the body of the story and lacks the end, and the other three manuscripts present only fragments. Moreover, Rajna has shown that Andrea da Barberino's *Reali* represents a fusion of widely differing sources, and since the French version was among these it would seem to follow that the importance of the *Reali* for critical purposes must be very slight On the other hand this opinion can be checked to a certain extent by the publication of the *Riccardiana* fragment, which derives from *Frc-it.*, the main source of the *Reali* and also known to Andrea da Barberino. It replaces, therefore, the corresponding lost portion of *Frc-it.* and makes it possible to compare the two Italian forms of the story for fourteen out of the eighty chapters of the *Reali.* This number is of course insufficient, but it is better than nothing. While it does not overthrow the conclusions of Rajna with reference to the composite nature of the *Reali*, it nevertheless emphasizes the fact that in general the *Reali* represents a parallel version to the *Veneto* text, and that as a matter of principle it should be born in mind that, unless other evidence of undoubted value shows the *Reali* to be untrustworthy, it is always possible, when this form of the story differs from *Ven.*, that we have there matter of equal critical value with

that found in the *Veneto* text. In a critical study of the problem, therefore, the *Reali* should not be neglected, as it has been by Jordan.

Let us point out some of the material which this larger method will add to the discussion.

1. After Buovo's escape from his mother, when he is rescued by the vessel that takes him to Erminia, he relates to his rescuers, and likewise to Erminione after his arrival in that country, a fictitious story concerning his antecedents which agrees in all the available versions, with this difference that in the *Reali* he adds that his name is Agostino. This feature is duplicated by the *Riccardiana* fragment, which proves that it is not due to the initiative of Andrea da Barberino,[1] but that it may have stood in the lost portion of *Frc-it.* and was omitted by the author of *Ven.* This possibility becomes a certainty when it is borne in mind that a fictitious name of strange but curiously similar form (Angossoxo) is adopted by Buovo in the *Veneto* text, when he returns to his home to battle against Dodone (l. 1836), and that in similar manner in the French versions Beves makes use of the fictitious name Gerraud, Gyrant, Gyrald, or Girart de Dijon, when he returns to his home. It is evident that the motive for the fictitious name belongs to the story, and we shall see later how important this fact is for the correct understanding of its original form.

2. After his arrival in Erminia, Buovo becomes first stable-boy, then page of Erminione, and as such he serves him at table. His handsome bearing is noted by Drusiana, the king's daughter, who makes advances to win his love. In this connection one scene in particular should be noted. It is present in all the Italian versions, but the *Veneto* text is incomplete here, and Jordan rejects it.[2]

Drusiana has noted the presence of the handsome youth and wonders how she could show him the love she bears him. Finally she decides to entertain her ladies, borrows servants of her father for the occasion, and names Agostino as one of them. She arranges matters so that Agostino must wait upon her in particular. Before the meal begins, and while he hands her the basin to wash her hands, she throws some drops of water into his face and laughs at him when he bows his head and does not know what to say. Later she notes

[1] Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 500, wrongly calls this name a "neologismo" of *Ricc.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 15, § 6[a].

that the tablecloth hangs down to the floor, and she drops her knife calling upon Agostino to pick it up. While he does according to her bidding she also stoops down and kisses him, so that Agostino blushes from embarrassment. The incident with the basin stands only in *Ricc.* and the *Reali*, but the rest is present in all, except *Frc-it.*, and should stand in the analysis of the Italian story. It is even possible that the complete incident should be included, for the form of *Ricc.* is as authoritative for the source of the Italian versions as *Ven.*

3. On p. 15 of his analysis (§ 6) Jordan commits another error, due to the same method. After the mention of the tournament, arranged to select the husband of Drusiana, in which Buovo is victorious, Jordan says, "Er erhält den Preis, einen Kranz," and he continues, "Druxiana zwingt B. durch Drohung, die Vergewaltigte zu spielen, ihr den Kranz zu schenken und ihr ihn eigenhändig auf den Kopf zu drücken." Jordan has clearly misrepresented the scene, which should be as follows:

One morning (*Udin.;* one Sunday morning from joy, *Ricc.;* in order to avoid serving Drusiana, *Reali*) Buovo goes into the fields to cut grass for his horses. He makes a garland which he puts on his head and thus adorned, he returns to the city where the tournament is in progress. Immediately he takes part in it (here *Ven.* begins) and overcomes Marcabrun. Drusiana witnesses the encounter from a window or balcony of the palace. When it is over, she goes to see Buovo in the stable (*Ricc.* stops here) and obtains the garland from him. In *Ven.* and *Udin.* she threatens that she will accuse him of having wronged her; in the *Reali* this threat is absent, but there can be no question that the scene as such should be present in an analysis of the Italian story.

4. The marriage of Josiane is prepared in both *AF* and *CF* in a section which interrupts the account of Beves' imprisonment; see Jordan, p. 17. A similar section is absent from *Ven.*, so that here the information necessary for the understanding of the situation is furnished to the reader only at the time of Buovo's arrival in Monbrando, when these facts are brought out through the hero's questions. Jordan thinks that the *Veneto* text undoubtedly has here the older form of the story. An interruption of the narrative, such as the

French shows, he thinks indicates a "younger" technique.[1] The question is not vital, for whether the section involved is present or absent, the main outline of the story remains unchanged. However, *Reali*, IV, 20, corresponds exactly to the section in question, while at the same time the differences are such that it is unlikely that Andrea da Barberino drew here upon the French versions.

In the latter, Josiane notes Beves' absence and is told by her father, who has sent him to Damascus, that he has gone to England to avenge his father's death, stating that he would not return. Josiane remains faithful to him and takes care of Arundel and Murgleie. Soon Ivori de Monbrant asks for her hand, and she is married to him. Knowing some witchcraft she fashions a girdle which will keep her intact for Beves. Thus protected, she goes to Monbrant, taking along Murgleie and Arundel, who allows no other person to approach him. Certain members of *CF* speak here of a dream through which Josiane is warned of Beves' danger, and the father tells her he has gone to Damascus. There are other variations as well, but in general *CF* resembles *AF*.

In the *Reali*, Erminione is inclined to look favorably upon his daughter's marriage to Buovo and his disappearance is therefore a riddle to him. He makes efforts to find him for two years, but in the end he decides to marry Drusiana to Marcabrun. When she consents she exacts the condition that the actual consummation of the marriage shall be deferred for one year, in the hope that Buovo might in the meantime come to her new home at Monbrando in Polonia. She goes to Marcabrun's court, taking with her her lover's arms, his horse Rondelo, her cousin Giorgis, and Pulicane, who later plays such an important rôle in the story and whose antecedents are here explained.

Again probability is in favor of the view that the form of the story found in the *Reali* is as worthy of credence as that of the *Veneto* text. The passage just discussed, not with all its details but in its essence, stood in the Franco-Italian source of Andrea da Barberino, and to a certain extent it has the support of *AF* and *CF*.

5. One more similar instance may end this portion of my argument. It has to do with the arrival before Monbrando of the ship

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

on which Buovo has made good his escape from his prison. The *Veneto* text is fragmentary at this point, so that Jordan's analysis (p. 18), in spite of the fact that he makes use of the second of the *Udine* fragments,[1] is quite imperfect. The true bearing of the scene becomes clear only through comparison with the *Reali*.

Jordan's analysis is intentionally vague. Buovo asks the name of the land which the ship is approaching, and receives the answer that it is called Monbrando. The speaker is not identified; Jordan says "antwortet man," and the inference must be that the information comes from one of the sailors who in some unexplained way is acquainted with the facts in question. It is apparently also these same sailors who row Buovo ashore. Reference to the *Reali*, however, shows the real facts to be quite different. Here the ship by chance and contrary winds arrives before the city of Polonia. A fisherman, busy in the mouth of the river (the *pescier de bon aira* of the *Udine* fragment), is called near the ship to answer Buovo's questions. From him he learns that the city is preparing for a great festivity. Marcabrun is on the point of celebrating his actual marriage with Drusiana, who had stipulated a year of freedom in the hope of Buovo's return. The sailors pay the fisherman thirty pieces of gold, and he takes Buovo to the shore, entertaining him all the while with additional details about the impending celebration.

On the shore he meets the robber-pilgrim who had deprived him of his sword when he was on his way to Sadonia with the fateful letter, forces him to exchange clothes with him, and thus disguised he enters the city. Here the *Veneto* text and the *Udine* fragments leave us, and when they resume the story they contain several allusions which remain obscure without the aid of the *Reali*. There is a reference in the *Veneto* text, l. 1194, to the murder of the chief cook by Buovo, apparently in self-defense. The text reads (ll. 1196–98):

> Eo li domandava per Dio carità;
> El prexe un stiço, tuto me brostolà.
> S'io me defendì nol abiè per mal.

Presently he meets Drusiana, and when he speaks Buovo's name before her, she warns him that the mention of it is forbidden in the city:

[1] *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 179.

Tu no se lo bando chi è in sta cità:
Chi Bovo mençona de' esser apica [l. 1216–17].

The first of these passages is lacking in *Udin.*, but the second is corroborated by it. The full explanation becomes evident only when the *Reali* is consulted. Here the fisherman who takes Buovo ashore tells him that the mention of Buovo's name is a capital offense in the city and this leads the hero to inquire after Buovo on a number of occasions, which is probably evidence that the trait has been elaborated. He obtains food in an inn, because the merchants flee in fright at the sound of Buovo's name, he shouts it to some women whom he meets coming from church. One of these proves to be the maiden who aided him to escape when his mother tried to poison him; he almost precipitates a quarrel between a knight and a merchant playing chess in the palace when he asks alms for Buovo's sake. Finally he arrives in the kitchen of the palace where the same daring mention of his name leads to an attack upon him during which he kills the "siniscalco della cugina" with a stick, for he was ashamed to draw his sword in such surroundings.

Unquestionably it would be wrong to incorporate this lengthy scene in its entirety in the source of the *Reali*, but the importance of this text for the Italian form of the story is again clearly vindicated.

Lack of space forbids the continuation of this comparison. The purpose was to emphasize the position of the *Reali* in this study. It is evident that this text has a very definite place in the argument, and that in the comparative study of the Italian and French forms of our story it should always be consulted.

With this idea in mind I have re-examined the whole problem, and the result has been ample vindication of the claim advanced by Rajna and Jordan. Detailed examination of the various forms of the story reveals numerous phases where the Italian has undoubtedly the better form. Roughly speaking, these instances fall into two groups. In the first, *AF* and *CF* differ and *It* agrees now with the one, now with the other. Since the common origin of *AF* and *CF* is assured, it follows that *It* must have been independently transmitted from the original version of which the common source of *AF* and *CF* is another offspring. In the second, *It* agrees with one or the other of the various versions of *CF*. If the agreement were per-

sistently with the same French version we should be forced to infer, in spite of the argumentative bearing of the first group of agreements, that this version was closely related to the lost French source of *It.* But such is not the case. Though some of the versions of *CF* present more frequent points of contact with *It* than others, yet no one version monopolizes this position, and this fact added to the constant presence of contact between *AF* and *It* forces us to the same conclusion as to the agreements of the first group.

It is not my intention to reproduce here the arguments nor the proofs, since I could re-establish only what Jordan in my opinion has already shown to be the case. In an investigation of this nature which rests upon a large number of minute agreements, all apparently leading to the same final conclusion, a difference of judgment as to one point or another does not invalidate the result any more than the addition of a number of similar agreements would materially strengthen it. Indeed, but for the criticisms of Brugger[1] on Jordan's work, a repetition of the argument need not be considered. My purpose is different. I wish to show through an examination of the structure of *It* the formula according to which its source was composed, and to point out the group of French poems to which it belonged. If I succeed in this attempt I shall have added another strong argument for the originality of *It* in its essential outline, and I feel confident that I shall be pardoned for not entering again into the wearisome details which a minute comparison of the various versions would demand.

IV

Let us begin by contrasting the framework of *It* with that of the French versions. For more detailed analysis I may refer to the studies of Jordan and Boje.

ITALIAN VERSION

EXILE FORMULA

The hero is driven from his home. The characters are the wicked mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero escapes.

[1] See *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV², p. 27. Becker, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1909, col. 62, writing under the influence of Brockstedt's work, belittles the method without giving the impression, however, that he has seriously considered it.

ARRIVAL IN ARMINIA

The aged king has a young daughter.
The hero disguises his identity and assumes a fictitious name.
First deeds of prowess.
The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.
An unwelcome suitor appears with a hostile army.
The hero is knighted and wins a victory.
The king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter.
Enemies malign the hero and he is driven from the country.

URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent with a letter to Sadonia.
A pilgrim plunders the hero.
The hero arrives in Sadonia, and is thrown into prison.

ARRIVAL IN SADONIA

The king has a young daughter who falls in love with the hero.
The hero remains faithful to his first love.
The first princess is married. (The marriage is to become real only at the end of a year=*Scheinehe.*)
The hero escapes from prison.

ARRIVAL IN MONBRANDO

The hero arrives at the home of the first princess at the very moment when her marriage is to become a reality.
The hero appears in disguise.
The hero and heroine escape.

PULICAN EPISODE

Pulican enters into the story.
Birth of twins and death of Pulican.
Separation of hero and heroine.

RETURN TO ANTONA

The hero returns to his home and conquers his heritage.

FINAL SOLUTION

The second princess calls for help and the hero hurries to her assistance.
Proposed marriage of the hero to the second princess.
Opportune arrival of the hero's wife, the first princess.
The second princess marries a friend of the hero.

The simplicity and symmetry of the formula according to which this story is constructed will stand out clearly if we compare it with

the involved structure of the French version.[1] The formula in general is evidently identical, but its symmetry is broken in such a way that the second love adventure of the hero, which in the Italian story is an outcome of the first, is here entirely independent of it, so that it has the appearance of an isolated incident. Moreover, the story is encumbered with numerous incidents which have no direct connection with the central theme.

FRENCH VERSION

EXILE FORMULA

The characters are the cruel mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero is sold into slavery.

ARRIVAL IN EGYPT

The aged king has a young daughter.
The hero reveals his identity.
First deeds of prowess.
The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.
An unwelcome suitor appears, whom the hero overcomes.
Enemies malign the hero, and he is driven from the country.

URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent to Damascus with a letter.
A pilgrim warns the hero.
The hero is thrown into prison.

The princess is married to Yvori of Monbrant, and she protects her virginity by witchcraft.
The hero escapes from prison.

HE JOURNEYS TO FIND THE PRINCESS

He comes to the castle of a giant.
He goes to Jerusalem.
He reaches Monbrant disguised as a pilgrim.

THE HERO AND HEROINE ESCAPE

Lions kill their servant.
Escopart (Pulican) appears.
They reach Cologne by ship.
The princess and Escopart are baptized.

[1] The outline which follows is based upon the Anglo-Norman poem. *CF* differs in details, but not in the sequence of events.

THE HERO RETURNS TO HIS HOME

The princess is left in Cologne in charge of Escopart.
The hero arrives in his home under a fictitious name.
New danger of the princess; she is married to Miles.
The hero conquers his heritage and punishes his stepfather.
The hero returns to Cologne and rescues the princess.
The hero and heroine are married.

THE HERO GOES TO LONDON

Description of a race.
The hero's horse kills the prince of England.
Escopart turns traitor.

SECOND EXILE OF THE HERO

Twins are born to the hero and heroine.
The heroine is carried off by Saracens.
The faithful servant sets out to seek the hero.

ARRIVAL IN CIVILE

The duchess of Civile falls in love with the hero and makes advances.
The hero contracts a marriage in form (*Scheinehe*) for seven years with the duchess of Civile.
The faithful servant and wife of the hero appear at the end of seven years.
The second heroine marries a friend of the hero.

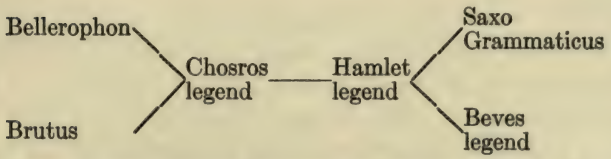
FINAL INCIDENTS

The traitors are punished.
The hero's sons become kings.
The hero and heroine die.

V

A discussion of the attempts to explain the origin of this story, all based, it must be borne in mind, on the belief in the priority of *AF* and *CF*, may be found in Jordan's study, pp. 1–8. Of this list that of Zenker[1] is the most important. He identifies the Beves story with the Hamlet legend as related by Saxo Grammaticus, and derives both from a common source, itself a derivation of the Chosros legend; this in turn is formed through a combination of the Brutus and Bellerophon legends. The following diagram will make this descent clear:

[1] *Boeve-Amlethus*, in Schick and Waldberg's *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1905.



This filiation is rejected by Jordan, but Brugger accepts the final link in it in his review of Jordan's study. The main argument upon which Zenker bases his claim lies in the similarity of the Urias letter and the Civile episode to corresponding features in the Hamlet legend. Now it is evident that the second of these arguments must fall if the Italian form of the story is the more authoritative, for then the Civile episode is clearly a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Malgaria. We may therefore dismiss this argument for the present and leave its final explanation to a subsequent portion of this study. The Urias letter is discussed by Zenker, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. and 403 ff. Additional references may be found in his Index. The form which Saxo utilizes is shown most clearly in two French stories of the thirteenth century, the *Dit de l'emperour Coustant*[1] and a prose novel.[2] I add the outline of these stories as given by Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

An emperor of Byzantium, Florien in the *Dit*, Muselin in the *Prose*, hears that the stars predict that the newly born son of one of his subjects will marry his daughter and become his successor. He gains possession of the boy in order to kill him, but without his knowledge the boy remains alive and is brought up in a cloister under the name of Coustant. When he has grown up, the emperor sees and recognizes him and sends him to a castle with a letter commanding the provost to kill the bearer. Coustant arrives at his destination, but before delivering the letter he lies down in the garden before the castle and falls asleep. Here the emperor's daughter sees him, falls in love with him, and exchanges, while he is sleeping, the letter which she finds on him for another in which the provost is directed to marry the princess at once with the bearer. Thus Coustant becomes the emperor's son-in-law and later his successor.

Barring the change of names and minor features, the Hamlet

[1] Published by Wesselofsky, *Romania*, VI, pp. 162 ff.

[2] Moland et d'Héricault, *Nouvelles françaises en prose du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1856, pp. 1–32.

legend contains this motive in identical form. But when we compare it with the corresponding portion of the Beves story important differences appear, and these Zenker has failed to note.

Here Beves is sent with a latter to the sultan of Sadonia (Damascus in the French versions) containing instructions to put the bearer to death. When he has delivered the letter, in the French version the sultan refuses to kill him. Beves had previously overcome him in battle, and the sultan had sworn allegiance to him;[1] he is thrown therefore into prison. In the Italian versions Malgaria (Margarita in the *Reali*), the sultan's daughter, who has been impressed by the handsome bearing of the young stranger, intercedes for him with the same results that Buovo is imprisoned. Now it should be noted that in neither version do we find the characteristic feature of the former story, by which the fateful letter is exchanged for another which deceives the recipient as to the real intention of the message. And this substitution is characteristic of all the forms of this motive discussed by Zenker in various portions of his book. The only exception is the Bellerophon legend, *op. cit.*, p. 314. Bellerophon is sent by Proitos to Jobates with a letter containing directions to kill the bearer. Jobates receives him amicably and then charges him with the execution of various dangerous exploits (the slaying of the Chimera, and two wars) in the hope that he will thus find his death.

There is a curious trait in the Anglo-Norman form of this motive which at first sight would seem to argue in favor of similarity. Jobates receives Bellerophon amicably and treats him as a favored guest for the space of nine days. Similarly Beves, instead of being thrown at once into prison, is treated to a royal meal at which the king himself waits upon him; see ll. 925 ff. This similarity, however, may be misleading, and we may have here simply the final meal, the last kindness shown the victim before his execution. Under any circumstances there is nothing similar in the *Veneto* text nor in the *Reali*.

The vital objection brought forward here against Zenker's view has been perceived by all those who have had occasion to discuss

[1] So in the Anglo-Norman poem, see ll. 917 and 635 ff. The abstracts in Stimming's study give no indication what reasons the sultan advanced in the versions of *CF*.

the origin of our story.[1] Only Brugger intercedes in its favor,[2] but the reasons which he advances in its support do not seem to me convincing. The similarity between the Beves and the Hamlet legends at this point is deceptive. In the one we have the Urias letter, in the other the rewritten letter, which deceives the recipient. The two may be related, but if so it is the first and not the second that is the older form of the motive. And under these circumstances it does not seem to me impossible that its source for the Beves legend may be found in the Bible. If, however, Brugger should be correct in his doubt concerning the actual influence of the Bible upon Old French narrative literature, a doubt, which seems to be founded upon fact, then this motive will have to be looked upon as a folkloristic trait current in the East and brought into our story at the time of the Crusades. A large portion of it is plainly located in the Orient. Under any circumstances, to prove descent from the Hamlet legend here stronger arguments will have to be produced than the possibility that the author of the original Beves story might have changed the form of the motive to suit his altered purpose.

The second of Zenker's arguments is based upon the motive of the second marriage, clearly present in the Hamlet legend: this he compares with the Civile episode in the French Beves story.[3]

Hamlet, having become king of Jutland, returns to Brittany to visit his father-in-law and his wife. For reasons, which we may omit here, the father-in-law sends him with a second Urias letter to Scotland to ask for him the hand of a lady who had made a vow of chastity and punished all her suitors with death. The purpose of this second letter miscarries not in identical fashion but with similar result. Hamlet is not killed, the lady Hermuthruda falls in love with him, and Hamlet marries her, so that he is now the husband of two wives. However, his father-in-law does not forget his purpose to kill him, and when Hamlet sees his death approaching he tries to arrange another marriage for Hermuthruda. She is most outspoken in her objections to this plan, but this fact does not prevent her from marrying the victor as soon as Hamlet has passed away.

[1] See Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1906, p. 211; Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–101; Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[2] *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV², p. 32, and again XXXV², p. 57.

[3] See *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

In *AF* Beves, separated from his wife and children, arrives in Civile, which city according to the Norse version is beset by unwelcome suitors for the hand of the lady of the land. He wins a victory for her, the lady falls in love with him, and he repels her advances because of his existing marriage with Josiane. Finally he is forced to enter a marriage in form which is to be consummated in fact at the end of seven years, if the first wife should still remain undiscovered at the end of that period. Before this time has elapsed, however, Josiane arrives and the duchess of Civile is forced to accept a friend of Beves as husband in his place.

I refrain from analyzing the arguments advanced by Zenker to prove relationship between these two stories. He even goes so far as to maintain that the hostile bearing toward all suitors, characteristic of Hermuthruda, is still evident in the general attitude of the duchess of Civile. All this reasoning is artificial and forced, and is of no value if the Civile episode represents a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Malgaria in the Italian poem. Let us see what position the Malgaria episode occupies in the plot.

Buovo, the bearer of a Urias letter, arrives in Sadonia (Sinella[1] in the *Reali*) and Malgaria, daughter of the sultan, at once falls in love with him and is instrumental in saving his life. Instead of being put to death he is thrown into prison. She visits him and offers her love, which he refuses for the memory of Drusiana. After a time he escapes, finds Drusiana, and together they plan to return to Buovo's home. Fate separates them again, however, and in such a manner that Buovo has every reason to believe that Drusiana has lost her life. He returns to his home alone, and conquers his heritage. Later he receives a call for help from Malgaria who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He goes to her aid and prepares to marry her after his victory when Drusiana fortunately appears in time to prevent the marriage. In consequence Malgaria becomes the wife of Teris, one of Buovo's friends.

It is evident that the two episodes are entirely different; what is possible, apparently, to establish for the Civile episode could not be thought of for the Italian scene. Nor is Jordan's explanation, that both forms of this episode are derived from a *Märchen* of eastern

[1] For the explanation of this name see below, p. 32.

origin, of which "The story of the king who lost everything"[1] is a close relative, any more convincing, because Jordan has entirely misunderstood the nature of Buovo's second marriage.

VI

The real explanation of the whole situation is to be found in the development of *The Legend of the Husband with Two Wives,* which I have studied in detail in my article on "The Lay of Eliduc."[2] Brugger, in both the reviews cited above, referred to the analogies which I collected there without, however, drawing the conclusions which the evidence merits. I may be pardoned, therefore, if I recapitulate here the results of that study. Certain Old French stories are constructed by doubling the exile formula, found in simple form in *Mainet.* A youth, unknown and deprived of his heritage, arrives at a court where he distinguishes himself by his bravery and is raised to an important office. A princess falls in love with him, but their union is opposed by jealous enemies. The hero is maligned and driven from the court, vowing faithfulness to his lady. He arrives at another court where in a similar way he wins the love of another princess but remains steadfast to his first love. In the meantime the first princess is forced to accept another suitor, and the hero arrives just at the crucial moment to hinder the marriage; or, on the other hand, the hero, believing his first love dead, accepts a second union, and then the first lady appears just when the new marriage is to be consecrated. This reduplication explains the plot of the song of *Horn et Rimenhild,* and the romance of *Ille et Galeron* is a variant of the same story.

I also tried to show in the same study that the Beves story in its central plot is based upon the same reduplication of the exile formula. Stated in these words this conclusion is sound, but the argument by which it was reached will need to be modified. My study was based upon *AF*, as shown in the Anglo-Norman poem. If instead we make the Italian version the basis of the comparison, the relation of these poems to each other will stand out in even clearer outline, and this fact in itself is proof that the Italian has preserved a more primitive form of the Beves story.

[1] Chauvins, *Bibliographie arabe,* VI, p. 164. [2] *Modern Philology,* V, pp. 211–39.

The initial episode, relating the exile of Buovo, stands alone, but beginning with his arrival in Erminia the resemblance is fundamental. Buovo disguises his antecedents, takes on the fictitious name of Agostino,[1] and distinguishes himself by his prowess so that the king's daughter falls in love with him, but he repels her advances. An unwelcome suitor now appears at the head of a hostile army; Buovo is knighted and receives horse and armor from the princess. He wins a victory, and in consequence the king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter. Now enemies malign him and he must leave the country. Similarly Charles flees to the court of Galafre at Toledo. He is accompanied by his trusty governor David, a trait not present in the Beves story, but a similar figure is presented by Sinibaldo, who protects Buovo before his flight from his home. They live at Galafre's court under the fictitious names of Mainet and Esmeré. Mainet overcomes Caïmant, the commander of an attacking army, wins the love of Galienne, is knighted, and receives horse and sword. The king is willing to bestow the hand of his daughter upon him, and he kills an unwelcome suitor. Then traitors malign him and he must leave the court.

Horn, driven from his home, arrives at Suddene at the court of Hunlaf. Rigmel, the king's daughter, falls in love with him; he advances his obscure station as an objection. Enemies attack Hunlaf, Horn wins a victory, is maligned by traitors, and must leave the court. He goes to the court of Gudreche in Westir, where he wins the love of the princess Lenburc, though his antecedents are unknown and he lives under the fictitious name of Gudmod. Enemies attack Gudreche, and Horn wins a victory, so that Gudreche decides to give him Lenburc as wife and make him his heir, but Gudmod remains faithful to his first love. Just so Buovo is driven from Erminia and arrives in Sadonia, where Malgaria at once falls in love with him. The sultan offers to make him his heir if he will accept Mahomet as his god, but Buovo refuses for the love of Drusiana.

Ille, driven from his country, arrives at the court of Conain, whose sister Galeron falls in love with him. He proves himself invaluable; Conain makes him his seneschal and gives him his sister as

[1] See above, p. 10.

wife. Later the two are separated. Ille arrives unknown and as a simple squire at the court of the emperor of Rome and wins the love of the princess Ganor. The emperor looks favorably upon the marriage, but Ille refuses and makes the confession that he has a wife living in Bretagne. Messengers are sent to gather information about her, and when they return with the news that Galeron has disappeared the marriage of Ille and Ganor is arranged for. However, before this union can be solemnized Galeron appears and is reunited with her husband.

Buovo manages to escape from Sadonia and finds Drusiana, who had in the meantime been married to Marcabrun, just as her year of respite had elapsed, and when her marriage was to become a union of fact as well as form.[1] They escape together and after a period they are separated again. Buovo, believing her dead, returns to his home, but in reality Drusiana had escaped to her father's court. Sometime later a call for help reaches him from Malgaria, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor, and he hurries to her aid. After a victory he prepares to marry Malgaria, when Drusiana appears in time to hinder the wedding and Malgaria is given as wife to Buovo's friend Teris, just as in the English version of *King Horn* the hero proposes another marriage for Lenburc.

Ille et Galeron may be cited once more as presenting still another similarity to the Italian *Buovo* at this point. I called attention to the fact in my previous article, p. 227, that what is now the solution in this poem must be a later addition to the original story, which probably ended with the reunion of Ille and Galeron. When the latter had entered a nunnery, and Ille is again free, he receives a call of help from Ganor, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He hastens to her aid, overcomes her enemy, and marries her.

This comparison of the Italian *Buovo* with these French poems shows clearly the intimate relation which exists between them. The Italian poem, to be sure, does not derive from any one of them, but we are evidently moving in a very small circle of ideas, and the various traits of which the Italian story is composed in its central outline can all be duplicated from a small group of French texts.

[1] Similarly Horn returns to Suddene just in time to frustrate the marriage of Rigmel. The Italian version, especially the *Reali*, definitely emphasizes the time element at this point; see above, p. 12.

The conclusion is evident. The French source of the Italian *Buovo* must represent a lost member of this same group.

In this type of story the rôle of Malgaria is an essential element: without her, the plot loses its characteristic symmetry. Brockstedt's thesis,[1] therefore, cannot be maintained. Malgaria, not with this name, but in her rôle in the story, must belong to the French source of the Italian, and as a matter of fact there is some evidence which can be advanced in support of this claim. Of the nine *-ant laisses* found in the *Veneto* text, which clearly indicate its French source, one, ll. 2326–36, belongs to the section of the story which has to do with the expedition led by Buovo to the relief of Malgaria when her cry for help reaches him. It follows that this particular part of the story stood in the French source, and since the relief expedition has no reason for its existence unless its motivation, Buovo's relation to Malgaria, was also present, we have here some very definite proof that the Malgaria episode belonged to the French form of the story. If *Floovent* influenced the Beves story—and for the present I am not prepared either to affirm or to deny this claim—that influence was exerted on a French version and can have affected only the externals, but not the essential meaning of the rôle of Malgaria.[2]

VII

Let us now repeat the simplest outline of the formula upon which the French source of the Italian *Buovo* was constructed. Buovo is driven into exile where he wins the love of Drusiana. Traitors malign him and the two lovers are separated. In his new surroundings he wins the love of Malgaria which he rejects in order to remain faithful to Drusiana. In the meantime the latter is married. She manages to obtain a year of respite, and Buovo arrives just as this

[1] See above, p. 7.

[2] Deutschbein was thus quite correct when he compared the Beves story with *Mainet* and *Horn et Rimenhild* in his *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, pp. 181–213. His failure to appreciate the full meaning of the approximation which he instituted arose from the fact that he was dealing exclusively with *AF*. Our story has been compared with the Horn legend also by Hoyt in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XVII (1902), pp. 237–46. As result the author claimed "that the central story of the Beves is equivalent to the Horn." Hoyt's study was similarly insufficient because it was based solely upon the English versions of these two poems, but it is important to recognize the fact that even in these forms the two stories are sufficiently similar to lead Hoyt to a conclusion which is essentially correct, though of course not in the literal sense in which its author intended it to be accepted.

period is about to expire. They escape together, are separated once more, and now Buovo, believing Drusiana dead, is on the point of marrying Malgaria when Drusiana appears just in time to prevent this fatal step. Malgaria accepts a friend of Buovo for her husband.

To this central plot the author made various additions, and of these three should be examined somewhat in detail: (1) the introductory exile formula, (2) the Urias letter, (3) the imprisonment of Drusiana and the author's method of separating the hero and heroine the second time.

The exile formula.—What form had this formula in the original story? The two outlines which we may construct critically differ in some details, and we are face to face with the problem as to which we shall accept, the Italian or the French form.

The Italian form is the simpler. Here we have the wicked mother, the traitor who is a former suitor of the mother and also cherishes a family feud against the father, the trusty governor, the attempt of the mother to poison the hero, and his escape. In the French form all these features are present either in *AF* or in *CF* besides various additions. The hero rebukes his mother for her treachery, the trusty governor protects the hero by presenting to the mother apparent evidence that he has executed her command to kill him, the hero enters the castle while the wedding of mother and stepfather is in progress and insults the latter and in consequence the mother orders him to be sold into slavery.

All attempts to solve the difficulty which have been made by Zenker, Deutschbein, Jordan and Boje have apparently failed, for in every case subsequent criticism has been able to show the inaccuracy of the previous contention. What stands out most clearly in this discussion is the fact that whether the Italian or the French form be the better, the form of the exile formula which introduces the Beves plot is unique. While in every instance it is possible to cite parallels for one trait or another in mediaeval literature, no one story can be cited where we have exactly the same combination as here. It is not my purpose to add to this discussion since I am unable to shed new light on the problem. I do, however, wish to examine briefly the thesis maintained by Zenker, denied by Jordan,

Deutschbein, and Boje, and again rehabilitated by Brugger,[1] that the Hamlet legend here also shows a great similarity with our story. In order to make the discussion clear it will be necessary to give an abstract of this portion of the Hamlet legend.

The brothers Horvendill and Fengo are kings of Jutland. Horvendill wins the love of Gerutha, daughter of king Roricus. Amleth is the result of this marriage. But Fengo envies his brother, kills him, and marries Gerutha, pretending that Horvendill had maltreated her and that he had killed him in order to protect her. Amleth feigns madness in order to find a safe opportunity to wreak his vengeance. His ruse is suspected, and attempts are made to lead him to betray himself. Finally after one of these unsuccessful efforts he has an interview with his mother in which he rebukes her, calling her by the lowest names, and so disturbs her that she repents of her past life and again enters upon the path of virtue. Fengo now decides to kill Amleth, but not daring to undertake the deed himself he sends him with a Urias letter to the king of Brittany.

Brugger here emphasizes the following facts: (1) The mother marries the murderer of her husband; (2) the hero has an interview with the mother in which he rebukes her; (3) the method of revenge. Amleth in the end kills Fengo in his bed, just as the returning Buovo in the Italian version visits his stepfather who is lying sick on his couch. Fengo is killed outright, while Dodone is merely ordered to leave the city, but Brugger adds that, being a knight, Beves could of course not murder an enemy who could not defend himself, while the more primitive Amleth does not know such a scruple.

Brugger's sound sense in matters of this kind demands a careful consideration of all his arguments. In the present case he is largely influenced by the fact that he considers the Urias letter of our poem to be a derivation of the similar letter in the Hamlet legend. Since this is unlikely, however, as I have attempted to show above, one important prop of this structure is removed, and what remains is scarcely sufficient to maintain the conclusion. In our story the mother decrees the treacherous death of her husband, the traitor is a former lover, the hero is protected by a trusty governor, the mother tries to kill him, he escapes or is sold into slavery, and so forth. The

[1] *Op. cit.*, XXXIV², pp. 30–32.

whole structure of our formula is so different that actual similarity is not evident outside of the few traits mentioned by Brugger. If we now examine these more carefully we shall scarcely be willing to attribute much argumentative value to the third in the above enumeration. In the first place Brugger draws here a single trait from the Italian version, apparently because it suits the argument, while in other instances he is ready to dismiss this version as untrustworthy. It should be noted next that all three versions differ. In *AF* Doon is captured in battle and Beves orders him thrown into a pit full of boiling lead; in *CF* Beves kills Doon in battle and the body is afterward dragged about by horses and hung. Under these circumstances it is futile to try to determine the original form of the story. If the primitive character of the trait is an indication of its age, *AF* would have claims for recognition which the Italian version cannot present. One may ask, however, whether the important feature in this motive in the Hamlet legend does not after all lie rather in the fact of the punishment of the stepfather than in the method in which it is dealt. Fengo is killed by Amleth, but in the Italian version the stepfather, though visited by Buovo while he is lying ill in bed, escapes to King Pepin of France and does not reappear in the story. He receives punishment only in *AF* and *CF*. Then the French versions would agree with the Hamlet legend instead of the Italian, but this agreement does not help the argument, for no further similarity is evident.

This leaves the tumultuous interview of mother and son and the mother's marriage to the traitor as the sole connecting links. The former stands in *AF* and *CF*, the latter is found in all three versions. Both might be looked upon as inventions of the author of the original Beves story. But such reasoning is apparently not supported by what we can observe to have been the habits of the mediaeval authors. It is more probable that our author found both traits in the formula which he followed. If it is necessary to accept relationship of our story with the Hamlet legend, since no similar traits seem to exist in any other of the known forms of the exile formula,[1] it would still not be impossible that the Hamlet legend drew upon the original

[1] The tumultuous interview might be a duplication of the scene of the disturbed feast (the wedding feast in *CF*), which belongs properly to our formula, for it is found in a similar form in the *Mainet*. Duplication of traits is characteristic of the method of composition of the French versions, as I shall show below, p. 32.

form of the Beves story, though of course this is rather unlikely in view of the fundamental differences between the two that have been pointed out. Saxo wrote not long after 1208,[1] and the oldest form of the Beves story must have existed before that date, for the author of the M.H.G. poem on Graf Rudolf, who wrote about 1170, seems to have imitated the source of *AF*.[2] My conclusion is therefore that influence of the Hamlet legend on our story is not proved, besides being highly improbable. The exile motive in the Italian *Buovo* has certain traits in common with other O.Fr. poems, and certain other features of the French *Beves* can likewise be duplicated, while others finally, common to all our versions and therefore characteristic of the oldest form, are unique.

The other two large additions of the original author may be passed over somewhat more rapidly. The Urias letter has been discussed at sufficient length. The second separation of Beves and Josiane or Drusiana makes use of a well-known theme appearing in various mediaeval poems, for which the Eustace legend has in general been accepted as source. For a discussion of it I may refer to Gerould's exhaustive study on "Forerunners, Congeners and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend"[3] and to Jordan's article "Die Eustachius Legende und ihre orientalischen Verwandten."[4]

VIII

This conception of the origin of the literary form of our story will be materially strengthened if the method of elaboration, followed by the author of the common source of *AF* and *CF*, can be made reasonably clear. I have shown that the formula upon which the original Beves story was constructed consisted in the reduplication of a simple theme. Further examination of the French form of the story will reveal the fact that it is this principle of duplication which has been further developed, thus giving rise to the various incidents which distinguished the new version from the older. The most striking feature of the story and at the same time the source of its

[1] See Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[2] See Deutschbein, *op. cit.*, pp. 192–94.

[3] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (1904), pp. 335–448.

[4] *Herrigs Archiv*, CXXI, p. 341 ff.

undoubted popularity in the Middle Ages, is the separation of two faithful lovers, who are brought together again just as the one or the other is to be lost forever by marriage.

The Italian has two such scenes: (1) Drusiana, married to Marcabrun, stipulates a year of respite and Buovo appears on the very day when this promise ends; that is to say, he arrives on Drusiana's wedding day. (2) Buovo prepares to marry Malgaria and now Drusiana appears on the very day this wedding is in progress. The elaboration of this theme in the French versions is evident.

1. The marriage of Josiane to Yvori is one in name only. In the Anglo-Norman poem she preserves her virginity by means of a magic girdle, in the English poem she wears a magic ring. In *CF* the girdle does not appear but Josiane accomplishes the same result by magic herbs or sorcery. This marriage in form in both versions lasts for seven years just as the marriage in the Civile episode, and at the end of this period Beves escapes from prison and carries Josiane away.[1]

2. Josiane, left in Cologne under the protection of Escopart, is married against her will to Duke Miles. Again she protects herself with the help of the magic girdle, not through its magic powers, however, but in that she strangles the unwelcome husband with it. In the English manuscripts she uses either a towel or her girdle, which, however, is not a magic girdle. In *CF* Josiane is told that Beves has been killed (note that in the Italian version Buovo believes Drusiana dead, when he prepares to marry Malgaria), the wedding is prepared, and Beves arrives at the church just as the ceremony is in progress. There is a fundamental difference between the two versions here, and one may hesitate which to accept as the better form. The Anglo-Norman poem duplicates the marriage with Yvori, *CF* rather reflects the marriage of Buovo to Malgaria, where Drusiana appears at a similar opportune moment. *CF* may have the better form, for Horn arrives similarly in Suddene just as the marriage of Rigmel to Modin is in progress[2] and Galeron appears at the church door in Rome when Ille is to be married to Ganor.[3]

[1] In the Italian version this period is one year and three months (*Ven.*) or three years and four months (*Reali*).

[2] See Brede und Stengel, *Das anglonormannische Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*, Marburg, 1883, ll. 4098 ff.

[3] See *Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras, *Rom. Bibl.*, VII (Halle 1891), ll. 4042 ff.

3. The Civile episode is also clearly a duplication of the marriage of Josiane and Yvori. In its essence, to be sure, it is the Malgaria episode of the original poem, a fact which is still apparent in the names of the cities in which the two scenes are located. The continental versions call the city Sivelle, which is unquestionably identical with Sinella, the home of Margarita in the *Reali:* the problem is to explain how Andrea da Barberino obtained this name. In the *Veneto* text the court of Malgaria's father is located at Sadonia and according to Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 206, this is also the name of this capital in *Frc-it.* He suggests that the original name was the Spanish Sevilla, corrupted by French copyists, and he cites the form Cynelle, from printed French prose versions of *CF.* In that case, however, it would follow that Andrea da Barberino associated the Civile episode, which he must have known (for it seems evident that he allowed himself to be influenced by the French versions) with the Malgaria episode and that he consciously dropped Sadonia for Sinella. Such an attitude seems to me, however, highly improbable besides not being supported by the facts. Where the *Reali* resembles the French versions it does so in complete scenes, but there is no evidence, at least as far as my observation goes, that Andrea consciously selected a single trait in what he believed to be a related French scene in order to incorporate it in his own account. Besides, the Civile episode equals the Malgaria episode when looked at critically and comparatively, but there is no such striking similarity between them that an author like Andrea could have considered an improvement of his story if he accepted the geography of the one for the other. And there certainly could not be pointed out any other possible influence of the Civile episode upon the *Reali* account of the Malgaria episode. Taking all these considerations into account, it seems to me clear that Sinella must come from one of Andrea da Barberino's sources. Since *Ven.* and *Frc-it.* fail us here, we may believe that the name stood in the complete *Riccardiana* text. Even this suggestion, hypothetical as it is, appears to me more reasonable than the opposite view that Sinella is Sinelle (Cynelle) < Sivele < Sivelle.

We may now study the form of the French episode. The marriage of Beves and the duchess of Civile is a marriage in form for a period of seven years, just as that of Josiane and Yvori, but the acting

parties are reversed. The situation is cleared up by the appearance of Josiane as the former was solved by that of Beves. In the continental versions, the horse Arundel recognizes Josiane disguised as *jongleresse*, just as he had recognized Beves, disguised as pilgrim, at Monbrand. Beves offers his marriage to Josiane as an objection to the new union, just as Josiane keeps herself pure for the love of Beves.[1] The method of the duchess of Civile in her advances to Beves is identical with that of Josiane. Both make advances and become violent when Beves repels them, both send a messenger to Beves begging him to come to them, and in both instances the women go to him when he sends back word that he will not come to them.[2]

Finally the appearance of an unwelcome suitor in either version brings the situation to its climax.[3] If the Anglo-Norman poem alone were available here, this statement would apparently be incorrect for the second scene, but its accuracy is guaranteed by the Norse version,[4] and the fact that the larger number of the continental versions explain the attack upon Sivele in a similar manner.[5]

4. We may note also that the Pulican episode of the original story has been divided, and Pulican becomes Bonifey and Escopart. The former is, however, not a pure fabrication of the French author, for the *Reali*, and hence probably also the French source of the Italian version, has the figure of a cousin of Drusiana who in the beginning fills a somewhat similar rôle as the Bonifey of the French versions. This cousin is called Giorgio,[6] later his name appears as Fiorigie in my copy. He is present when Rondello recognizes Buovo,[7] just as Bonifey in the Anglo-Norman poem.[8] When their flight is discovered,[9] he is suspected of complicity and killed by one of Marcabrun's courtiers. Evidently here the *Reali* have again preserved a fuller account than the only other available text, the *Veneto* poem, and it is the figure of Fiorigie which the French author has elaborated with data belonging to Pulican.

[1] See the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 990.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 670–774 and 2855–2885.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 503 and 2824.
[4] See Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, p. cxxvi.
[5] See Stimming, *Tobler volume*, p. 33.
[6] See *Reali di Francia*, chaps. 20 and 23.
[7] See *Reali*, chap. 24.
[8] See ll. 1435 ff.
[9] See *Reali*, chap. 27.

But the direct counterpart of Pulican is Escopart. That the figure belongs to the original story has been recognized by others, but whether his name had the form Pulican (*Veneto*) or Pulicane (*Reali*) is not equally clear. In the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 1780, he says of himself "*jeo sui un fere publicant e ay a non Escopart fort e combatant.*" The *Veneto* text calls him Pulican, but shows the same form Pulicant, l. 1471, in one of the *-ant laisses*. In consequence Jordan is probably correct in claiming[1] that his mythical origin is a fiction of the Italian.[2] The name Escopart in *AF* or Acopart in *CF* does not need to be the original form. For similar figures in mediaeval stories, see Panzer, *Hildr-Gudrun*,[3] p. 293.

It is not impossible that the plan of the French author to introduce the Cologne episode was the reason for this splitting of the rôle of Pulican. He plays a prominent part in this scene and the comic possibilities of his character are utilized to their full extent in the description of his baptism. Having kept him overtime, however, the author does not know what to do with him: the figure becomes inconsistent with itself. Escopart, faithful in the beginning, turns traitor and returns to Yvori. The various versions are not in accord here. In *AF* he becomes angry because Beves refuses to take him along during his second exile. In one version of *CF* (*R*) he had left Beves soon after his marriage, because he found the Christian religion not to his taste, in another (V^2) he leaves Beves because he does not like the pay which he received for his services. The other versions of *CF* dismiss him apparently without further notice, nor is it possible to determine from Stimming's abstract[4] whether he appears again. In *AF* Yvori fits him out with an army to capture Josiane. He finds her after her imprisonment and carries her away. This same fact is related by the Vienna version (*W*) of *CF*,[5] and in *R* also Yvori intrusts him with a ship and army as reward for his return. Finally, when Sabot liberates Josiane he kills Escopart in *AF*, and this trait reappears in *W*. Whether it is present also in *PR* which usally agree with *W* cannot be determined from Stimming's abstract.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] Note the elaborate description of his origin in the *Reali*, chap. 27.

[3] Halle, 1901. [4] See *Tobler volume*, p. 30. [5] See Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The uncertainty of the various versions with reference to this character is evidence that his final development seemed illogical. Their disagreement emphasizes, therefore, the impression that the French plot with reference to Escopart is an awkward elaboration of a scene that is perfectly logical and complete in the Italian version.

By the side of these larger duplications, minor repetitions are constant. In fact a large portion of the variations of *CF* belong to this category. To enumerate these would lead too far, but the following points deserve mention:

1. Beves first rebukes his mother (l. 211) and later disturbs a feast and attacks his stepfather (ll. 286 ff.).

2. The theft of the horse Arundel is thought of twice in *AF*. First the prince of England tries to steal him (ll. 2551 ff.), then Sabot dreams that a hundred lions kill the horse (l. 2734). Arundel kills the prince of England because he allows no stranger to approach him, and throws Yvori to the ground, when the latter tries to ride him (ll. 1020 ff.).

3. The palmer whom Beves meets on his way to Damascus is the son of Sabot sent out to seek him (l. 837). Similarly Sabot, disguised as a palmer, seeks Josiane (l. 2743) and both later hunt Beves till they find him (l. 2963).

4. Doon throws a knife at the messenger who informs him of the identity of Gyrald de Dygon who had enlisted under him, and kills his brother (l. 2221).[1] In like manner the mother kills the messenger who brings her the news of Doon's defeat (l. 2371). Both traits are peculiar to *AF*.

5. Beves has a dream telling him of Josiane's danger in Cologne in version *CT* of *CF*, just as Sabot (l. 2731) and his wife (l. 2738) dream that Beves is in danger. In both cases relief is at once planned.

The explanation offered here does not solve all the difficulties which the problem presents. Though *It* has proved itself independent in tradition and of fundamental critical value, it does not

[1] Let us note in passing that this brother plays no further rôle in *AF* while in *It* he is trusted adviser of Dodone, when the latter first receives the invitation to come and kill Buovo's father. In *CF*, on the other hand, Doon in his initial attack is aided by a nephew, but the scene referred to here is absent.

follow that the form which it gives us of the Beves story is in every way identical with the original version. I have shown that in its essential outline it is built on the same formula as the *Song of Horn* and *Ille et Galeron*. Since this similarity is completely shown by the *Veneto* text as we have it, we may conclude that the lost original did not seriously exceed in quantity the story contained in this manuscript. Whether it was of insular or continental origin remains, however, still an open question, for *Horn* belongs to England and *Ille et Galeron* was written in France, and in the very region where *CF* locates the Beves story. To be sure, certain features seem to point to the continent. There is in the first place the very definite agreement of *CF* with *It*, and further certain passages in *AF* which attach the story externally and mechanically to insular environment. Of this type the race of Arundel after which the city of Arundel is named (l. 2522) is the most prominent. It locates the story in the neighborhood of Little-Hampton-on-the-sea (*Hampton sur mer*, l. 2811) and Arundel in Sussex.

The whole question must, however, remain open for the present. These English features might be secondary additions, even if the primitive story was insular in origin, and the geography of the existing versions is not in discord with this conception. Insular in setting but not very distinct in outline, *It* might have shifted it to suit its own environment, *CF* might have located the scene in France, but failed to wipe out all the insular traces, and *AF* might have elaborated the same data into a distinct insular scene and locality.

†JOHN E. MATZKE

CRIMINALS IN SHAKESPEARE AND IN SCIENCE

Literary characters become extinct like races of men and beasts. The Vice with his lath and the Fool with his bells and bauble have vanished like the Mound-Builder or the aurochs, and their fossil remains are buried in old plays and prints. They dropped from the stage as the life which they imitated dropped out of the world. Out of the one and off the other dropped Fool and Devil long ago, and after them, in the last century, tumbled the villain. He could not bear the light or breathe the air of our day.

Black and piratical of hair and of look, as we remember him, he was at the beginning an outcast, but before the end cock of the walk, and the tragedy was pretty much of his making. The world had dealt hardly with him, and he dealt still more hardly with the world. He scoffed at respectability and jeered at the cowardice and stupidity of everybody about him, yet he himself, inclining much to freethinking, was plunged in melancholy. He was the villain and he knew it, until the end. Then his heart was touched, once he had been given the deathblow or had given it.

Such, with boasting and gloating, blasphemy and atheism added to him, and all excuse utterly taken away, was the villain of the Elizabethans. In him was more poetry, less humanity, or no humanity worthy of the word. There, in three centuries, was change enough you would think, and why is his like now no longer to be found in higher drama and fiction, but cast into the outer darkness of penny dreadfuls and melodrama? One reason lies without us, in our present knowledge of criminal character; the other, the deeper, in the spirit and temper of our age.

The instinctive or incorrigible criminal against the person, as we now know him, is no such compact and single soul as Richard III or Iago. He is a survival of savagery or the fag-end of degeneration, and is the most rudimentary and inconsistent of men. He knows no remorse, is endowed with no moral sensibility, yet seldom is he by instinct wholly cruel or base. It is the common notion, and the Elizabethan, that if there be any good in a criminal, it will

take the form of repentance for his crime; the fact is that much oftener it has nothing to do with his crime. A murderer like Lacenaire or Dostoieffsky's Raskolnikoff will risk his own life to save a cat's or a canary's, or will tenderly cherish the life of a comrade or of his aged parents. Nor does he love evil for its own sake. If he boasts, it is simply of the achievements of his genius; if he gloats, it is over his inferior adversary; and it is an impossibility, as Tolstoi avers, for him to think ill of himself. Instead of being an atheist he is particularly inclined, primitive being that he is, to be superstitiously devout in the performance of religious duties, and at most he shows that disposition to jest and flout at what is sacred which, in the lower classes and the simpler peoples such as the mediaeval Christians and the Greeks, is not incompatible with entire and implicit faith. All in all he is a man, the simple victim of his brutal instincts, not a devil. He is not the antithesis, least of all consciously the antithesis, of what is human.

These things we know as the fruit of wide observation and scientific study in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *A-priori* thinking has proved of as little avail in psychology as in chemistry and medicine. What turned men away from it to the study of the object itself was, however, the new spirit, the more humane, revolutionary sentiment of the century before. Romantic sympathy and the philosophy of the return to nature began to do away with the villain even before men had studied the criminal. "Damns had had their day," and poets petulantly made him the hero. It was the age of the noble bandit and the "magnanimous highwayman" (though of course the ignoble ones lingered on), of Goetz with the iron hand, Karl Moor, Rob Roy, and the "villain-heroes" of the Terrific School and Byron. All of these were variously incompatible, sentimental mixtures of utter good and utter evil that grew more piquant but hardly less preposterous down to the days of Bulwer and Victor Hugo. No such beings as Eugene Aram, Dona Lucrezia, Claude Frollo, or Jean Valjean ever blessed and cursed the earth. "Embodied antitheses, premeditated paradoxes," as Hugo's characters have been called, they are attempts at representing the complexity of life which themselves, as has been said, are quite simple. No convict who, after eighteen years in the galleys, had risked every-

thing to escape from them and everything to keep from returning, would, with death in the shape of Thénardier and his jackals staring him in the eye, have burnt his own arm instead of theirs and tossed the poker out of the window. No bloodhound like Javert, for such cause as his, ever threw himself into the Seine. No robbers or murderers like Clifford or Aram ever spoke, from their hearts, with the tongues not of men but of angels. The mystery of the inconsistency and complexity of human character, criminal or normal, cannot be comprehended in a formula or penetrated by a flight of imagination, and it was reserved for such as Mérimée and Dostoieffsky, Zola, Ibsen, and Hardy to get at it by a surer, more devious way. Dostoieffsky and Zola followed and shadowed the criminal mind as the detective shadows the criminal; Mérimée and Hardy explored the illogical and pragmatic morality of the lower classes and simpler peoples; and one and all they left the impedimenta of their own morality behind. Hugo and Bulwer think they are holding up the mirror to nature when they make their Ishmaelitish heroes both good and wicked, but these—and Dostoieffsky, Balzac, and Zola admit as much—make them neither. "Men are neither good nor evil," says Balzac, "but are born with instincts and inclinations." "My characters are not wicked," says Zola in the preface to *L'Assommoir;* "they are only ignorant, and are stunted by the harsh toil and misery of their lives." *Jenseits von Gut und Böse,* in short, is the word, and this monistic, or indeed biological, attitude has made it possible in some fashion to comprehend and unify traits which otherwise remained irreconcilable.

It was quite another atmosphere that Shakespeare breathed, an atmosphere charged with the dualism of the Middle Ages and earlier times. Good and evil were as the poles asunder; God was in his heaven no doubt, but the Devil was in the world. The exuberant pantheistic philosophy of Giordano Bruno, friend of Sidney and Greville, had left no impress upon English thought. To the four elements still were attributed four qualities—hot, cold, moist, and dry—not, as our monistic science would demand, but two. The world was divided between light and darkness, and the darkness was as real as the light. There were devils of fire and water, the earth and the underworld; and every man had a devil of his own,

to whom, when, like Brabantio, he "cursed his better angel from his side," he fell a prey. Atheism then meant not skepticism but enmity with God. A man had to take sides, just as then—and nominally in some countries of Europe today—a man must be either Protestant or Catholic. It was still an age of violence and suspicion, when a man's hand was against every other man, and the *entente cordiale* between nation and nation and stranger and stranger was unknown. "An enemy hath done this" was the first thought of Benvenuto Cellini when his luck turned, as it was of the man in the parable; and again and again, with cause or without cause, it is the thought of people in a like plight in Shakespeare. In all cases the enemy was a man, or Fortune, or the stars. Such a spirit animates the literary activity of the day. Eulogy and invective, panegyric and philippic, sonnets of adulation or vituperation, diatribe, epigram, satire, all of them such forms of partisan prose or poetry as are now extinct, were rife. It is a motive force in the drama. In the mysteries God and the angels were enthroned at one end of the stage and Hell-Mouth yawned at the other. To do the mischief devils were ever at hand: in the Elizabethan plays there were villains. At this point the art of the playwright was in sympathy with the popular literature, legend or novella (essentially a literature of intrigue) from which he drew his plot, and with the drama of the ancients. But the villains took on larger and demonic proportions as the fate and the gods of the ancients receded from view. In Elizabethan drama "fate" is mainly a commonplace of Senecan rhetoric; whatever the heroes may say when the world is against them, their wills, as in Seneca himself, are free; and the "fate" of Othello is Iago. As Mr. Bradley has shown, it is nearly always evil that in Shakespeare brings about the convulsion in the order of things, and in that day when men still believed in diabolical possession and total depravity it is natural that often the evil should be embodied in a particular person. In Desdemona's case the cause might have been neither personal nor evil; it might have been her disregard of her father's wishes and the proprieties of Venetian society, or, again to quote Mr. Bradley, a misunderstanding between herself and the Moor "due to racial differences in physiognomic expression"; but it is—much more

picturesquely and expeditiously for the stage—the tempter, "his Moorship's ancient." In Lear's case or in Gloster's it is not their own folly but the ferocity of their children. In no case does Shakespeare represent men as overwhelmed by anything so vague and neutral as social forces, or as devoured by their own passions alone. It is by other men's passions, other men's deeds; and life is a temptation, a hand-to-hand struggle. Ibsen's Hedda Gabler, on the other hand, and Pinero's Second Mrs. Tanqueray go to rack and ruin of themselves. Out of their hearts—out of the bosom of an indifferent world—are the issues of their lives; and a bustling villain would but be in the way.

As a result of their concrete and dualistic way of thinking and of their relish for intrigue, the Elizabethan playwrights paint their villains many a shade blacker than they find them. The wickedness of Aaron and Iago, of Webster's Flamineo and Bosola, is quite above and beyond the mark, and overtops that in the chronicles and novels whence they came. The public hankers after sound and fury, the dramatist requires a propeller for his play, and both crave contrasts total and acute. Nowhere does this tendency appear so unmistakably as in the handling of what was in the beginning popular and non-dramatic material, the misconception of Machiavelli. The Elizabethan Machiavel is a diabolical figure such as that sketched of the Elizabethan villain above, and, besides, one who has at his beck and call the qualities of the lion and the fox, violence and craft, who loves himself alone and uses other men "as nails to drive out one another," hates God, jeers at his conscience, and revels and riots in lust, dissimulation, blasphemy, and murder. Thus the Florentine statesman became a mythical figure, a devil-let-loose like Judas, and was fabled to have perished like him, blaspheming and despairing, by his own hand. On the stage he was a standing type of the villain, as the Clown, the Fool, or the Braggart Soldier was of the humorous person, sometimes, as in Marlowe's Barabas and Shakespeare's Aaron, quoting, in more or less garbled form, maxims from the *Principe*, and sometimes, as in Iago, not in explicit terms a Machiavel at all. Indeed, like these other types, he is but old wine in a new bottle, for out of Seneca, along with much else, came into Elizabethan tragedy a character such as Atreus, who

likewise practices villainy wholesale, lies and dissembles, gloats, blasphemes, and pays homage to the powers infernal. Such, even among literary men in Shakespeare's day, is the notion current of the character of the most enlightened political thinker of the age; and no more striking proof of the benighted dualism of the age could be required. Mistaking him for a deliberate enemy of society, they turn him into a ravening beast of prey. And monster of iniquity that he is, he knows it. He canvasses the situation from top to bottom, and stands a villain self-confessed and self-confuted. It is a paradox imbedded in Christian and other religious belief that your devil and your sinner know what they are. Machiavelli, if a sinner, did not know. He and Aretine, who—far more justly—shared his infamy, ignored the claims of the conscience, but they did not flout them or brush them aside; they were far from being atheists; they and their contemporaries such as Cellini and the Borgias kept the innocence and buoyancy of their spirits to the end, and they surprise you in their portraits, as Vernon Lee has remarked, with the nobility of their countenances. There, side by side, are truth and Elizabethan fiction; and, as in the adage, truth is stranger.

Of Machiavels there is a great number on the Elizabethan stage, from Marlowe's Jew of Malta on. Shakespeare has three—Aaron, Richard the Third, and Iago. At the hellhound Aaron, though there are many who disdain to account him Shakespeare's, we will take a look because he embodies and illustrates the spirit of Shakespeare and his age. With his Moor the poet out-Marlowes Marlowe with his Jew. He is of a burlier strain of villainy, and he makes up in bluster and jocular ferocity whatever he lacks in fawning and fraud. His atheism is more emphatic and mutinous than that of Barabas. Like him he is repeatedly called a devil, but because of his color, not his race, for it was an old superstition, not then extinct, that the Devil when he appeared took the form of a Moor, while the Jews (ye are of your father, the Devil!) were held to be devils born. But by suffering his unholy light to shine Aaron earns the title for himself, and he carries it with obstreperous complacence. He ha-ha's when he stabs a man, and roars and curses when he is foiled; he brags of the "evils he has done," wishes at the end that he might

do ten thousand more, and if one good deed in all his life he did he does repent it from his very soul. Fee, faw, fum! A completer product there could not be of that dualistic way of thinking which conceived (as we, for that matter, instinctively do still) of cold and darkness, not as negative but as opposed and antagonistic to heat and light, told the tale of the mortal combat between the gods of summer and of winter, and gave birth to such conceptions as hell and heaven, Antichrist, devil, devil's mass, and devil's litany. This is but man turned upside down, or wrong side out, and thrust beyond the pale of the species. But the criminal is as much a man as you or I, and in the biological scale merges somewhat more imperceptibly with you and me than man himself merges with the beast.

Richard Crookback, who is Shakespeare's beyond a cavil, is cast in Aaron's mold. He is one, as Richmond says to his soldiers, who hath ever been God's enemy. Fitted out with teeth at his birth like the offspring of the incubus (or devil) known to folklore, hunchbacked, lame, unutterably hideous, he resolves, quite summarily, after a fashion not warranted even by the exigencies of "exposition," that since he cannot be a lover he will be a villain—

> I am determined to prove a villain
> And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

Or as he puts it, more roundly, in *Henry VI, Part III*,

> since the heavens have shaped my body so
> Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.

"I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear," he in this passage exclaims again to the same effect as in the later play—

> And if King Edward be as true and just
> As I am subtle, false, and treacherous—

and in neither passage is there an inkling of irony. A queer creature, this, to have the gift of seeing himself as ithers see him, both body and soul. As a matter of fact, just as the criminal fails to realize his depravity, so the cripple, as Dr. Brandes remarks, often fails to realize his deformity. At either point Richard is but the voice of poet and people. In accord with their sentiments he looks upon his deformity as putting him beyond the verge of all that is human, as setting the seal on his depravity instead of explaining and extenuating

it. Such was the temper of Shakespeare's time. No physiological psychology enters into the question; Richard, in his avowals above, cheerfully takes the responsibility on himself. Let hell complete the work of heaven! And it does. He is charged to the muzzle with Machiavellian principles of egoism, promptitude and resolution, violence and fraud.[1] He boasts and gloats like other Machiavels, fawns upon and fondles the minions of his villainy, and plays the hypocrite as egregiously as Barabas. When Buckingham brings to him the Mayor and Aldermen with the offer of the crown, the ruffian buffoon appears to them in a gallery, prayerbook in hand, between two bishops, and "plays the maid's part, still answers nay and takes it." A character of such finesse, he was recently taken by a great student of criminology to be the highest example of the criminal player of a *coup d'état!* A character of such unmitigated ferocity, overriding, espousing, butchering whom he will, he was recently taken by two criminologists and the Head of the Danish Police to be the type of a kingly cripple struggling with a harsh and pitiless environment. If anything, the environment struggles with him.

On the eve of battle, however, Richard is no longer himself, the brisk Machiavel of old. Though it is crudely and ambiguously represented, he experiences something like remorse. The Machiavel, monstrous and grotesque as he was, had the grace, in the person of Aaron, for instance, to disdain the sentimentality of a deathbed repentance. In him, of course, this is the bravado or "reprobate mind" of the enemy of God: in the criminal it is the unobtrusive, unconscious symptom of "moral atrophy." Richard dreams that the souls of all that he had murdered come to his tent, and "every one did threat to-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard." Once Queen Anne complains that as she lay by his side with his timorous dreams she still was waked. "Their sleep is disturbed by no uneasy dreams," says Dr. Wey, of Elmira, concerning the criminals he has observed, and investigators from Gall to Lombroso agree with him that in criminals signs of repentance, remorse, or despair are seldom to be detected. Among four hundred murderers Bruce Thompson found signs of remorse in but three, and of seven

[1] As on p. 5; cf. Professor E. S. Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama.*

hundred criminals Ferri found only 3.4 per cent who showed signs of repentance or who appeared at all moved in recounting their misdeeds. If criminals have regrets, it is, as with Aaron (though hardly to the tune of his devil's litany), because they have not committed more crimes or because they have let themselves be caught. Very simply, they are sorry not for the good they may have done but for the pleasure and profit they have missed. Only those betray acute sorrow and real remorse, says Despine, who have committed the criminal act under the influence of a violent passion or by accident; only those repent, quite logically, who are endowed with the moral capacity; and in neither class is Richard. These ghosts of his, indeed, are not mere voices of conscience but the fierce old-fashioned sort; when they rise the lights burn blue, and—primitively and superstitiously—they appear at the same time to another, Richmond, the victor of the morrow. Yet from an historical point of view, the superstition of the appearance of the ghost of the murdered to the murderer is the beginning and basis of the spiritual phenomenon we call remorse; even in Shakespeare's day it meant not supernatural punishment and nemesis alone; and quite out of keeping with his Machiavellian scoffings at conscience before and after, Richard takes the ghostly words to heart.

What prompted the poet here was his morality. After the crime or in the clutches of death many of his criminals have qualms of some sort or other. In part it is a story-telling device, old but ever new, whereby the slayer, villain or hero, furnishes a good situation lamenting his fallen foe, as does the Percy in the old ballad, or Aeneas when he bewails Lausus, hard as he had tried to kill him. But the pith of the matter is that Shakespeare cleaves to the conscience of the Elizabethan age. From of old, among Christians as among pagans, in the Hebrew prophets as in the Vedas, there has prevailed the notion that, as Westermarck puts it, in sin itself there is a power which must destroy the sinner, and when so late as the nineteenth century the Calvinist Chalmers speaks of "the inherent misery of the evil affections," the notion merely survives in philosophic form. Hence innumerable tales of bad men making a bad end; hence the Furies or Erinnyes; hence, in the long run, Dante's hell, where each crime carries its own sting and the homicides stand

boiling up to the brows in blood. In all this there is involved nothing like sorrow for the sin itself, compunction, or repentance. Cardinal Beaufort, in the *Second Part of Henry VI*, dies an unrelenting murderer; yet he has "the horrors," as we say, and so bad a death, Warwick moralizes, argues a monstrous life. And the Queen in *Cymbeline*, failing of her evil ends,

> Grew shameless-desperate; open'd, in despite
> Of heaven and men, her purposes; repented
> The evils she hatch'd were not effected; so
> Despairing died.

The devils themselves believe and tremble! Much more a case of conscience is Richard's, and his example perhaps (though from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century there is many another), as well as their Kantian philosophy of morality, prompted Schiller and Coleridge, in Franz Moor and Osorio, to perpetrate what Professor F. C. Sharp calls in the latter case a "monstrosity, sorrow for a misspent life, horror of crime and self-loathing, made to arise in a nature that possesses neither sympathy nor honor nor antipathy to treachery." Either form of internal disturbance, Richard's or the Queen's, is not to be found in the incorrigible criminal; the Queen's at least, we may hope, is, except among madmen, not to be found at all.

Of unrepentant horror there is more in Shakespeare than has ordinarily been observed. *Macbeth* is commonly spoken of as a tragedy of remorse, and in hero and heroine as criminals *par passion* or *par occasion* (which, we need not determine) remorse would not have been out of place. But remorse they have none. Professor Bradley, following Campbell, grants as much in the case of Lady Macbeth, but although he recognizes that at its face value the language of Macbeth does not bear him out in this opinion, he holds that the inner being of the thane and king is convulsed by conscience. Professor Sharp, on the other hand, in his interesting book contends that in both hero and heroine there is no remorse, but fear, "not sorrow for sin, but fear of the dagger and the poisoned cup." Such feelings and considerations play a large part no doubt in both characters, but as Mr. Bradley makes plain, surely neither is delivered over to the bare fear of detection and punishment. Macbeth and

Lady Macbeth have a horror of murder and of blood, and in such horror, after the crime, they live and perish. Even in horror of the crime they perpetrate it. When the thought first comes to Macbeth it is a "horrid image," which sets his hair on end and blinds him to the world about him; it seems to him a "horrid deed" as he ponders it; and as he stealthily takes his way "withered Murder towards his design moves like a ghost." Immediately afterward, his hands are a sorry sight, and he is afraid to think what he has done. Look on it he dare not. And all that follows is but nemesis—the blood that will not wash out of his own or his Lady's memory, the Amen which sticks in his throat, the voices that bid him sleep no more, the visitation of the ghost, the sleep-walking and "the terrible dreams that shake us nightly," the "scorpions" in his mind, the "torment" and "restless ecstasy." This is no sheer dread of detection or punishment; neither is it anything recognizable as repentance or remorse; it is rather a bodying-forth of unearthly fears and more than mortal misery. It is in the form of fear, say Lippert and Westermarck, that conscience appears among the simpler peoples. Orestes and other impious ones, hated by the gods and haunted by the Eumenides, do not humble themselves but run mad. All of us, I surmise, have at least some vague and unaccountable notion of hardened and impenitent criminals as miserable and glum. "In that gloomy brow," whispers the heroine in melodrama, "is written a volume of villainy." And they that are good shall be happy, forsooth! The fact is that oftener criminals are contented, cheerful bodies. After the crime they go on a lark, buy new clothes, and have their photographs taken. Instead of hearing voices, like the Scottish thane and the English king, they are likely, after a murder, to fall asleep on the spot, like Pózdnyshef in the *Kreutzer Sonata*, or at least, like Benvenuto Cellini, to sleep the better afterward. They have done their work, they have had their way.

Much of this effect of "the horrors" is produced by what is purely technical: like most Elizabethan and Shakespearean characters, Macbeth comments on his feelings instead of uttering them. He dwells on the misery and hideousness of his situation rather than on his own purposes and the end in view. As he approaches the royal chamber, it is a dagger that he sees before him, not

the crown. He dwells on the circumstances and consequences of the crime, moreover — punishment, public indignation, the deep damnation of violating the laws of hospitality and of killing a king so virtuous and meek. He is preoccupied with all the scruples of pit and poet. Likewise he has a curious eye, as critics have remarked, for what poetically befits the occasion, and cries to the earth not to hear his steps for fear the very stones prate of his whereabouts— and so betray him?—and so "take the present horror from the time which now suits with it." Thus King John, in the midst of his bloody instructions to Hubert, expresses a wish, as Professor Raleigh observes, for the fitting stage effects—darkness, the churchyard, and the sound of the passing-bell. Lady Macbeth is more business-like while she is strengthening her husband's feeble knees, but even she appeals to his pride, as Professor Firkins says, rather than to his ambition, and in her solitary meditations she flies wide the mark. Mr. Sharp sees in her invocation "come you spirits that tend on mortal thoughts" signs that she had taken to her husband's sentimentalizing ways. Instead of praying to be unsexed and filled from crown to toe top-full of direst cruelty, she might more appropriately be longing and scheming for the "golden round" of Scotland, "burning," as Holinshed says, "with unquenchable desire to bear the name of queen." But by her sentimentality, if for the moment we must call it that, Lady Macbeth came honestly enough. The kings and queens in the early histories, as *King John*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, measure and analyze their woes and vie with each other endlessly in their lamentations, though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered. And in so late a play as *Antony and Cleopatra* the hero, when his star is setting, cries, dropping into a Hebraism which the commentators naïvely suspect him to have caught from the lips of King Herod or picked up in the streets of Jerusalem,

> O that I were
> Upon the hill of Basan, to outroar
> The horned herd.

Teach me, he beseeches, and such a lesson the Elizabethan heroes are forever beseeching to be taught, though they know it but too well already:

Teach me,
Alcides, thou my ancestor, thy rage.
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon.

He has in mind the Hercules of Seneca, and it is from Seneca, in large measure, that this vein of self-conscious comment and declamation is derived. With her husband Lady Macbeth's invocation has nothing in the world to do. There is many another like it—Othello's invocation to black vengeance in the hollow hell, Iago's climactic outcry to hell and night, and those speeches which are the source of all of these, the fire-eyed invocations and apostrophes to the infernal powers of Seneca's Medea and Atreus. The psychology is of the simplest: your hero prays to God, and your villain prays, with the Jews and heathen, to the Devil!

Macbeth and his Lady stop to consider what sort of figure they are cutting, therefore, mainly because they have not been taught to speak realistically, to the point. It is a matter of dramatic technique not as yet entirely differentiated from the epical and the lyrical. And as we have seen, it is a matter of morals—the way of the transgressor is hard. The result is unmistakable damage to the character. Macbeth does the deed forgetful of his purpose, mindful only of his sin. He kills the king in horror: you wonder, and a few candid critics have wondered, how he manages to kill him at all. Every man in order to be able to do a thing, says Tolstoi, whose sense of sin seldom overrides his sense of fact, has to consider it important and good. As in the days when there was no king in Israel, every man does, and always will do, that which is right in his own eyes. And the sinner sins nothing loath. "In the joy of the actors lies the sense of any action. *That* is the explanation, that the excuse." How shallow and obsequious of us to bow to Shakespeare and almost all the choice and master spirits in drama and fiction up to the present age, in their opinion that though there is joy in our hearts when we engage in works of justice and mercy there is no joy in the heart of the miser as he hoards or in the heart of the murderer as he kills. Do we do good because we love it and do they do evil because they hate it? We at least know better. Yet even Tolstoi, his sense of fact for the moment quite overridden by this superstitious notion of sin, lets Nikita, in *The Power*

of Darkness, abhor the hideousness of his crimes as he commits them as deeply as does Macbeth. "But before Nikita was led into so dire a situation," says Stevenson, "he must have been tempted, and temptations are beautiful."

It is a frank way generally that wicked folk in Shakespeare have of talking or thinking about themselves and their doings. Lady Macbeth prays to be filled with cruelty and have her milk turned to gall; Macbeth calls his deed treason and murder and bewails his hangman's hands; and all the criminals, from Aaron to Iachimo, plead guilty by word or deed, as criminals never do. This is further proof, which M. Jusserand almost alone among critics has appreciated, of the failure completely to evolve the dramatic form. No Elizabethan dramatist—no dramatist after all before the middle of the nineteenth century—quite realized that a character is not one who tells his story but acts it, and speaks, not for audience or dramatist, but only for himself. In their dramaturgy, as in their stage-management, they used signs and placards. Don John and Borachio call themselves villain, and the puritanical Angelo calls his passion lust, just as in earlier times the devils in the miracle-plays bawl out to their simple-minded audience in the market-place or on the green that they are "full of gret envy, of wrathe, and wycked hate"; or, for that matter, as did Seneca's truculent heroes and heroines more than a thousand years before. In all times, and long after the days of Steele and Sheridan, the purposes of satire have been accommodated by an unreasonable readiness in quack and pettifogger, rakehell and Delilah, through soliloquy or confidential conversation, to expose themselves; and all that keeps the good characters—and it does not quite keep them—from making their exhibit in turn, is, as they themselves immodestly remark, their modesty. So says the marvel of Elizabethan art, Othello, as well as the eighteenth-century prigs and prudes; and many an Elizabethan hero like Shakespeare's Brutus and many a heroine like Imogen are spoiled for us a bit by their complacence. Artistic reticence such as ours, moreover, is, as I have remarked elsewhere,[1] out of harmony with the system of dramaturgy in Shakespeare's time, founded on the

[1] Cf. an article of mine on "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," in *Modern Philology*, April, 1910, pp. 561–62, 567–68; and one on Shylock in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1911, pp. 266–67.

culture of the time. Whom to hate and whom to admire the Elizabethan audience was always told and taught, for explicitness' sake, at the beginning; and in that day the dramatist would not have dared to risk the puzzling of men's wits as only an Ibsen dared—and puzzled them—at the close of the century just gone by, by practicing on them any notions of relativity. But cowards like Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well* or Bessus in Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* confess their cowardice at the end, when they no longer can be serving the needs of information, and on the whole we may be sure that artists like Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher, not to mention Sheridan or Schiller, if they had had notions of relativity to express, would have managed, for all the refractoriness of their medium, if not to express them, at least not to set them at naught. Even when she is not speaking of herself, Lady Macbeth subdues language to her thought no more than when she is, and she draws up an abstract of her husband's character as roundly as if it were an indictment:

> Thou wouldst be great,
> Art not without ambition, but without
> The illness should attend it; what thou wouldst highly,
> That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false
> And yet wouldst wrongly win.

Save one, the words might have been spoken by Saint Peter at the gate.[1]

The truth is, the standard of morality is a rigid one, and Shakespeare makes his criminals conform to it even in their nonconformity. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth call it a murder because it is a murder, because public and poet could see it in no other light. Only in a

[1] This failure of the dramatist to keep the point of view of the character is as unmistakable in characters of mingled nature as in the Machiavels. "*Pitiful*," cries Tamora, "I know not what it means;" just as Cassius says, in soliloquy,

> Well, Brutus, thou art *noble;* yet I see,
> Thy *honourable* metal may be wrought
> From that it is dispos'd;

and proceeds to show that he is the one to work it. His love for Desdemona Iago calls lust, just as the Puritan Angelo uses the word in speaking of his love for the saintly Isabella, and that fairly decent chap Valerio, in *The Coxcomb*, in speaking of his love for the pure-minded and beautiful Viola. In retrospect and remorse, such a word might be in place, but thus in the tide of passion, never. Temptations are not hideous but beautiful, and no man, good or bad, can find it in his heart deliberately to besmirch his dearest desires. Men act from inclination, and they do not incline to what they hate.

comic light could poet or public then look on a criminal's fair-speaking, as in those very explicit instances where the words "convey" and "purchase" are used for "steal," or where Shakespeare's and Dekker's whores and bawds indignantly disdain to answer to such names. Thus before the nineteenth century only the slighter forms of criminality got treated with any measure of realism. The giddy comic muse ventured far nearer to fact than the tragic, but she shied away from murder. And another truth is, that the poet, like others of his day and after, does not realize the spontaneousness, the unconsciousness of sin. Lying and hypocrisy come to a man naturally, but in Shakespeare or in Molière, in Corneille, Steele, or Sheridan, no man, however hardened, ever slips into either. The Lying Lover is virginally aware that he is a liar; Tartuffe both is and intends to be a fraud. So Richard and Macbeth are the murderers they intend or hesitate to be. Men of principle, these, not of impulse.

It is in quite another vein that your incorrigible criminal talks—for as such for the moment Macbeth and his Lady may be treated along with the Machiavels, since their frankness of speech, like his horror, with which as criminals they might conceivably be affected after the murder, appears before. He has no mind to remorse, we have seen, and he has none to plain-speaking as well. He has what Shakespeare has not granted him, his own natural point of view, and is not consciously the antipode of all morality. Fingersmith is his word for thief, *apaier* for assassinate. Rouet, stepping to the scaffold where he was to suffer for robbery and murder, muttered, "Cause a man to suffer death for such a trifle!" And Dombey, writing after his first murder, said that he hoped that he should be pardoned this bit of childishness. Often, indeed, criminals go so far as to express satisfaction with their conduct, like Lemaire, who avowed that he did not repent of anything except that he had not killed them all (both father and son). Avinian, another murderer, begged as a favor that he might be buried with Lemaire, "who spoke so well," and, he himself, in emulation, declared on the scaffold, like a martyr, that it was "the truth" that had brought him to it. "Ivan the Terrible thought himself the deputy of the Most High." When asked by Lombroso whether he had ever killed anyone, a certain Number 377 retorted, "I am not a butcher"; but when he was

reminded of the fact that he had got away with plenty of pocket-books, he exclaimed, "Ah yes! but what a fine thing to do!" "Glad of it"—"I'd do it again"—cries the daily murderer in the newspaper to the bystanders or the police, and (unless this be bravado) if he change his mind it will be only after he has been wrought upon in prison by the fear of death. Far from evincing Shakespearean remorse, the murderer is inclined, according to the criminologists, to scorn his victim like a savage with the dripping scalp at his belt, and rightly Browning lets Ottima and Dostoieffsky lets Raskolnikoff hate their victim after the crime more than before it. Such is the nature of those souls who, according to ancient and modern doctrine, "have the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another"; or who, according to a philosophy which takes no counsel of psychology and anthropology, are not blind, even the most consummate villain of them, to the transcendental significance of the moral law![1]

Of Elizabethan Machiavels and villains the greatest is Iago, the culmination of the development through Aaron and Richard III.[2] He professes those tenets common to the Elizabethan Machiavel and Machiavelli himself; as egoism, the dissimulation of the virtues because of their usefulness, and the glorification of the "will," or *virtù*. Besides, he has all the ways of the Elizabethan Machiavel

[1] Whereas Shakespearean and Elizabethan villains big and little call themselves such, and Byron writes:

> He knew himself a villain, and he deemed
> The rest no better than the thing he seemed;

James Runciman, provoked by the above couplet, wrote, not many years ago, an essay on *Scoundrels* to show that all whom he knew of considered themselves estimable men.

[2] I am aware that both Professor Bradley and Professor E. S. Meyer do not consider Iago to be a Machiavel: Mr. Bradley, on account of his not avowing atheism; Mr. Meyer, on account of his betraying no direct knowledge of the *Principe*. I cannot here undertake to dispute the point, but below I show reason for holding Iago to be atheistical in spirit, and I might insist not only on the tenets mentioned in the paragraph above but on a Machiavellian maxim of Iago's such as that, questioned by Mr. Meyer, in the last line of Act II. In all my writing on Elizabethan subjects, moreover (cf. my *John Webster*, pp. 98, 200–201) I have deliberately and uniformly used the word Machiavel in a sense larger than that which signifies merely an explicit connection with the name, personality, or precepts (genuine or garbled) of the great Italian, being concerned rather with the type of character which springs into being with Marlowe's Barabas and Guise, in whom the connection with Machiavelli, or Elizabethan notions of him, is explicit, and culminates in Iago, in whom such a connection is at least not obscured. That development and culmination is unmistakable: Iago is a Machiavel whether labeled as such or not.

on the stage: his frank delight in intrigue and avowal of evil—of dissimulation, lust, and murder—the league with hell, the manipulation of the tool-villain, Roderigo, for the rough and risky work, like Richard's Buckingham or Barabas' Ithamore, honest and merry manners with the world, and threats and blood-curdling malice in his speeches to the tool-villain and in his soliloquies and asides. The essential difference between him and the earlier representatives of the type lies in the subtlety of the outlines. The violence of Richard and Aaron is here dissembled: to look at him this Machiavel is no lion but all fox. There is none of Aaron's bluster, and yet there is none of Richard's slime. Iago fumbles no prayer-book, keeps no company with bishops, admits indeed that he is but a man among men, and, speaking of Roderigo, confesses that

> with the little godliness I have
> I did full hard forbear him.

It is the franker manner of Richard, his bluffness and soldierly cynicism, that Iago more especially affects, modified and seasoned with bonhommie. There is almost as much human nature in him as stage villainy and a highly individual tone as well.

Iago is the great devil of the seventeenth century as Goethe's Mephistopheles is of the nineteenth. The latter, old legendary matter put aside, is after all not a fiend, not the antipode of morality or the enemy of the soul of man, but his indispensable companion through the world, and he reflects an age when the steep barriers between the "spiritual" and the "carnal," "good" and "evil," faith and unbelief, were breaking down, and the soul of goodness in things evil was being laid bare. *Votre philosophie dirigera votre art!*

Taine's words are not truer of art than of criticism. Mr. Bradley's transcendentalism detects in Iago signs of a "resistance" to his evil desires, in the spirit, no doubt, of Kant's dictum that there is no man so depraved as not to feel within him the "resistance" of the moral law, or categorical imperative. Mr. Sharp's psychology makes of Iago an instinctive criminal, or "moral imbecile." In such an undertaking, science, without the light of history, is as futile as philosophy. It is quite true that the Elizabethan Machiavel in general and Iago in particular embody elements of sound

criminal psychology: the gloating, the remorselessness, the pride and thoroughgoing egoism, the pleasure in intrigue, may be found in the instinctive criminals whose memory is embalmed in Ferri and Lombroso. But in the drama much of this is the highly colored product of the popular consciousness and myth-making power, something anti-human; in the page of science it is the work of nature itself. Iago's unerring moral judgment, to take up a single detail, whether concerning others, such as Othello, Cassio, and Desdemona, or himself, and his correct and conventional use of the terms "good," "noble," and "evil" Mr. Sharp considers evidence that Shakespeare was here attempting to portray a "clear-seeing instinctive criminal," somewhat like Lacenaire, I suppose. No doubt he succeeded, for it was the obvious thing to do and all tragedy back to Seneca had done it before him. But in life Lacenaires are uncommon; Lacenaire himself did not disdain euphemism and self-exoneration, as in his poems, and when, to quote Mr. Sharp himself, he said to his friend Avril, "We ought to go into business [*industrie*] together"; and I question if there be anyone who, for want of moral sensibility, would long "apply to his own conduct the adjectives by which the race express their loathings." Much less would the incorrigible criminal, whose *amour propre* is immense, apply them to himself with all the rigor of the Recording Angel. Planted at the very pole of our moral world, Iago is nevertheless delineated without regard to latitude, so to speak, as on Mercator's projection. The meridians of his thought run straight and undeflected—are identical with our own.

What is more, Iago, like Aaron and Richard, loves evil for its own sake, just as, for that matter, Shakespeare's heroes, when they happen to mention it, love virtue. Only a prig does right merely for the love of virtue; nobody, not even a prig, would do wrong for the love of sin. Naturally and normally we do what we do, not for the name of it, whatever that be, but for the thing itself, and in order that we may reach our ends and give our passions scope. It is in the spirit of an older psychology that Macaulay says, "It may well be conceived that at such a time such a nature as that of Marlborough would riot in the very luxury of baseness"; or that we ourselves so readily resort to that phrase of the vernacular "the pure love of cussedness" to describe the motive of some scurvy

trick. It is in the spirit of a newer and sounder psychology that Stevenson says, speaking of fame as the apparent motive of heroic deeds: "The fact is, fame may be a forethought or an afterthought, but it is too *abstract* an idea to move people greatly in moments of swift and momentous decision." From these abstract and consciously moral and ulterior considerations, whereby each motive, foul or fair, passes naked before the inner judgment seat, the quite modern novel and drama have turned away, until in Hardy and the great Frenchmen and Russians we have today a psychology of the unsophisticated impulses, and characters do what they do, like Stevenson's English admirals, not for fame or infamy, or good or evil, but because the thing itself delights them. Here nothing is left of that old mythological notion, lingering on in Shakespeare and the popular psychology, which conceives of men as if, like angels and devils, all were mustered in one of two camps, the good or the wicked, and fought out their lives under its banner. And Iago is in love with evil too relentlessly, touched with no tenderness for man, child, bird, or beast, and with no odds and ends of sentiment or virtue clinging to him. His wickedness is as simple and total as that of an ogre. Whereas of the criminal character it is as true as of the normal, that it is not to be made, as Mr. Bernard Shaw says Mr. Barrie's characters are made, and normal characters in Shakespeare are not made, by mere "matching of materials." One repulsive quality does not mean all repulsive qualities, any more than one endearing quality means all endearing qualities. One of the widespread superstitions, says Tolstoi, is that every man has special, definite qualities of his own, or as Pope and others have put it, a ruling passion. That isn't like him, we say when we hear of a scheming person's doing something which seems disinterested; and commonly our wits, and even those of the great biographers, do not rest, so far do they prefer symmetry and consistency to the truth, until they have found a way to make it like him. To keep her in countenance, a cardinal virtue or a deadly sin still requires, to our mediaeval thinking, the company of all the others of the seven.

In the faith that Shakespeare is nature, Iago and Othello have been seized upon by criminologists such as Professor Kohler of Berlin and Lombroso himself as an example of the *coppia delinquente.*

But the pair nowise resemble the couples cited nor do they fit the definition: a pervert and a weakling corrupted by him, a bad man and one of mediocre intelligence and weak moral sense plunged by him into crime, an incorrigible criminal and an occasional criminal made his slave and tool. The latter forgets everything and everybody else, Lombroso continues, for his thought is polarized in the desires and caprices of one person, as are those of the hypnotized in the will of the hypnotist. But a weakling Othello is not, least of all a criminal, the "noble" Othello "whom our full senate calls all in all sufficient." Such, entirely, is the impression of his character up to the moment when he falls into Iago's toils. Nor is he the subject of any unconscious suggestion. They are not friends as Lombroso declares them to be, and there is no tie or influence on which Iago can count when he begins. The "suggestion" is no more than conscious cunning, and it gains admission into Othello's mind not mysteriously, but only through Iago's reputation for shrewdness and honesty. As always in Shakespeare, the game is in the open. Othello is not even inclined by nature to the passions which Iago arouses in him: "not easily jealous," he and Desdemona say at the beginning of the temptation, and he says it again at the end. He is like Macbeth, one driven to a crime for which he has a horror, and the cause of his fall lies almost wholly without him. It is the convention of the calumniator believed, as old as the story of Potiphar's wife, as old as fairy-tale or story. Convention—both in Shakespeare and in the drama of three centuries after him—we must never for a moment forget. Admiration has been expressed for Iago's cleverness in keeping the secret of his malice and depravity from Othello, his own wife, and for "four times seven years" from all the world, and contempt has been expressed for Emilia's stupidity; but by the same process of reasoning she has discernment and common-sense far beyond the capacity of her master in that she repudiates the slander and the slanderer on the spot. The truth—the convention—is: the slanderer must be believed that there may be a story; the slanderer must be repudiated that the story may end. In English plays before the time of Messrs. Jones and Pinero, short of the last scene of the last act anybody could be made to believe anything.

Still another vagary of the criminologists is that of finding in Shakespeare's treatment of the criminal traces of scientific determinism. The incorrigible criminal, it is commonly believed, is born so, is called indeed the *delinquente nato;* and even those criminologists who do not adhere to such opinions regard the criminal as irresponsible, or almost wholly so, being the product of disease and degeneration, heredity and environment. Above we have shown how little this point of view applies to Richard; how utterly foreign it is to Shakespearean and Elizabethan ways of thinking I have shown at length elsewhere.[1] The bad blood in a fellow's veins and the bad company he had had to keep were then no extenuating circumstances. Jewish blood, Moorish blood, bastardy, ugliness, and poverty are the heritage of Elizabethan and Shakespearean villains, and they are but badges of infamy and shame. For the villains, moreover, there is no access to that refuge provided for the erring hero, the decree of Fate or Fortune. Aaron, Richard, and Iago, unlike Romeo or Othello, acknowledge none such, and their sins are on their own heads. They detect their own motives, acknowledge them to be evil, and follow them—uncoerced, unhindered—none the less. All that hinders them is without them, and in their hands they "hold the twists of life." How differently move the creatures of Balzac, who, like Hulot, stagger and even cry out under the tyrannous weight of their passions, or of Zola or Dostoieffsky, who are seized by blind impulses like those of beasts of prey; or if it be objected that these are in the novel, those of Ibsen or Hervieu, who breathe the heavy air about them, creep through the tangle, and are caught in it they know not how or why. For this is another world than that revealed by earlier, explicit art, where the will is free and vision unclouded, and where, openly as on the plains of Troy, the game of life and death is played by man and man, God, Fate or Fortune, and the Devil. There all are free—all are at war.

Concerning the religion of his villains Shakespeare is comparatively silent. Prudence and practical sense as an actor-sharer may have been the reason, or simply his English inclination to let sleeping dogs lie. The world was full of villainous fanatics in his time, but he let them be, and his clergymen are such hardly more than in

[1] Cf. my article on Shylock cited above, pp. 269–71.

name. Of his Machiavels, Aaron the "misbelieving Moor," evidently an atheist, is less loudly so than Eleazar in *Lust's Dominion;* Richard III scoffs at prayer and holy thoughts, but after his dream prays for the moment to God and Jesus; Iago has not a word to say on the subject, though he repeatedly identifies himself with the devils and their cause, appeals to the Divinity of hell, declares the will alone supreme, and in life and in the teeth of death keeps the haughty, contumacious tone of the enemy of God.[1] And the illegitimate Edmund, like Eleazar and the hero of Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy,* appeals to nature as his goddess. With this bias are conceived Shakespeare's villains generally. If they approach God they do it like the King in *Hamlet,* in hypocrisy or remorse. For them is reserved the stigma of skepticism: it is Edmund and Iago who pooh-pooh Providence and the stars. Quite so Don Juan, according to Sganarelle, does not believe in God, not even in the *loupgarou.* This conception of the criminal as an atheist, that is God's enemy, or as a skeptic, lingers on popularly, of course, today, and in literature has died a hard death. Even Schiller made a skeptic of Franz Moor, and few writers have, like Stevenson in his portraits of cutthroat Calvinistic uncles, seen the expediency of making their criminals the contrary. That Browning's villains should be believers appeals to Mr. Chesterton because it is wholesome doctrine (which would have startled a bit the Elizabethans), but it appealed to Browning himself no doubt because it is psychological truth. Among two hundred assassins Ferri found not one avowed freethinker. Of five hundred criminals, according to Lombroso, 71 per cent attend church, as compared to 70 per cent of ordinary people. Among 28,531 admissions to three metropolitan prisons, observes Rev. J. W. Horsley, only fifty-seven described themselves as atheists, and some of these were Mohammedans and Chinese. Thieves have masses said for luck; *chaque voleur a sa devotion* runs the proverb. When Lavengro offers to buy a Bible for the old apple-woman of London Bridge, "No, dear, no," she replies, "you are poor, and

[1] The type of the Machiavel, enemy of God, is preserved, in nobler form, even at the end. Ordinarily Machiavels die cursing and blaspheming. Iago says, "From this time forth I never will speak word." "What," rejoins Lodovico, "not to *pray?*" and that is the point intended. Generally the bad men in Shakespeare who are not Machiavels, as Edmund, have at the end a change of heart.

may soon want the money; but if you can take one conveniently on the sly, you know—." Marc—, a young Neapolitan, who had killed his father, avowed to Lombroso that he had prayed to Our Lady of the Chain for the strength necessary for the undertaking. "Oh, if God would have pity on us," wrote to her accomplice, according to Mr. Havelock Ellis, a woman who was poisoning her husband, "how I would bless him! When he complains, I thank God in my heart." And the accomplice answers, "I will pray to heaven to aid us." "God has sent him," whispers Kipling's Pambé Serang as he hears the voice of his victim; "now I can die," he murmurs with a sigh of relief as he sinks to his pillow after having driven the knife home. Their attitude is not that of Lady Macbeth or Iago invoking the powers of darkness, but more nearly that of the simpler people with whom criminals are anthropologically akin, Christians and heathens early and modern, for example, who pray and vow to their God before the fight and praise and reward him afterward.

And what of the criminal's ways and manners? In Seneca, Shakespeare, and the Elizabethan drama, when a murder is in hand the sky darkens, lightning flashes, and heaven and earth are in a tumult. I need but mention the eclipses and tempests in *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, the tempest dropping fire and the celestial armies drizzling blood in *Julius Caesar*, or Duncan's horses which ate each other. And if these or the like are not forthcoming, Macbeth or King John, Tamburlaine or Othello is there to cry out for them.

> Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse
> Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe
> Did yawn at alteration.

Here there is much poetry, and there is much in the various invocations of evil, and a little in the unmitigated villain's grotesque gloatings, curses, and threats, though oftener there is bombast and melodrama. Through it all prevails the notion that the moment of sin and the manner of the sinner are something prodigious and beyond the bounds of nature, as indeed they appear to be in the person of many a famous actor who saws the air in old paintings and prints. Even later poetry and fiction have been slower to

return to nature than you would think, and as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries villains became less villainous, their manners became perhaps more sublime. So it is with Byron's and Bulwer's. Hugo makes Javert give a roar as he pounces on poor Valjean, and even Balzac has Vautrin, when taken by the police, undergo a sort of infernal transfiguration. How differently evil is done in Ibsen or Pinero! Before she knows it Iris entangles herself by making use of the check-book; and Mrs. Thaddeus Mortimore destroys her brother-in-law's will "as if it were the most natural thing in the world." How differently—and naturally—it is done in real life I need not undertake to tell.

"Shakespeare is nature," cry the critics still. Though he was widely different, I cannot see that as an artist he was greater, or was truer to nature, than Michelangelo. In all that pertains to the representation of the human form why not let Michelangelo be nature too? Certainly he knew the human body as well as Shakespeare knew the human soul. We marvel at the bold and subtle drawing of hands, limbs, and articulations. But not long ago a great artist pointed out the fact that in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel some of the grand and imposing attitudes are physically impossible. The man is standing, but by the laws of nature he should fall. Such a thing a Whistler or a Sargent, without being so great a painter, is not to be caught doing today. In art he who in standing must take heed lest he fall, is now ridiculous: we assent and conform to fact. Our painters and poets, whose lesser genius is not identified with nature, have studied her, have discovered the fact, and with such result that to them or to us an attitude, word, or accent can no longer be altogether grand or beautiful unless it be in accord with this larger measure of truth. The sixteenth-century painter, who had discovered a lesser measure of truth, was free to treat the human form as a design or pattern and to flare out upon wall or canvas his sublimest impressions and imaginations, imbued with the religious and social prejudices and ideals of his time. The sixteenth-century playwright was free to weave a fantastic plot, pen speeches that are rather a song, a story, or a comment, and body forth impressions and imaginations as sublime and as deeply imbued. Both painter and playwright followed convention,

held up the mirror to man as they knew him, and painted—saints and satyrs, devils and demigods. Neither genius—no genius—is nature's self; either is the soul of the age teeming with audacious shapes and attitudes which nature never knew; and in the case of the playwright it is as true as in the case of the painter that such attitudes, particularly some of those struck by his criminal characters, are impossible, poetically imposing though they be.

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NOTE.—Since the above was in print, I have been delighted to find in Mr. Shaw's *Dramatic Opinions and Essays* the following passage which confirms me in my opinion as could the words of few others in the world. Often I find Mr. Shaw quoted by Shakespeareans not without signs of impatience, but who among them all has like him spoken the truth as he saw it and scorned cant and twaddle? "Shakespeare was a devout believer in the existence of the true villain—the man whose terrible secret is that his fundamental moral impulses are by some freak of nature inverted, so that not only are love, pity, and honor loathsome to him, and the affectation which society imposes on him a constant source of disgust, but cruelty, destruction, and perfidy are his most luxurious passions. This is a totally different phenomenon from the survivals of the ape and tiger in a normal man. The average normal man is covetous, lazy, selfish; but he is not malevolent, nor capable of saying to himself, 'Evil: be thou my good.' He only does wrong as a means to an end, which he always represents to himself as a right end."—Vol. I, 294–95 (New York, 1907). Whether Mr. Shaw himself believes in the existence of the villain he does not make quite clear.

LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE ANGLOIS ET DE TRENTE BRETONS. II

[Bigot MS]

f. 50*v*. Cy commence la bataille de .xxx. Englois et de .xxx. Bretons qui fu faite em Bretaigne, l'an de grace mil trois cent cinquante, le sammedi devant *letare Jherusalem*.

I

Seigneurs, or faites paix, chevaliers et barons,
Bannerois bachelers, et trestoux nobles hons,
Evesques et abbés, gens de religions,
Heraulx, menestreëlx, et tous bons compaignons,
Gentilz hons et bourgois de toutes nacions,
Escoutez cest roumant que dire vous voulons.
L'istoirë en est vraie et lez dix en sont bons;
Comment trentë Englois, hardix comme lions,
Combatirent un jour contre trente Bretons.
f. 51*r*. Et pour ce j'en vueil dire le vray et lez raisons,
Sy s'esbatront souvent gentilz hons et clarjons
De cy jusqu'à cent ans, pour vray, en leurs maisons.

II

Bons dix, quant ilz sunt bons et de bonne centence,
Toux gens de bien, d'onneur, et de grant sapiënce,
Pour ouïr et conter, y maitent leur entente;
Mais faillis et jaloux sy n'y veulent entendre.
Or en wueil commenchier et raison en wueil rendre
De la noble bataille que on a dit dez trente;
Sy pri à celluy Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,
Qu'il ait mercy des armes, quer le plus sunt en cendre.

III

Quant Dagorne fu mort, de cest siecle devié,—
Devant Auray le fort fu finée sa vie—
Dez barons de Bretaingne et de leur compaignie,
Dieu leur face mercy, par sa sainte pitié!
En son vivant avoit pour certain ordonné
Que [les] menues gens (de ville), ceulx qui gaingnent le blé,
Ne seroient dez Englois plus prins ne guerroié.

8, trentë] xxx; 9, trente] xxx; 15, conter] esconter.

[Didot MS]

I

f. 1*r*. Seignours, or escoutez, et trestous bons barons,
Baneretz chevaliers et trestous nobles homs,
Evesques et abbés, gents de religions,
Gentilz homes, bourgois de toutes nacions,
Heraultz, haulx menestriers, et tous bons compaignons;
Escoutez cest romants que dire vous voulons.
L'istoirë en est vroye et les motz en sont bons;
Coment trentë Engloix, hardiz comme lyons,
Combatirent ung jour contre trente Bretons.
Et pour ce le vueil dire: droict le vieult, et raisons;
Si s'en esbateront gentilz homs et clergons
Dedans cent ans encore souvant en leurs maisons.

II

L'en dist quar il est vroy et de belle sentence,
Trestous les gents de bien, d'onneur et sapiënce,
Pour ouÿr et compter, mettent bien leur entente;
Mais faillis et gloutons sy n'y veulent entendre.
Or vous vueil commencier et raison vous vueil rendre
De la noble bataille qui est nommé[e] de trente.
Sy prye celuy Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,
Qu'il ait pitié des ammes, car les corps sont en cendre.

III

f. 1*v*. Quant Dagorne fut mort, de ce siècle devié,—
Devant Aulray le fort fust le baron tué—

Dieu luy face mercy, par sa saincte pitié!
En son vivant avoit pour certen ordonné
Que les menues gents, ceulx qui gaignent le blé,
Ne fussent des Angloix plus prins ne guerroyé.

17, rendre] tendre; 20, ammes] āmes.

[BIGOT MS]

Quant le baron fu mort, tantost fu oublié,
Quer Bomcbourc pour certain est pour luy demouré,
Qui jure Saint Thomas que bien sera vengié;
Puis a la terre prinse et le païs gasté,
Et embla Ploërmel à doeul et à vilté.
Bien faisoit de Bretaingne toute sa voulanté,
Tant qu'avint la journée que Dieu oust ordonné,
Que Beaumaner le bon, qui tant fu alosé,
Messire Jehan le sage, le preux et le sené,
Vers lez Englois alla pour parler à seurté.
Sy vit pener chetifz dont il oust grant pitié;
Ly un estoit en chesp et ly aultre ferré,
Ly aultre ès gresillons et ly ault(e)re en celé,
Deux et deux, trois et trois, chascun sy fu lié.
Comme(nt) vaches et bouefz que l'en maine au marchié.

f. 51*v*. Quant Beaumanoir lez vit, du coeur a soupiré,
Sy a dit à Bomcbourc par moult tres grant fierté:
"Chevaliers d'Engleterre, vous faictes grant pechié
De travaillier lez povres, ceulz qui siement le blé,
Et la char et le vin de quoy avon planté.
Se laboureux n'estoient, je vous dy mon pensé,
Lez noblez convendroit travaillier en l'eré
Au flaiel (et) à (la) houette, et souffrir povreté;
Et ce seroit grant paine quant n'est acoustumé.
Paix aient d'or en avant, quer trop l'ont enduré,
Le testament Dagorne est bien tost oublié."
Et Bomcbourc sy respont par moult tres grant fierté:
—"Beaumaner, taisiés-vous, de ce n'y soit (plus) parlé.
Monfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié
De Pontorsum à Nantez, jusquez à Saint Mahé;
Edouart sera roy de France couronné;
Englois auront mestrie, partout auront posté,
Maulgré tous lez Franchois et ceulx de leur costé."
Et Beaumaner respont par grant humilité:

—"Songiés un aultre songe, cetuy est mal songié,
Quer jamais par tel voie n'en auriez demy pié."

31, gasté] gaisté; 32, Ploërmel] Pelmel; 37, alla] allerent; 39, en] un; 40, ès gresillons] egresillons; 42, vaches et bouefz] bouefz et vaches; 55, n'y soit] n'aist.

[Didot MS]

Quant le baron fust mort, tout ce fust oublyé,
Car Brambroc pour certein pour luy est demouré,
Qui jura Sainct Thomas que il sera vengé,
Et ot toute la terre et le païs gasté.
Lors ambla Ploeärmel à dueil et à vilté;
Bien faisoit de Bretaigne toute sa volenté,
Jusques vint la journee que Dieux ot ordonné,
Que Beaumanoir le bon, qui tant fust alosé,
Messire Jehan le saige, le preux et le sené,
Aloit veoir les Angloix et parler à seurté.
Si vit paouvres chetiffz dont il eust grant pitié;
Les ungs estoint ès septs et les aultres ferré,

Deux et deux, trois et trois, ainsin estoint lyés,
Comme vachez et beuffz que l'en maine au marché,
Chascun souffroit grant peine, douleur orphanité.
Quant Beaumanoir les vit, du cueur a souspiré;
A Brambroc sy a dist par grant humilité:
"Chevalier d'Angleterre, vous faictes grant pechié
De travailler le peuple qui laboure le blé;
Et la char et le blé de ceulx avons planté.
Si laboureurs ne fussent, ie vous dy mon pansé,
Les nobles couvendroit travailler en l'aré
Au flayeul, à houette, et souffrir pouvreté;
Ellas! ce seroit peine à qui n'a coustumé.
Paix ayent d'or en avant, assés ont enduré,
Le testament Dagorne n'est myë achivé;
Executour en estes, qu'il soit executé."
Et Brambroc luy a dist par moult tres grant fierté:
f. 2*r*. —"Beaumanoir, taisiez-vous, de ce n'y soit parlé;
Montfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié
De Pontorson à Nantes, jusques à Saint Mahé;
Edouärt sera roy de France couronné;
Angloix auront le haut partout et poësté,
Maulgré tous les Françoys et ceulx de leur costé."
Et Beaumanoir respont, le preux et le sené,
A Brambroc et a dist par moult tres grant fierté:
—"Songés ung aultre songe, car cestuy est songé,
Car jamais par tel voye n'y aurés demy pié."

49, à houette] la houette.

[BIGOT MS]

IV

"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumaner, "sachiez certainement
Que toutes vos gouberges sy ne valent noient:
Ceulx qui le plus en dient, en la fin leur mesprent.
Or le faison, Bomcbourc, s'il vous plaist, sagement;
Combaton nous ensemblez à un ajournement,
Soixante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent;
Adonc verra on bien, pour vray certainement,
Qui aura tort ou droit sans aller plus avant."
—"Sire," ce dit Bomcbourc, "et je le vous fiant."

69. quatre vingt]. iiij. xx.

[Didot MS]

IV

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "saichez certeinement
Que trestous voz goberges n'y valent ung nyënt;
Celuy qui plus en parle, maintes foiz se mesprent.
Or le faesmes, beau sire, si vous plaist, saigement;
Combatons nous ensemble à ung adiournement,—
Sexante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent—
Et lors verra l'on cler adoncques et vrayment,
Qui aura tort ou droit, sans aller plus avant."

V

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu le droitturier,
Vous estes vaillant homme et moult soutiff guerrier;
Venés à la journée sans exoine mander.
L'an dist mainte parole qu'on vouldroit rappeller
Et dist on grants goberges souvant dessus disner;
Si ne me faictes mie, comme à Pierres Angier,
Le vaillant homme noble, le gentil bachelier.
O vous il print journee, ce fust pour batailler;
A Ambissat la ville, comme ie ouÿ compter,
Et là vint au dit lieu, pour sa foy acquiter,
A six vingts esperons, tous faitz d'or et d'acier.
Brambroc, vous deffaillistes, n'y osastes aler;
Cest faict cy est moult grant, vous n'en devés mocquer,
De cy à ung grant temps l'on en vouldra parler."
—"Beaumanoir," dist Brambroc, "pour Dieu laissés ester,
f. 2v. Car je seroy ou champ pour certein le premier;
Avec moy trentë hommes, sans croistre ne besser,
Qui seront tous couvers de bon fer et d'acier.
Ja n'y menroy villain, Dieu me vueillë ayder,
Car le maindre de tous sy sera escuyer,
Portant tunicles d'armes, luy ou son davancier."
Mais Brambroc sy mentist, à celer ne vous quier,
Il meina ung villein avoueltre pautonnier
Qui portoit bien de febves, sur son coul ung sextier;
Le ventre ot plus gros que celuy d'ung coursier.
Brambroc, par grant fierté, ce jour le fist armer;
Par luy cuida la mort de Dagorne venger;
Il devoit tout abatre, le villein losengier.
De Beaumanoir le noble je vous en vueil compter;
A Brambroc sy a dist: "Je vueil de cy aler

70, quatre vingt] iiij. xx.

[BIGOT MS]

V

Ainsi fu la bataille jurée par tel point
Que, sans barast ne fraude, loiaulment le fero[i]nt
Et, d'un costé et d'aultre, toux à cheval sero[i]nt.

f. 52*r*. Sy pri au roy de gloire, qui tout sait et tout voi[n]t,
Qu'il en aïst au droit, quer ce en est le point.

VI

Or ont ils à Pelmel la bataille jurée,
A trente compaingnons, chascun de sa menée.
Puis s'en vint Beaumaner, à la chiere membrée,
Au chasteau Josselin, la nouvelle a comptée,
Le fait et l'ent[r]eprinse, mestier n'y a celée,
De luy et de Bomcbourc comment ell[e] est alée.
Là trouva des barons moult tres grant assemblée;
Chacun la mercy Dieu en out moult merchiée.

VII

—"Seigneurs," dit Beaumaner, "sachiez sans demourance
Qu'entre Bomcbourc et moy avon fait acordance,
A trente compaignons, chacun de grant puissance.
Sy feroit bon choisir qui bien ferroit de lance,
Et de hache et d'espée et de dague pesante.
Sy pry le roy de gloire, le Dieu de sapiënce,
Qu[e] aions l'avantage, ne seron en doubtance.
Asés em parlera on en roiaulme de France
Et par toutes lez terres de cy jusqu' à Plaisance."

VIII

[A] Beaumaner ont dit (lez) nobilles bacheliers;
Et la chevalerie, servans et escuiers,
Diënt à Biaumaner, "Nous (y) yron volentiers
Pour destruire Bomcbourc et toux sez soudoiers.

76, sait] soit; 78, ont] onlt; 82, mestier n'y a celée] maistrey n'y a celée; 85, out] on 86, demourance] doubtance; 88, trente] xxx; 95, bacheliers] barons.

[Didot MS]

A chasteau Jocelin pour mes gents ordrenner."
—"Alés," se dist Brambroc, "auxi je vueil mander;
Par toute la duchié je feré assambler
Touts les nobles Angloix que je pourroy trouver."

VI

Ainsin fust la bataille jurée par tel point,
Et que, sans nulle fraude, loyaulment le feroyent,
Et d'ung costé et d'aultre, touts à cheval seroyent,
Ou trois, ou cinq, ou six, ou touts se ilz vouloint;
Sans election d'armes, ainxin se combatroint,
En guisë et maniere que chascun le vouldroint.
Sy pry au roy de gloire, qui voit et bas et mont,
Qu[e]il aidë au droit, car icy est le poinct.

VII

Or ont à Ploeärmel la bataille jurée
D'eulx combatrë ensemble, à certeine journée,
A trente compaignons, chascun de sa livrée,
Puis s'en vint Beaumanoir, à la chere membrée,
A chasteau Jocelin, la nouvelle a comptée,
Et le faict(e) et la chose comme[nt] elle est alée;
f. 3r. De luy et de Brambroc n'y a chose celée.
Là trouva des barons moult grande l'assamblée;
Chascun la Nostre Dame en eust moult graciée.

VIII

—"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "sachez sans demourance
Qu'entre Brambroch et moy en avons accordance
De nous combattre ensemble, sans nulle deffaillance,
A trente compaignons, chascun de grant puissance.
Si auroit bon mestier choisir qui fiert de lance
Et de bon branc d'acier, car la chose est grande;
Et si Jhesucrist donne par sa saincte puissance
Que l'avantaige ayons, ne soyez en doubtance,
Moult en sera parlé par le royaulme de France
Et par tout le païs qui tient son aliance."

IX

Or vont à Beaumanoir les nobles bacheliers
Et la chevalerie, servants et escuyers,
Et dyënt, "Noble sire, nous irons volentiers
Pour destruire Brambroch, luy et ses souldoyers;

110, ou cinq, ou six] ou. v. ou. vj.

[BIGOT MS]

Il n'aura ja de nous ne ranchon ne deniers,
Car nous sommes hardix et vaillans et entiers;
Nous ferron sur Engloiz de moult grans coux planiers.

IX

Prenés qu'il vous plaira, tres nobile baron."

—"Je pren[dray] Tintinlac, à Dieu soit beneichon,
Et Guy de Rochefort et Charruël le bon,
Guillaume de La Marche sera mon compaignon,
Et Robin Raguenel, en non de Saint Y[v]on,
Caron de Boscdegas, qu (e)' oubliër ne doit on,
Messire Giuffrai de Bouès, qui est de grant renon,
f. 52*v*. Et Olivier Arel, qui est hardy Breton,
Messire Jehan Rousselot, qui a coeur de lion;
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bomcbourc le felon,
Jamais je n'auray joye par mon entencion."

X

Apres convient choisir moult trez noble escuier;

De Montauban Guillaume prendray tout le premier,
(Et) de Tintinlac Alain, qui tant est [bon et] fier,
Pinctinien Tritran, qui tant fait à proisier,
Alain de Carramois et son oncle Olivier,
Loïs Guion vendra ferir d'un branc d'achier,
Luy et le Fonstenois, pour leurs corps essoier.
Hauguet Capus le sage ne doit on oubliër,
Et Giuffrai de la Roche sera fait cevalier,

De Brice, son bon pere, qui ala guerroier
Jusques (en) Costentinnoble, pour grant honneur gaingner:
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bourcbourc le merchier,
Qui chaillenge Bretaingne, —Dieu luy dont encombrier!
Jamais ils ne devroient chaindre de branc d'achier.

XI

Choisy a Beaumanoir, ainsy com vous ay dit,
Giuffray Poulart, Morisce, —[cil] de Tris[é]guidy—
Et Guion de Pontblanc ne mestroy en oubly,
Et Morisce Du Parc, un escuier hardy,

107, Boscdegas] Bosc de gas; 111, ceulx] à eulx; 114, Montauban] Mont Auban; 118, Loïs Guion vendra] Lors Guion y vendra; 121, de La Roche] de Roche; 129, Pontblanc] Porcblant; 130, Du Parç] Du Part.

[Didot MS]

De nous n'aura il mye ne ransczons ne deniers,
Car nous sommes hardis et courants et legiers;
Et ferrons sur Angloix de moult grans coups et fiers.

X

Prenez qui vous plaira, tres droit noble baron."
—"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "si les enchoisisson."
Et prindrent Tyntyniac, à Dieu le beneisson,
Et Guy de Rocheffort et Charruël le bon,
Et Robin Raganel, ou nom de Saintt Symon,
Caro de Bodegat, qui moult est bel et bon,
Guillaume de la Lande sera son compaignon,
Et Olivier Arrel, qui est hardy Breton,
Sire Jehan Rousselet, qui a cueur de leon,
Messire Geffray Du Boys, le gentil compaignon:
Si ceulx ne se deffendent de Brambroch le fellon,
Jamais je n'auroy joie en mon entencion.

XI

f. 3v. Ampres couvint choisir maint gentil escuyer;
De Montauban Guillaume prindrent tout le primier,
De Tyntyniac Alain, qui tant a le cueur fier,
De Pestivien Tristan, qui tant est bon guerrier,
Alain de Keranraes et son oncle Olivier;
Louÿs Gouyon vendra ferir du branc d'acier,
Luy et le Fontenais, pour leurs corps aloser,
Huët Captus le noble ne devons oubliër,
Et Geffroy de la Roche sera fait chevalier;
Si Dieu plaist, la journée luy debvra remambrer
De la bonté son pere, qui ala guerroyer
Jusques Constentinnoble, pour son corps aloser.
Ceulx cy se deffendront de Brambroch le baffier,
Qui chalonge la terre,—Dieu luy doint encombrier!

XII

Choisy a Beaumanoir, ainsi comme vous dy,
Geffroy Poulart, Morice,—cil de Trézéguidy—
Et Guyon de Pontblanc, qui est moult bon amy,
Et Morice Du Parc, ung escuyer hardy,

159, le] les.

[BIGOT MS]

Et Guiffray de Beaucorps, qui est moult son amy,
Et celuy de Lenlop, Giuffray Mellon aussy.
Tous ceulx que il appele luy en rendent mercy;
Ils sunt touz à present, ils s'enclinent vers luy.

XII

Apres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubtance,
Jehanot Desserain, Guillaume de la Lande,
Olivier Montevile, homme de grant puissance,
Et Symonnet Pachart, pas n'i fera faillance.
Toux y metront leurs coeurs et leurs corps em balance

Et tant sunt assemblés sans nulle demourance.
Dieu lez wueille garder de male pestilence!

XIII

f. 53r. Or choisy Beaumanoir tout son nombre
De trente bons Bretons,—or lez gart Dieu de honte
Et à leurs anemis envoit Dieu tele encontre,
Qu'ilz soient desconfis, voiant de tout le monde!

XIV

Messire Robert Bomcbourc a choysy d'aultre part
A trente compaingnons dont il avoit grant tart;
Je vous dyray leurs nons, par le corps Saint Be[r]nart.
Ly un sy fu Canolez, Carvalay et Crucart,
Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le gaillart,
Helecoq son frere, et Jennequin Taillart,
Rippefort le vaillant, et d'Ilande Richart,
Tommelin Belifort, qui moult sust du renart,—
Cil combatoit d'un mail qui pesoit bien le quart
De cent livres d'achier, se Dieu ait en moy part.
Huceton Clemenbean combatoit d'un fauchart
Qui tailloit d'un costé, crochu fu d'aultre part,
Devant fu amouré trop plus que n'est un dart.
Il poursembloit lez armes jadix roy Agappart
Quant combaty de lance encontre Renouart;
Cil qu'il ataint à coup, l'ame du corps lui part.
Jennequin Betoncamp, Renequin Herouart,
Et Gaule l'Al[e]mant, Huebnie le vilart,

143, trente] xxx; 144, envoit] avoit; 147, trente] xxx; 155, livres] ll.

[Didot MS]

Et Geffroy de Beaucours, n'en soyez esbahy,
Celuy de la Villong, Geffroy Moelon auxi.
Tous ceulx qu'il en appelle luy en rendent mercy
Et vont tous à genoulx, escuyers devant luy.

XIII

Ampres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubtance,
Jahannot de Serrant, homme de grant puissance,
Olivier Bouteville, Guillaume de La Lande,
Et Symonet Richard, ceulx n'y feront faillance.
Ceulx y mettront leurs cueurs et leurs corps en balance
Pour garder leurs païs de malë aliënce.
Atant se sont partis sans point de demourance,—
Dieu les vueille garder de male pestilance!

XIV

Or si a Beaumanoir choisy trestout son nombre
De trente compaignons,—Dieu les garde de honte
Et à leurs ennemis envoye male encontre,
Que ilz soint desconfilz, voyant trestout le monde!

XV

f. 4*r*. Messire Robert Brambroch a choisy d'aultre part
De trente compaignons dont il avoit grant tart;
Je ne sçay pas leurs noms, mais le cueur si m'en art,
Mais o luy fust Crollés, Tavarllay et Conchart,
Messire Jehan Plesanton, Redoure le gaillart,
Huëlcoc et son frere, Renequin Relcart
Ripeffart le vaillant, et ung aultre Richard,
Thomelin Belliffart, qui fust fier de regard,—
Cil combatoit d'ung mail qui pesoit bien le marc
De cent livres d'acier, sy Dieu m'ait en sa part.
Huëlcoq Clomeän combatoit d'ung fussart
Qui tailloit d'ung costé, crochu fust d'aultre part;

Ce jour sambloit les armes jadis roy Edouärt.

Jehannot Begurcamp, Renequin Helcart,
Et Gaultier l'Alemant, Hulbure le veillart,

172, Moelon] Moelou; 185, encontre] honte.

[BIGOT MS]

Renequin Mareschal, cy mouru celle part,
Thommelin Houalton, Robinet Melipart,
Isanay le hardy, Helichon le musart,
Troussel, Robin Adés et Dango le couart,
Et le nepveu Dagorne, fier fu com un liespart,
Et quatre Brebenchons, par le corps Saint Godart,
Perrot de Commelain, Guillemin le gaillart,
(Et) Raoulet d'Aspremont, d'Ardaine fu le quart.

Bretons desconfiront, ce diënt, par leur art,
Et conquerront Bretaingne jusqu'aupres de Dinart;
Mais de fole vantance est maint tenu musart.

XV

f. 53v. Or a Robert Bomebourc choysy ses compaignons.
Trente furent par nombre et de trois nations;
Car vingt Englois y oust, hardis comme lions,
Et six bons Alemans et quatre Brebenchons.
Armez furent de plates, bacines, hauberjons:
Espées ourent, et dagues et lancez et fauchons;
Et Englois jurent Dieu, qui souffri passions,
Beaumanoir sera mort, le gentilz et li bons.
Mais ly preux et ly sages fist ses devocions
Et faisoit dire messes par grant oblacions
Que Dieu leur soit en aide par sez saintismes nons.

XVI

Quant le temps fu passé et le jour fu venu
Que rendre se devoient dessus le pré herbu,
Beaumanoier le vaillant, que Dieu croisse en vertu,
Sez compaignons apele; qu'ilz vindrent toux à luy,
Et leur fist dire messez, chacun fu absolu,
Prinrent leur sacrement en non du roy Jhesu.

XVII

"Seigneurs," dit Beaumanoier o le hardy visage,
"Ja trouverois Englois, qui sunt de grant courage.
Ils sunt en volenté de nous faire doumage:
Sy vous pry et requier, chascun de bon courage,

177, vingt] xx.; 178, six] vj; 182, bons] hons.

[Didot MS]

Jennequin Mareschal, qui morust celle part,
Thomelin Houlnanton, Robinet Melipart,
Issinay, Bicquillay, et Harclou le musart,
Trousel, Robin Nadrés, Huelton le contart,
Et le nepvou Dagorne, fier comme ung liepart.
Quatre Bretons y furent, par le corps Saint Lenart,
Perrot de Comellan et Hamon le gaillart,
Raoulet du Primant, Dagorne Renouart,
Trente furent nommez des gents roy Edouart;
Bretons desconfiront s'ilz treuvent en leur art,
Et concquerront Bretaigne jusquez chasteau Dynart;
Mais de folle cuydance est moult tenu musart.

XVI

Or a Robert Brambroch choisy ses compaignons.
Trente furent par nombre et de trois nacions;
Car vingt Anglois y eust, hardis comme lyons,
Avecq six Al[e]mans avoit quatre Bretons.
Armés furent de plates, bacynes, haubergons,
Et espées et lances et de maintes faescons.
f. 4*v*. Tous jur(er)ent Jhesucrist, qui souffrist passions,
Beaumanoir sera prins, le gentil et le bons.
Mais le preux et le sage fit ses devisions;
Il fist dire des messes par grant devocions,
Que Dieu luy soit [en] aide, par ses santismes noms.

XVII

Quant le temps fust passé et le iour fust venu
Que rendre se debvoient dedans le pré herbu,
Beaumanoir le vaillant, à qui Dieu doint salu,
Ses compaignons appelle et vindrent tous à lu.
Il leur fist dire messes, chascun fust absolu,
Et prindrent sacrement ou nom du doulx Jhesu.

XVIII

"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir o le hardy visaige;
"Ja trouverons Angloix qui sont de grant oultrage,
Et en grant volenté de nous faire domaige;
Si vous pry et requiers, ait chascun bon couraige,

218, plates] places.

[BIGOT MS]

Tenés-vous l'un à l'autre, com gent vaillant et sage;
Se Jhesucrist vous donne la force et l'avantage,
Moult en ara grant joye de France le bernage
Et le duc debonnaire, à qui j'ay fait houmage,
Et la france duchesse, à qui suis de lignage:
Jamais ne nous haerront à jour de leur aage."
Et chascun jure Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image:
"Se nous trouvons Bomcbourc au plain, hors du boscage,
Jamais ne le verra homme de son lignage."

XVIII

Or diroy de Bomcbourc qui tant a exploitié
De trente compaignons dont il est alié.
Ensemble lez amaine belement, droit au pré,
f. 54r. Et leur a dist à toux, c'est fine verité:
"J'ay fait lire mez livrez, Merlin a destiné
Que nous aron victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é,
Et puis sera Bretaigne [et] France, de ver(i)té
Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordonné."

XIX

"Seigneurs," ce dit Bomcbourc, "soiez baulx et jolis;
Soiez seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins,
Lui et sez compaignons, pié n'y en demourra vis,
Et puis lez amerron à Edouart le gentilz,
Le franc roy d'Engleterre, qui cy nous a tramis.
Sy fera de leurs corps trestout à son devis;
Nous lui rendron lez terres prinses jusqu'à Paris,
Puis ne nous atendront lez Bretons vis à vis."
Ainsy le dit Bomcbourc, c'estoit tout son avis;
Mais se il plaist à Dieu, le roy de paradix,
Pas ne vendra si tost à chief de ses devis.

XX

Or a tant fait Bomcbourc, qu'il est premier venu
A trente compaignons dedens le pré herbu;
A haulte vois s'escrie, "Beaumanoier, où es-tu?
Je croy bien à m'entente que tu es defalu,
Des c'on f[e]ist (em) bataille, à riens ne t'a[s] tenu."
A yceste parole Beaumanoier est venu.

202, fist]f fist; 204, le verra] le le verra; 209, Merlin] Meslin; 225, trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

Tenés vous l'un à l'autre, comme vaillans et saige;
Et si Jhesucrist done que ayons l'avantaige,
Moult en aura grant joye de France le barnaige
Et le duc debonaire, à qui je fis hommaige,
Et la franche duchesse, à qui suys de lignaige:
Jamais ne nous hayeront, à jour de leur viage."
Chascun en jure Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,
Que s'ilz trouvent Brambroch en plain, hors de bocaige,
Que jamais ne verra homme de son lignaige.

XIX

Or dirons de Brambroch qui tant a expleté
De trente compaignons dont il est alié,
Ensemble les ameine, bellement par le pré,
Et leur a dist à tous, c'est pure verité:
"J'ay fait lire mes livres, Merlin a destiné
Que nous aurons victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é;
Et puis sera Bretaingne et France abandonné
Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordenné."

XX

f. 5r. "Seigneurs," ce dist Brambroch, "soiés b(e)aulx et jolis,
Et tous seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins;
Luy et ses compaignons n'auront ung pié d'avis,
Tous les envoyeré à Edouart [le] gentilz,
Le franc roy d'Angleterre, qui cy nous a transmis.
Il fera de leurs corps trestout à ses devis;
Nous luy rendrons les terres prinses jusques Paris;
Plus ne nous actendront les Bretons vis à vis."
Ainsin estoit par foy trestout son grant advis;
Mais, sy Dieu plaist, le pere et roy de paradis,
Il n'yra pas sy tost à chieff de ses devis.

XXI

Or a tant fait Brambroc, que premier est venu
A trente compaignons dedans le pré herbu;
A haulte voix il crie, "Beaumanoir, où es tu?
Je crois en mon entent[e] que tu es deffaillu."

A yceste parolle est Beaumanoir venu.

[BIGOT MS]

XXI

"Beaumanoir," dit Bomcbourc, "se nous voulons, amis,
(Re)muons ceste journée et soit ariere mis;
Et j'envoieray nouvelles à Edouart le gentilz
Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;
Et se le fait leur plaist, ainsy com il est prins,
Nous nous rendron ycy, un jour que sera mis."
"Sire," dit Beaumanoir, "de ce auray avis."

XXII

Beaumanoir le vaillant, à la chiere membrée,
A(s) ses gens em present la nouvelle a comptée.
"Seigneurs, Bourcbourc vouldroit la chose remuée,
Que chascun s'en alast sans y ferir collée;
Sy veueil bien qu'entre vous m'en diés vo pensée;
f. 54v. Car par ycelluy Dieu, qui fit ciel et rousée,
Dendroit moy n'en prendroye tout l'or d'une contrée
Que yceste bataille ne fust faicte ne oultrée."
Lors parla Charuël, la couleur a muée,
N'y oust meilleur de luy de chi la mer salée:
"Sire, nous sommez trente venus en ceste prée,
N'y a celluy qui n'ait dague, lance et espée,
Tous praes[t] de nous combatre, en non Saincte Homourée,
A Bomcbourc, puisqu'il a la terre chalengiée
Au franc duc debonnaire. Cil ait male durée
Qui jamais s'en ira sans y ferir colée,
Ne qui la (re)muëra pour prendre aultre journée."
Puis respont Beaumaner, "Ceste chose m'agrée;

Alons à la bataille comment ell[e] est jurée."

XXIII

"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumanoir, "vous orrois mon courage;
Voyez là Charuël o le hardy visage,
Et toux lez compaignons, que te seroit hontage
De (re)muer la bataille qu'as offerte à [l]'oultrage
[Qu]'avoiz fait au franc duc, qui est courtoiz et sage;
Si jure(nt) chacun Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image,
Que vous morrois à honte, voyant tout le bernage;

Et vous et tous vos gens, et tout par vostre oultrage."

247, trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

XXII

"Beaumanoir," dist Brambroc, "je vous pry, beaux amys,
Remuons cestuy terme et soit en avant mis
Et je envoyeré à Edouart le gentilz
Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;
Et si le fait leur plaist, ainsin que il est prins,
Si nous rend[r]on icy, le jour que sera mis."
"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "jë auroy bien advis."

XXIII

Beaumanoir le vaillant, o la chière liée,
A ses gents en present la nouvelle a contée.
"Seigneurs, Brambroc vouldroit la chose remuée
Et que chascun iroit sans y ferir colée;
Si vueil bien qu'entre vous digés vostre pensée,—
Car par icelluy Dieu qui fist ciel et rousée,
Dendroit moy ne prandroie tout l'or d'une contrée
Que surement bataille ne soit faicte et oultrée."
Lors parla Charruël a la chière membrée,

"Sire, nous sommes trente venus en ceste prée;
N'a celuy qui n'a lance et hachë et espée,
f. 5*v*. Tous prestz de nous combatre, ou nom Saincte Anorée,
O Brambroc, puisqu'il a la terre chalengée
Par sa desesperance. Qu'il ait male durée

Qui mais remuëra pour prendre aultre journée!"
Puis respont Beaumanoir, "Ceste chose m'agrée."
Et a dist à Brambroc, "Ne soit chose celée:
Mais alon en bataille commë elle est jurée."

XXIV

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "vous oiiés mon doubtaige;
Voyez que dist Charruel o le hardy visaige,
Et tous mes compaignons, que ce seroit hontaige
De remuër bataille sur fait de grant oultraige
Qu'avés fait au franc duc, qui est proudoms et saige.
Si jure chascun Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,
Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant tout le barnaige;
Et vous et tous voz gientz, commë Engloix de rage,
Serés prins et liëz et n'est pas grant oultraige."

272, que il] qu'il; 276, la nouvelle a contée] a la nouvelle contée; 296, de remuër] et remuër.

[BIGOT MS]

XXIV

"Beaumanoir," dit Bomcbourc, "vous faictes grant folie
Que vous mectés à mort par vostrë estoutie
La fleur de la duchié, par sy tres grant folie.
Car, quant ilz seront mors et trespassés de vie,
Jamais en la duchié ne lez trouverois mie."
"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie
Que j'ay cy amené (la) noble chevalerie;
Laval [ne] Rochefort, Eleäc n'y est mie,
Montfort, Rohan, Quntin, ne la grant compaignie.

Mais j'ay bien de certain noble chevalerie,
Et de toute Bretaigne la fleur de l'escurie,
f. 55r. Qui ne daigneroient fuir, ne à mort ne à vie,
Ne feroient traïson, faulseté ne boudie.
Chacun [d'eulx] jure Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie,
Que vous mourrois à honte, voiant la compaignie,
Et vous et toux lez vostrez, quoique chacun en die,
Serois prins et liëz ains l'oeure de complie."
Et Bourcbourc sy respont, "Je ne prise une aillie
Tretoute vo(stre) posté ne vostre segneurie;
Car, maugré vous, ce jour jë auray la maistrie
Et conquerroy Bretaigne et toute Normendie."

XXV

Bomcbourc dit aux Englois, "Seigneurs, Bretons ont tort!
Ferés, frappez su eulx, mectés tout à la mort,
Guardés que rien m'eschappe, [non] ne flebe ne fort!"
D'assaillir lez soixante, ilz sunt toux d'un accort;
A la premiere [joincte] fu grant le desconfort;
Charuël sy fu prins, Giuffray Mellon fu mort,
Et le vaillant Tritran, qui estoit grant et fort,
Fu feru du martel à douleur et à tort,
Messire Jehan Rousselot fu feru presqu'à (la) mort.

Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, qui tout maine à droit port,
Lez Bretons ont du piis vers eulx, je m'en fais fort.

273, noble chevalerie] noble l chevalerie; 288, soixante] lx.

[Didot MS]

Lors respondist Brambroc o la chiere hardye,
Et dist à Beaumanoir, "Vous faictes grant follie
De mectre ainsin à mort par vostre grant maistrie
La flour de la duchié, par vostre desverie."

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie
Que j'ay cy ameiné la noble compaignie;
Laval ne Rochefort, Loheäc n'y sont mie,
Montfort, Ro(c)han, Quintin, ne la grant baronie,
Leön ne Tournemine, qui sont de grant maistrie.
Mais j'ay bien admeiné noble chevalerie,
De toutes pars la flour, et de l'escuiërie,
Qui point ne fouÿront, ne pour mort ne pour vie;
Ne feront traïson [ne] faulte ne boydie.
Chascun d'eux jure Dieu, le filz Saincte Marie,
Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant la compaignie,
Et vous et tous voz gients, quel que chascun en die,
Serés prins et liëz, ains l'eure de complie."

XXVI

f. 6*r*. Brambroc dist aux Angloix, "Bretons aront le tort!
Ferés et frapés sus, mectés les tous à mort!
Guardés que rien n'eschappe, non ne feble ne fort!"
De s'assembler ensemble sont trestous d'ung accord:
A la premiere joincte fut fort le desconfort.
Charruël fust blecié, Geffroy Moelon fut mort,
Et le vaillant Tristan, qui estoit grant et fort,
Fust feru d'ung martel à douleur et à tort,
Sire Jehan Rouxellet dont fust grant desconfort,
Auxi Geffroy Poulart, qui dessus le champ dort.

305, desverie] desveerie; 314, feront] seront; 324, Moelon] Moelou.

[BIGOT MS]

XXVI

Grande fu la bataille dedens le pré herbu,
Caron de Bosdegas fu du martel (con)fondu,
Et le vaillant Tritran fu à la mort feru.
Lors s'escria moult hault, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu?
Lez Englois sy m'en mainent, blechié et derompu!
Je n' eus onquez paöur le jour que t'ay veü;
Se le vray Dieu n'en pense par sa sainte vertu,
Englois sy m'enmerront et vous m'aurois perdu."
Beaumanoir jure Dieu qui en crois fu pendu,
Avant y ara il maint rude coup feru
Et rompu mainte lance et perchié maint escu.
A ces parolez tient le biau branc esmoulu,—
f. 55*v*. Cil qu'il ataint à coup(en)est mort ou abatu—
Lez Englois radement se deffendent de lu:
Trestoute la posté ne prisent un festu.

XXVII

Forte fu la bataille et le chapple felon
Et d'un costé et d'aultre urent coeur de lion
Et toux par ordenance firent petticion
D'aller toux querre à boire à nulle arrestezon,
Chascun en sa boutaille, vin d'Anjou y fu bon.
Quant toux urent beü par ordination,
Lors vont à la bataille sans faire targison.

XXVIII

Grande fu la bataille en my la pra[ë]rie
Et le chapplë orrible et dure l'esturmie.
Lez Bretons ont du piis, ne vous mentiray mie;
Car deux sy en sunt mors et trespassés de vie,
Et trois sunt prisonnier,—(o) leur soit Dieu en aÿe!
Ne sunt que vingt et cinq em bataille fournie.

Mais Giuffroy de la Roche requiert chevalerie,
Un escuier moult noble de grant anchesourie,
Et Beaumanoir lui donne, en non Sainte Marie,
Et lui dit, "Beau doulx filx, or ne t'espargne mie;
Membre toy de celuy qui, par cevalerie,
Fu en Constentinnoble à bele compaignie."

323, vingt et cinq] xxv; 329, Constentinnoble] Constentimnoble.

[Didot MS]

XXVII

Quant le vaillant Tristan santist qu'il fut feru,
A haulte voiz cria, "Beaumanoir, où es tu?
Je n'eu onques nul paour en lieu où t'ay congneu;
Les Anglois m'ont blecié, ilz m'ont à mort batu,
Sy Damme Dieu ne panse par la sienne vertu,
Ils me mainront o eulx et tu m'auras perdu."
Beaumanoir sy jura le vroy corps de Jhesu,
Avant y aura il maint rude coup feru,
Et percié mainte lance et percié maint escu.
A ces parolles traict le bon branc esmoulu,—
Ce qu'il ataint à coup est tout mort abatu—
Les Angloix roidement se deffendent de lu;
Tous ses dis et ses faitz ne prisent ung festu.

XXVIII

Grande fust la bataille en my la praeërie,
Et le chapplë horrible et dure l'escremie;
Bretons en ont du pire, ne vous mentiré mie,
Car deux d'eulx en sont morts et trespassés de vie
Et trois sont prisoniers,—Dieu leur soit en aÿe!
Plus n'a que vingt et cinq en bataille fournie.
Beaumanoir les conforte, o la chière hardie,
Et Geffroy de la Roche requist chevalerie,
Ung escuier moult noble de grant assessourie,
Et Beaumanoir lui donne, ou nom Saincte Marie,
f. 6*v*. Et luy a dist, "Beau filz, si ne t'oublie mie;
Remembre toy de cil qui, pour chevalerie,
Fust en Constentinnoble en belle compaignie."

[BIGOT MS]

Et Giuffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a em baillie,
Que Englois la comperront ains l'oeure de complie.
Et Bomcbourc l'entendy, ne le prise une aillie,
Trestoute leur posté ne leur grant seigneurie;
Ains dit à Biaumanoir par moult grant estoutie,
"Rent toy tost, Beaumanoir, je ne t'ochiray mie,

Mais je feray de toy un present à m'amie,
Car je luy ay promis, ne luy mentiray mie,
Qu'au jour d'uy te mectray en sa chambre jolie."
Et Beaumanoir respont, "Je le te sourenvie;
Nous l'entendon moult bien, moy et ma compaignie,
S'il plaist au roy de gloire et à Sainte Marie,
f. 56r. A Saint Yves le bon, en qui moult je me fie.
Or giete tost le dé et sy ne te faing mie;
Sur toy sera hazart, courte sera ta vie."

XXIX

Alain de Carromois si l'a bien entendu
Et luy dit, "Glout trichierre, qu'est ce que pensez tu?
Penses tu amoïr homme de tel vertu?
Le mien corps te deffie au jour d'uy de par lu;
Mointenant te ferray de mon glayve esmoulu."
Alain de Carromois l'oust à present feru
Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fu agu,
Que par my le visage, sy que chacun l'a veu,
Jusques en la cervele lui a le fer (em)battu.
Il estendy son glaive si que Bomcbourc est cheu;
Il sailli sur lez piés et cuida joindre à lu.
Messire Giuffroy de Bouès si l'a bien congneü,

Et le fiert d'une lance sy qu'il l'a aconcheu;
Et Bomcbourc chaÿ mort à la terre abatu.
Sy s'escria le(z) Bouez, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu?

De cestu es (tu) vengié; il giest mort estendu."
Et Beaumanoir respont, que bien l'a entendu,
"Seigneurs, combatés fort; le temps en est venu!
Pour Dieu, allez aus aultrez et si laissez cestu!"

330, Giuffroy] je; 331, comperront] comperrront; 354, estendy] estemdy.

[Didot MS]

Et Geffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,
Angloix le comparront ains l'eure de complie.
Mais Brambroc l'entendist, ne le prise ung aillie,

Ains dist à Beaumanoir par moult grant estourdie,
"Rens toy tost, Beaumanoir, et ne te tueré mie,
Soyés sur et certain que ne te fauldré mie;
Mais je feré de toy ung presant à m'amye.
Je te luy ay gréé, ne luy mantiré mie,
Et te dy haultement ceste bataille envie."
Et Beaumanoir respont, "Et je la sourenvie;
Nous la tendrons moult bien, moy et ma compaignie,
S'il plaist au roy des roys, qui naquist de Marie,
Et au tres bon Sainct Yves, en qui bien je me fie.
Gette bien tost les detz et si ne te faing mie;
Sur toy sera hasart, courte sera ta vie."

XXIX

Alain de Keranrais Brambroc a entendu
Et luy a dist, "Glouton, que est ce que dis tu?
Pensé[s] bien avoir homme qui est de tiel vertu?
Le mien corps te deffie en ce jour de par lu;
Maintenant sentiras mon glaivë esmoulu!"
Alain de Keranrais l'a en present feru
Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fust agu,

Jusques à la cervelle il a son glaive batu.

Brambroc lors saillist sus et cuida joindre à lu;
Messire Geffroy du Bois si l'a bien actendu,
Le vaillant homme et noble, qui fust de grant vertu,
Et le fiert de sa hache qui luy rompist le bu.
Et Brambroc chet tout mort à [la] terre estandu.
Puis s'escrie le bon, "Beaumanoir, où es tu,
Mon cher cousin germain, à qui Dieu doint salu?
f. 7r. De cest es tu vengé car il est abatu."
Et Beaumanoir respont, qui l'a bien entendu,
"Pensés de biën faire car le temps est venu;
Pour Dieu alés ès aultres, laissés meshuy cestu!"

377, il a] la.

[BIGOT MS]

XXX

Or voient bien Englois que Bomcbourc est passés,
(Et) l'orguel de lui cheü et lez grandes fiertés.
Lors appelle Crucart, un Alement devés,
"Segneurs, saichiés de vray, en fine veritez,
Failly nous a Bomcbourc qui cy nous a (a)menez;
Toux lez livrez Merlin, que il a tant amez,
Ne luy ont pas valu deulx deniers monnoiés;
Il gist gueule b[a]ée, [et] mort et enversés.
Je vous pry, beaulx seigneurs, faictez com gens membrez;
Tenez vous l'un à l'aultre estroitement serrés;
Cil qui vendra sur vous soit mort ou affolés."

f. 56*v*. Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courrouchiés,
S'ilz ne sunt departis à honte et à vieultez.
A yceste parole est Charuël levés
Et le vaillant Tritran, qui moult estoit blechiers,
Caron de Boscdegas, le preux et l'alosés;
Toux (trois) estoient prisonniers à Bomcbourc le devés;
Mais quant Bourcbourc fu mort ilz furent raquitez.
Chacun prent à (s)ses poings le bon branc acherez;
De ferir sur Englois ont bonnez volentez.

XXXI

Apres la mort Bomcbourc, le hardy combatant,
Fu grande la bataille et ly estour pesant,
Et le chapplë orible et merveilleux et grant.
Apres [y] demoura dam Crucart l'Alemant
Et Thomas Belifort y fu comme g(u)éant,—
Cil combatoit d'un mail d'achier qui fu pesant—
(Et) Huë de Carvalay sy en faisoit autant.
Messire Robert Canole, qui fu mal engingnant,
Et toux leurs compaignons et chacun ensuivant.
Alemans et Englois s'e[n] vont toux effroiant
Et dient, "Venjons Bomcbourc, nostre loial amant!
Metton toux à la mort, n'alon riens espargnant!
La journée sera nostre ains le soleil couchant!"
Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fu au vis devant,
Lui et sez compaignons que il parama tant;
Là commencha un chapple, moult cruël et (moult) dolent,

369, Merlin] Meslin.

[Didot MS]

XXX

Or voyent les Anglois que Brambroc est passés
Et l'ourgouil de luy chet, et la grande fiertés.
Adonc parla Contart, ung Al[e]ment devés,
"Seigneurs, saichés de vroy, c'est fine verités,
Failly nous a Brambroc qui cy nous a meinés;
Tous les livres Merlin, que il a tant aymés,
Ne luy ont pas valu ung denier monnoyés;
Il gist goule bayée, mort tout plat en ces prés.
Sy vous pry, bons Anglois, comme gents remembrés,
Tenés vous l'ung à l'aultre estroictement serrés;
Cil qui viendra sur nous, qu'il soit mort ou bleciés."
Ainsin le firent ilz comme gents bien senés.
Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courroucés
S'ilz ne sont departiz à honte et à viltés.
Et à ceste parolle est Charruël levés
Et le vaillant Tristan, qui ot esté blecés,
Caro de Bodegat, le preux et le senés;
Ceulx estoint prisoniers à Brambroc le devés;
Mais quant il estoit mort ilz furent aquittés.
Ceulx prindrent o les poings les brancs bien acierés;
De ferir sur Anglois ont bone vouluntés.

XXXI

Ampres la mort Brambroc, le hardy combatant,
Fust grande la bataille et ly estour pesant
Et le chapplë horrible et merveilleux et grant.
Pour Brambroc demoura dom Contart l'Alemant,
Thomelin Beliffart qui fust comme ung géant,—
Cil combatoit d'ung maill d'acier qui fust pesant—
Rippeffart, Cavalray, ceulx cy faisoint autant;
Messire Robin Crollés, qui fust mal engignant,
f. 7*v*. Et tous leurs compaignons et chascun ensuivant.
Alemans et Anglois s'en vont tous efforcent,
Disant, "Vengon Brambroc, nostre loyal amant!
Metton tous à la mort, n'alons nulz espargnant!
La journéë est nostre avant souleil couchant!"
Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fust bien au devant,
Luy et ses bons Bretons que il parayma tant,
Et commencza bataille, cruellë et pesant,

418, et] de.

[BIGOT MS]

Qu'(e) un quart de lieue entour en va retentissant
Des coupx, qui s'entredonnent sur leurs testez, moult grant;
Là mourru deux Englois et un bon Alemant
Et d'Ardaine de Rains, ly convert soudoiant,
Fu mort et abatu ens en pré verdoiant.
Aussy Giuffroy Poulart gesoit trestout dormant,
Et Beaumanoir blechié, le hardy combatant;
Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, le pere tout puissant,
f. 57r. Et d'un costé ne d'aultre nul n'en est eschapant.

XXXII

Grande fu la bataille et longement dura
Et le chapplē orrible et dechi et delà;
Ce fu (à) un semmedy que le soleil roia,
L'an mil trois cent cinquante, croie m'ent qui vouldra;
Le dimence d'apres, sainte eglise chanta
Letare Jherusalem. En yce saint temps là
Forment se combatoient, l'un l'autre n'espargna;
La chaleur fu moult grande, chacun sy tressua;
De sueur et de sanc la terre rosoya.
A ce bon semmedy Beaumanoir sy jeuna;
Grant soif oust le baron, à boire demanda.
Messire Giuffroy de Bouès tantost respondu a,
"Boif ton sanc, Beaumanoir, la soif te passera!
Ce jour aron honneur, chacun sy gaignera
Vaillante renoumée, ja blasmé(e) ne sera."
Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc s'esvertua;
Tel deul oust et tel yre que la soif luy passa.
Et d'un cost(r)é et d'aultre le chapple commensa;
Mors furent ou blechiez, gaieres n'en eschappa.

XXXIII

Forte fu la bataille et le chapple mortel
My-voie de Josselin et du chasteau (da) Pelmel.
Dedens un moult beau pré, séant sur un cenel,
Le chesne d'en My-voie, ainsi est son appel.
Le lonc d'un genestay qui estoit vert et bel,
Là furent lez Englois tretoux en un moncel,
Carvalay le vaillant, le hardy jovencel,

403, d'Ardaine de Rains] d'Ardaine da derains; 403, convert] conuett; 412, trois cent] ccc.

[Didot MS]

Que une lieue entour va tout restondissant,
Des coups qu'ilz s'entredonent là fut le son tres grant;
Lors mourust deux Anglois, pour voir, et ung Alment.

Beaumanoir fut blecié ou visaige devant
Et fust Geffroy Poulart abatu tout dormant;
Si Jhesucrist ne pense, le roy tout puïssant,
Ne d'ung cousté ne d'aultre ne va nul eschappant.

XXXII

Grande fut la bataille et longuement dura
Et le chapplë horrible et decza et delà;
Ce fut ung sabmedi que le souleil raya,
L'an mil trois cent cinquante, corrige qui vouldra,
Le dimenche devant que saincte eglise chanta
Letare Jherusalem. En icest sainct temps là

La chalour fut moult grande, chascun y tressuya,
Que le sang tout vermoil sur son corps desgoutta.
Quant soeff ot Beaumanoir, à boire demanda.
Messire Geffroy du Boys tantost respondu l'a,
"Boy ton sang, Beaumanoir, ta soiff te passera!
Ce jour est la journée que chascun gaignera
Honeur et renommée, ou definé sera."
Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc s'evertua;
Tiel deul eust et tiel ire que la soeff luy passa.
Et d'ung cousté et d'aultre la chapple commencza;
Trestous furent blecié, guaires n'en demoura.

XXXIII

Grande fut la bataille et le chapple mortel
f. 8r. Mye-voie de Jocelin à chasteau Ploeärmel.
Dedans ung moult beau plain, planté y à chenel,
Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel,

436, trois cent cinquante] cccl; 438, icest] itest; 446, s'evertua] se vertua.

[BIGOT MS]

Et Thoumas Belifort combatoit d'un martel,—
Cil qu'il ataint à coup dessus son hasterel
Jamais ne mengera de miche ne de gastel.
Beaumanoir lez regarde, à qui point n'en fu bel,
Moult grant deul a de voir devant luy tel jouël;
For(men)t fu desconforté, or luy aist Saint Michiel.
f. 57*v*. Messire Giuffroy de Bouèz, qui fu fort et ysnel,
Noblement le conforte com gentil demoisel
Et dit, "Gentil baron, voiez cy Charuël
[Et] Tintinlat le bon et Robin Raguenel
Guillaume de La Marche et Olivier Arel
Et Gui de Rochefort,—voiez son pennoncel.

N'y a cellui qui n'ait lance, espéë et coutel;
Toux pres sunt d'eulx combatre com gentil joëncel;
Encore feront eulx aux Englois doeul nouvel."

XXXIV

Grande fu la bataille, jamais tele n'orrés.
Forment se contenoient lez Englois aliëz;
Homme n'entre sur eulx ne soit mort ou blechiez;
Toux sunt en un moncel com si fussent liëz.
De Montauben Guillaume, le preux et l'alosés,
De l'estour est yssu et lez a regardez;
Grant courage lui print, le coeur lui est enflez,
Et jure Jhesucrist, qui en crois fu penés,
S'il fust sur un cheval bien monté à son grés,
Tretoux lez departist à honte et à vieultez.
Bons esperons trenchans lors caucha en ses piez,
Monta sur un cheval qui fu de grant fiertez
Et lors print une lance dont le fer fu carrez;
Semblant fist de fuïr, ly escuier membrez.
Beaumanoir le regarde, puis l'a aroissonnez,
Et dyt, "Amy Guillaume, qu'est ce que vous pensés?
Comme faulx et mauvais, comant, vous en allés?
A vous et à vos hoirs vous sera repreuchiez."
Quant Guillaume l'entent, un ris en a gettez;
A haulte vois parla que bien fu escoutez:
"Besoigniez, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier membrez,
Car bien besoingneray; ce sunt toux mes pensés."

454, Montauben] Mont auben; 466, courant] comant(?); 467, hoirs] hoirez.

[Didot MS]

Missire Geffroy du Boys, qui fut fort et isgnel,
Conforte Beaumanoir ou nom de Sainct Marcel
Et luy dist, "Noble sire, voyés cy Charruël,
Guillaume de la Marche et Olivier Arrel,
Et Tintiniac le bon et Robin Raganel
Et Guy de Rochefort,—voiez (cy) son panoncel—
Et Geffroy de la Roche, le chevalier nouvel.
N'y a cil qui n'aet lance, ou espée ou coutel;
Tous sont prests de combatre ou nom de jouvencel;
Encore seront ilz aux Anglois deul nouvel."

XXXIV

Grande fut la bataille, jamais telle n'orrés.
Fortement se tenoyent les Anglois aliés;
Tretous s'entretenoyent si come gents liés;
Homme n'entre sur eulx qui n'est mort ou bleciés.
Mais grandement les a Guillaume reguardés,

Celuy de Montauban, qui tant fust alosérs,
Et jure Jhesucrist, qui fut en croys pennés,
Que s'il fust à cheval bien monté à ses grés,
Il les despareroit à honte et à viltés.
Deus esperons poignans a chaussés en ses piés,
Monte sur ung cheval qui fut de grant bontés.

Beaumanoir le reguarde, qui l'a araisonnés,
Et luy a dist, "Guillaume, quelles sont voz pensers?
Comme faulx et traïstre, courant vous en alés;
A jamais en ta vie te sera reprouchés."
Et Montauban respont par moult tres grant fiertés
Et haultement parla, qui bien fut escoutés,
"Besoignés, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier menbrés,
Car je besoigneré; et telz sont mes pensers."

472 despareroit] dispararoit.

[BIGOT MS]

Lors broche le cheval par flans et par costés
Que le sanc tout vermeil en chaÿ sur lez prés.
f. 58*r*. Par lez Englois se boute, sept en a trebuchiez;
Au retour en a trois soubz lui agraventés.
A ce coup lez Englois furent esparpilliés;
Toux perdirent lez coeurs, c'est fine verités,
Qui veult y a choisy, prins et serementez.
Montauban hault parla quant lez a regardés.
"Montjoie!" s'escria, "barons, or y ferés!
Essoiés vous tretoux, frans chevaliers membrez,
Tintiniat le bon, le preux et l'alosés
Et Gui de Rochefort, Charuël l'amornez,
Tretoux nous compaignons, que Dieu croisse [en] bontez,
Vengiez vous dez Englois, tous à vo(u)s volentez!"

XXXV

Grande fu la bataille et li estour planier;
Tintiniat le bon estoit tout le premier,
Celluy de Beaumanoir, que l'en doibt renommer,
Que toux jours pour ce fait orra on de lui parler,
Dez Englois ont eü la force et lez po(o)stez.
Ly un sunt fiancié, ly aultre prisonnier;
Canole et Carvalay sy sunt en grant dangier
Et Thoumas Belifort n'y oust que courouchier
Et toux leurs compaignons, sans point de l'atargier.
Par l'(e) emprise Bomcbourc, qui estoit fort et fier.
Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le guerrier,
H[u]ëllecoq son frere ne fait à oubliër,
Rippefort le vaillant et d'Illande le fier
Au chasteau Josselin sunt menés sans targier.
Et pour ceste bataille orrois souvent parler,
Car l'en soit lez vieulx dis et tout par roumander,
Ly uns par lettre escripte ou painte en tappichiés,
Par trestoux lez roiaulmez qui sunt de chi la mer:
Et s'en vouldront esbatre maint gentil chevalier
Et mainte noble dame qui moult a le vis cler,
Comment l'en soit d'Artus et de Charlez le ber,
f. 58*v*. De Guillaume au cornair, Roulant et Olivier;
De cy à trois cens ans en vouldront roumander
(De) la bataille dez trente qui fu faicte sans per.

479, Montauban] Mont auban; 489, toux] tour.

[Didot MS]

Lors heurta le cheval par flancs et par costés,
f. 8*v*. Que le sang tout vermoil en sailloit par les prés.
Ampres print une lance dont le fer fust carrés;
Par Anglois se bouta, sept en a trebuschés;
Au retour en a trois et liëtz à ses detz.
A ce coup les Anglois furent desconfités.

[BIGOT MS]

XXXVI

Grande fu la bataille, certez n'en doubtez mie;
Englois sunt desconfis, qui vouldrent par envie
Avoir sur lez Bretons posté et seigneurie;
Mais tretout leur orgueil tourna en grant folie.
Sy pry à celluy Dieu, qui nasqui de Marie,
Pour toux ceulx qui furent en celle compaignie,
Soient Bretons ou Englois,—partout Dieu en deprie,
Au jour de jugement que dampnez ne soient mie,
Saint Michiel, Gabriël, ce jour leur soit (en) aïe;
Or en ditez, "amen," tretoux, que Dieu l'octrie!

Cy fine la bataille de trente[1] Englois et de trente[2] Bretons qui fu faite em Bretaigne, l'an de grace mil trois cens cinquante, le semmedy devant letare Jherusalem.

519, octrie] octroie.
[1] trente] xxx; [2] trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

XXXV

Grande fut la bataille en my la prayërie;
Mercy au roy des roys, qui nacquist de Marie;
Anglois sont desconfitz, qui vouloyent par lourdie
Avoir sur les Bretons puissance et seignourie;
Mais toute leur pensée tourna en grant follie.
Si prie celuy Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,
Pour tous ceulx qui y furent, pour yceulx le deprie,
Qu'ilz ayent de paradis la pardurable vie;
Au jour du jugement que dampnés ne soint mye.
Sainct Michel, Gabriël, leur soyés en aÿe;
Or en dirons "amen," chascun que Dieu l'ottrie!
Explicit la bataille de trante.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

D2, *banneretz chevaliers;* **B2**, *bannerois bachelers.* The term *bannerets* was ordinarily used with *chevaliers* to indicate a *chevalier* of some distinction. In turn *chevalier* is of greater distinction than *bacheler.* Cf.:

> "L'ordre de banneret est plus que chevaliers,
> Comme apres chevalier acconsuit bachelier."
> —*Les chevaliers bannerets* (Pièces rel. à l'histoire de France, XII, 437).

A *chevalier banneret* was one "qui avait assez de vassaux pour en composer une compagnie et lever bannière" (cf. Godef. Supp.). On *banneret*, cf. *Romania* XXXII, 181–84 (A. Thomas). The word is first used in the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (ed. Salmon, sec. 1242). The *bacheler* were a younger and secondary degree of knighthood (cf. Lacroix, *La Vie Militaire*, p. 48). It is surprising to see the expression *bannerois bachelers*, though Gautier (*La Chevalerie*, Paris, 1884, p. 192) quotes illustrations from the *Charroi de Nîmes* (23–25) and *Parise la Duchesse* (1522) to show that a *bachelier* might also be a *chevalier.* Cf. also W. A. Stowell in *Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 225–36.

B4.—*menestreëlx:* Picard form for *menesterelx.*

DB7.—*vroye, vraie:* Bartsch avoids hiatus of feminine *e* in *histoire* by writing *veraye.* However, hiatus is fairly common in the *Bataille.*

—*clergons, clarjons.* According to Godefroy (q.v.) the word is still used in Poitou in the sense of "choir boy."

D17.—*raison vous vueil rendre:* MS has *tendre* but *rendre raison* is found as late as the seventeenth century (cf. Pascal, *Pensées*, X, ed. Havet; Corneille, *Sertorius*, V, 2).

D20.—*ammes;* MS *am̄es.* This sign (–), used by the Didot scribe, invariably indicates *m* when placed over a vowel before *m.* The form *ammes* occurs in a document of 1268 of Chaumont (Loir et Cher); cf. Godefroy, Supp. s.v.

B20.—*quer* (QUA RE) in accented position. Schwan-Behrens (8th ed. sect. 52, 1, *a*) calls *quer* a crossing of *quare* and *que.*

BD21.—Bartsch writes *du siecle devīe*, which receives justification as *devié* (DEVITARE). In both MSS it is 2 syl. (cf. *oublié* [OBLITARE] D27, B28). The couplet in *-ie* (B22–23) does not belong in the laisse. B23 is not in D and seems an interpolation. The correct reading is undoubtedly that of D, thus removing all inconsistency in the laisse.

DB22.—*Aulray, Auray.* In Breton, *Abrac;* today chef lieu of canton, dépt. Morbihan, arr. L'Orient. According to Le Baud, the founder was King Arthur.

D24.—*certen.* A Francian form (cf. Metzke, 65, p. 59) Bartsch alters to *certein.*

B26.—*menues gens de ville* is impossible, for the article is needed and even as it stands the hemistich makes *menues* dissyllabic. D26 is correct. *Gens* here "personnes"; cf. other examples in Godefroy, s.v.

D28—B29.—*pour luy demouré:* i.e., "has remained in his place." The idiom *demourer pour qqn.* is used in the fourteenth century as *se porter garant pour qqn.* (cf. Godefroy for examples from Froissart and *Perceforest*). The sense in the

text seems not so much the idea of going bail for Daggeworth as that of standing in his place to make good his promises.

D31.—*Ploeärmel* (Lat., *Plamelium*), mod. *Ploërmel*, Breton, *Plou-Arthmael*. The city honors as its founder St. Arthmael, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who traversed Bretagne on his way to the court of King Childebert. *Plou*, "people" (Breton) (cf. A. J. C. Hare; *Northwestern France*, London, 1904, p. 223, note). B writes *Pelmel* incorrectly. The word is always three syllables in Froissart (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 368; IV, 166; V, 289, 292, etc., and in the *Livre du bon duc Jehan*, ll. 946, 3757, ed. Charrière.

D35—B36.—*messire:* two syllables; cf. D150, 187, 191, 380, etc.; B108, 146, 150, 293, etc.; *sire* is also found as a monosyllable, D328; but dissyllabic, B72, 236.

Jehan: here dissyllabic as in D328 (cf. Reis, *Die Sprache des Livre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Erlangen, 1903, p. 14); as a monosyllable, D191; B150, 293, 495. Both *sire* and *messire* are terms of respect, the latter being used only with nobles of highest rank (cf. Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect*, Baltimore, 1908, pp. 202 and 221).

veoir, seurté: the pretonic *e* has no metrical value. It begins to disappear about this time, though diaeresis is found in the poems of Christine de Pizan (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, July, 1908).

D37.—*chetiffz:* a final *v* becomes *vf* and is written *ff* in the west. Examples of this are frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *brieff*, 14, 986, 1514; *chetiffs*, 3454; *neuff*, 658, etc.). According to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 30) these doubled consonants were pronounced. Cf. also in the *Bataille*, *beuffs*, 40; *soutiff*, 74.

D39.—*ainsin:* this form is attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. ll. 359, 583, 1201, etc.). The nasal pronunciation was long current as attested by Baïf and H. Estienne (cf. Thurot, II, 498 and Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Bartsch wrote *ainsi*.

B39.—*en chesp;* MS *un chesp*. Buchon and Crapelet also correct to *en*.

D46.—*de ceulx* (?), B47, *de quoy* is the correct reading.

D48—B49.—*aré, eré:* the feminine *arée* is more common = *terre labourée*, i.e., "ploughed land." Cf. "de opere rurali, id est *arato* vel vinea vel sectione, messione." . . . . Du Cange, *Glossaire*, I, 353. Prof. Foerster in *ZrP*, XXIX, 4 ff., quotes this passage and says "kann nur Ackerland, Acker, bedeuten." Cf. also G. Paris, *Romania* XIII, 130.

D49.—*flayeul: eul* for *el* is regular in the northwest, e.g., QUALEM *queu* with corresponding fem. *queule*. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Haute-Maine*, quoted by Goerlich, Rom. Stud., V. 17.

D50b.—It is possible that the scribe confused with the idiom *avoir costume*. B51 has the smoother reading.

D52.—Bartsch interpolates *il* unnecessarily.

D56.—Bartsch writes *se* for *sy;* both MSS are plain.

DB57.—*Saint Mahé:* "ville et abbé de Finistère à la pointe Saint-Mathieu," mentioned also by Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, l. 18720 and in *Roman d'Aquin*, l. 2153 (ed. F. Jouon des Longrais, Nantes, 1880, in Soc. d. Bibliophiles bretons).

D59.—*haut:* Bartsch writes *baut* (!)

D67—B66.—Proverbs of similar tenor on boasting are to be found listed by A. Kadler (*Ausg. u. Abhand.*, XLIX, 84–85). Cf. D76–77.

D72—B71.—The combat is thus to determine who is in the *right*, not who is the stronger. That it was so intended is confirmed by the mass attended by the Bretons (cf. D229, B190); one notes the omission of this act on the part of the English. Whether the author makes this omission intentionally, to give us the idea that the latter did not receive the blessing of God, cannot be said. Such masses were usually said before judicial combat (cf. L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 42–44).

D73–106.—Laisse V of D is omitted from B. It contains exactly 33 lines, the regular number contained in a page of B, so that the scribe has evidently omitted one page in copying, or, it may be, he copied from a MS which omitted it. The correspondance of D and B begins with D107—B73; B72, which contains Brambro's acceptance, is not found in D and may be an interpolation by the scribe who was conscious of a lacuna.

D78.—*Pierres Angier:* the man and the event referred to have not been identified. The chronicles contain no mention of them or of a place named *Ambissat* (l. 81). D'Argentré (*op. cit.*, p. 299) calls him "Pierre Bigier" and the place "Boussac"; a town of this name is in Ille-et-Vilaine (arr. St. Malo).

D85.—Bartsch writes *grans*.

D91.—I have preferred to write this line *vueillẽ ayder* rather than *vueille aȳder* as cases of undoubted hiatus in the poem are sufficiently frequent to justify it; *aide* (B185) is undoubtedly to be written without diaeresis and likewise in D114 if we write *qu(e) il* there. Still we find *aide:subside* in the fifteenth century (cf. Godefroy, s.v.) and according to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 14) *a+i* is frequent in the *Livre* both as one and two syllables. Cf. *pais* (DB30).

D100.—*abatre: tt* simplified to *t*. The process is frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *batre*, ll. 507, 508, 1133).

D103.—*ordrenner:* Bartsch writes *ordenner*.

———*Jocelin;* dept. Morbihan, arr. Ploërmel. The place owes its name to the castle built by Jocelin de Porhoët and is mentioned by Froissart (ed. K. de Lettenhove, XXIV, 385).

B72.—*je le vous fiant: t* for *ts(z)*.

D108.—Bartsch writes *loyaulmens;* MS has *loyaulmẽt*.

———Bartsch has *feroint: seroint*.

D110.—Bartsch writes *doutz* (douze). The MS reading is plain and the emendation does not improve the sense.

D110–112.—These important lines are lacking in B and give the justification for Guillaume de Montauban's seemingly unknightly act (cf. D470–489; B454–476) which brought about the discomfiture of the English. This matter provided material for discussion for the historians, none of whom, till recently, were acquainted with the Didot version (cf. Pitre-Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 385; also La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 514, n. 5).

D113—B76.—Both MSS corrupted, D badly so: *voit* (B), *voint*<VINCIT; cf. *Vers de la Mort*, ed. Wulff and Walberg, Str. 25, 11.

D114.—Bartsch writes *Qu'il en* as in B77.

B82–83.—D has much the smoother reading for this passage. For the phrase *mestier n'y a celée*, cf. *Florence de Rome*, ll. 1662, 3731, 4945.

B86.—*demourance* (MS *doubtance*, which makes the hemistich one syl. short); cf. D124; the copyist was misled by B92.

B93a.—Is hypermetric; D132 probably represents the correct reading.

B94.—*Plaisance.* The particular town cannot be identified. Froissart mentions three places of this name, none of which seems likely to be the Plaisance of the *Bataille* (cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IX, 550; XVIII, 368; XVIII, 463). It may be noted that the name is a common one in the *Dict. des Communes* by Gindre de Mancy. No less than six are located in the west: (1) Loire-Inférieure; (2) Loiret; (3) Loiret; (4) Loiret; (5) Maine-et-Loire; (6) La Manche.

B95 ff.—F.: reads very roughly and is probably corrupt; the Didot version is much clearer and more satisfactory. B95 reads *barons*, which may be due to the influence of B102. The rime requires *bacheliers* as in D134.

D129.—Bartsch reads *moult grande.*

D132.—If the line is correct we have a case of the loss of final feminine *e* after two consonants in *royaulme.* Such a loss is without parallel in the *Bataille.* Possibly B represents the correct reading here. Bartsch reads *el royaulme.*

B103.—*pren* [*dray*]: cf. B114.

B106.—*Y*[*v*]*on*; MS *Yon.* For the oblique case, cf. Cuvelier, *Bertrand*, l. 13784. Crapelet suggests *Huon;* D has *St. Symon.* But St. Yves was a popular Breton saint who died at Lohanec, May 19, 1303 (cf. Benjoy, *La vie de St. Yves, tirée d'un ms. sur vélin du XIV^e^. siècle*, St. Brieuc, 1884. reviewed in *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, XLVI [1885]); cf. also D368; B342.

D138.—*ransczons: cz* for *s* is common in the northwest, particularly after a nasal (cf. *Livre*, l. 85; D426, 435, 449). See also Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

D147.—*Guillaume de la Lande:* confusion with the squire of that name; cf. D177.

B107.—*Boscdegas, Bodegat* (D146). MS has *Bosc de Gas* (as also Buchon). The Picard scribe was unfamiliar with the name and confuses with the Picard doublet of *bois* which is *bos*(*c*).

B108.—*Bouès;* D, *Boys;* Buchon, *Boves;* Crapelet, *Bones.* MS writes *u* plainly. The meter demands monosyllabic value; *e*=*ai* here. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 36, states that the name is written *Bouais* by some members of the family.

B115b.—Two syllables short; cf. D155 for correct reading.

D157.—*Keranraes* for *Keranrais* (Bartsch, *Carramois*); *ae* for *ai* is frequent in the west before a strong sibilant; cf. *faesmes* (D68), *faescons* (D219); also *Livre*, 1545, 1547, 2603, etc. (Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

D159.—*leurs;* MS has *le^z^*. This abbreviation stands for both singular (cf. D189) and plural; I write *leurs* on the authority of D179, where the word is written out.

B118.—*Loïs Guion;* MS *Lors;* Crapelet, *Lors;* Buchon, *Loïs.*

D163—B122.—*bonté, Brice.* D has a clearer reading (*bonté* here "bravery"; cf. *Ren. de Montauban*, in Bartsch-Horning, p. 63, l. 124). De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 46, mentions an Eudes de la Roche (also named Budes and qualified as *bon pere*) who as crusader accompanied Baudouin, count of Flanders, to the siege of Constantinople and to Greece, in 1204. Members of the la Roche family occur as dukes of Athens in the thirteenth century. This traditional association with Baudouin may have led the Picard scribe to assume a connection. Beaumanoir also refers again to Geoffroy's father (cf. D353, B328).

D164—B123.—Bartsch writes *Constentinoble.*

D165—B124.—The completion of the condition (B126), which is not found in D, is responsible for the change of tense. It is impossible to say whether the original contained this condition.

B125.—*dont:* the old subjunctive: a stereotyped phrase (cf. *Schwan-Behrens*, Sec. 353); note also *gart* (B143).

D174—B134.—*luy:* in laisse with *mercy*, etc. In the fourteenth century *luy* was often pronounced *li* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. d. frz. Spr.*, Sec. 265).

B128.—*Trisguidy:* the second hemistich is two syllables short in MS (cf. D168 which has the correct reading). *Trézéguidy* is the proper form; cf. Introduction, II.

B129.—*Pontblanc:* this is the proper form of the name (cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 235; De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 50; D. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, X, 98 (p. 343).

B130.—The historians agree on the form *Du Parc.*

D171—B131.—*Beaucours: Beaucorps*, both forms of the name are known; cf. Introduction, II.

D172.—*Villong:* the *g* emphasizes the pronunciation of *n* together with a guttural (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

D176–77.—The second hemistichs are reversed from the order in B136–37.

B142.—Neither hemistich is metrically correct, probably on account of the scribe's carelessness (cf. D183).

D185.—*encontre:* MS has *honte* which is repeated from the preceding line. Possibly we should also read *tele* for *male* as in B144.

B144.—*envoit:* so also Bartsch (l. 185). The old subjunctive again as demanded by the following line. Crapelet notes, "*avoit . . . . envoie.*" We might also read *a[n]voit.*

D188—B147.—*tart: avoir tart*—"il m'est besoin." It will be remembered that Brambro was short of men since he had to fill up his number with Germans and Bretons.

D189.—*Je ne sçay pas leurs noms.* A seeming contradiction, for the author proceeds to enumerate them, although very inaccurately. B148 is much more to the point.

D190.—*Conchart* for *Crucart* (B149). This may be an attempt of the author to twist Crucart's name into an epithet. Cf. *Contart*, D391, 413; also *Huceton le contart* (D205); *conchié=dupe* (*Roman de la Rose*, Bartsch, *Chrest.* St. 61, l. 149).

D192—B151.—*Huëlcoc:* metrically three syllables. Both lines are incorrect metrically in the MS. It is accepted that *Helecoq* (or *Huelcoc*) was the brother of

Redoure (*Ridele*); cf. De Courcy (*op. cit.*, p. 65); La Borderie (*op. cit.*, p. 515) although D. Morice (*op. cit.*, p. 236) apparently indicates the contrary. We should perhaps emend by placing *et* at the beginning of both lines and also begin the second hemistich with *et* as in B. The name occurs again in B497 where a similar change is necessitated by the meter. The scribe may well have omitted the connective which occurs several times in the passage. *Huëlcoc* (*Helecoq, Hillecoq*)—*Huë le Coq* (?).

D195.—*marc:* should probably read *quart* as in B154. Godefroy cites *marc* as a weight of 8 oz., serving to weigh gold and silver.

D197.—*Huëlcoq:* should read *Huceton.* The scribe has confused the line with l. 192. Cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

B159–160.—*Agappart—Renouart.* B. also mentions other characters of the old French epic in ll. 506–7. Langlois (*Table des noms propres*) cities four of the name Agappart. The combat referred to here is recorded in *Aliscans* (ed. Guessard), pp. 180–84. *Renouart* or *Renouart au tinel*, the son of Saracen king *Desramé* (in *Aliscans*); baptized, he fights by the side of Guillaume d'Orange against the Saracens.

D200.—*Renequin Helcart;* the second hemistich is short one syllable. Possibly the *Herouart* of B (cf. D. Morice *et al.*) is the correct reading.

B168.—*liespart:* 2 syl., if *fu* is correct. We may read as in D206, but the word is found both as 2 syl. and as 3 syl. in the fourteenth century (cf. forms like *liëpart, lepart, lipart*, in E. Deschamps, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, X, 76). The *s* is unetymological.

D207—B169.—*St. Lenart, St. Godart.* The most famous saint named *Lenart* was the hermit of Micy who founded the monastery of Noblac (Nobiliacense) in Limousin, four miles from Limoges. He died 559 (?), Saint's Day, November 6. (Cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, Paris, 1907.) He preached the gospel in central France (Berry). There are also three other saints from this locality (cf. Wetzer-Welte, *Katholisches Kirchenlexikon*, 2d ed., art. "Leonhard"): (1) of Vandreuve (Vendoperense), bishop of Le Mans (day, Oct. 15); (2) of Dunois, honored in bishopric of Blois (day, December 8); (3) abbot of Celles in Berry (day, December 30). St. Leonard of Vandreuve is probably the one in the author's mind, but very likely these various personages were more or less blended into one in the popular conception. *St. Godard*, bishop of Rouen, b. *ca.* 490, d. 525 (day, June 8). He is the natural saint for a Picard scribe to have in mind. Cf. Bolland, *Bib. hag. lat.* (1899), p. 527. His life is found, *Gildardi Vita*, in *Analecta Bollandiae*, Bruxelles, Vol. VIII (1889), pp. 393–402.

D209.—*Dagorne:* a scribal error for *d'Ardaine* (D206).

B173—D212.—*Dynart:* com. of Saint-Enogat (Ille-et-Vilaine), 4 km. from St. Malo.

D213.—*moult* for *maint* (B174).

D224.—*santismes; a+i* element $=a$. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quotes similar instances from Anjou, in which he sees only the learned influence. As for the use of the plural form, see K. Tolle, *Das Betheuern u. Beschwören in d. altröm. Poesie*, Erlangen, 1883, pp. 28–29.

D228—B189.—*lu, luy:* the *luy* of B is equivalent to *lu* of D despite the spelling.

D232.—*oultrage:* is the MS reading. But cf. 296, 301.

D238—B199.—*le duc debonaire*, i.e., Charles de Blois.

D239—B200.—*la franche duchesse*, i.e., Jeanne de Penthièvre, daughter of Gui de Bretagne.

D248—B209.—*livres:* Ainsworth, *Bentley's Miscellany*, V, 446, refers to these as an illustration of illiteracy on Brambro's part and suggests that they are probably mystical characters (!). These are the prophecies ascribed to Merlin and inserted by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Historia Regum Brit.* (cf. A. de la Borderie, *Les véritables prophéties de Merlin; examen des poèmes bretons attribués à ce barde*, Paris, 1883; rev. by G. Paris, *Romania*, XII, 375–76 who doubts the authenticity of those which Borderie accepts). The first redaction was of 1135. Geoffrey's work was continued by different persons at various times and enjoyed great popularity, particularly in the fourteenth century. Cf. Ward, *Cat. of Rom. in Brit. Mus.*, I (1883), pp. 278–344. A Cambridge MS mentioned by P. Meyer (*Ro.*, XV, 295) is ascribed to the time of Edward III, and relates to the times of Henry III and his successors. It begins, "Ici comence alcunes de les propheties des merveilles de Merlin, dit en soun temps de Engleterre, etc." On Merlin and his alleged prophecies cf. also Brugger, *ZffzSL*, XXX, 210; W. E. Mead, *Merlin*, 2 vols., E.E.T.S., London, 1899, pp. xlv.–xlix.; Lucy A. Paton, *PMLA*, XXII, 234–76; Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, Harvard Studies*, X. Mentions in contemporary literature are frequent (cf. E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, I, 106, 20; II, 33, 222; VI, 185; XIII, xiii.; also Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, ed. Charrière, ll. 3286–87, 3427, 6772, 10089.

D254.—*n'auront ung pié d'avis;* **B215.**—*pié n'y en demourra vis.* The second hemistich in both MSS is evidently corrupted and presents difficulty which I am not able to solve with certainty. I am unfamiliar with an idiom *pié d'avis* and can find no parallel for it. *Avis*, meaning "opinion," etc., is regularly spelled *advis* by the scribe of D (cf. 260, 274). The scribe of B was not familiar with the expression since he altered it to give the meaning "not a man will remain alive," in which *pié* = "man," a figurative sense that is found in Froissart (cf. *onques piés n'en escapa*, Oeuvres, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IV, 306; *jamais piés n'en retournera, ibid.*, V, 46; XI, 160). *Ne . . . . pié* exists as a negative construction (cf. *Godefroy*), though apparently not with *ung* as in D. A possible solution is to read *de vis* for *d'avis*. The sense of Brambro's speech would then be "have not a chance of living" (i.e., being conquered, their lives would be forfeited unless Edward saw fit to put them to ransom. The meaning then agrees with B. Cf. also *Guardez seignurs, que il n'en algent vif*, Roland, 2061.

B228.—*Des c'on f[e]ist (em) bataille;* MS *desconfist.* The line is lacking in D possibly because it was already corrupt and the scribe omitted it for that reason. Brambro could hardly call Beaumanoir "discomfited *in battle*" before any battle had been fought. The emendation gives the sense "as soon as a battle was to be fought, you did not come at all to the scratch," an effective taunt. For the idiom, *faire bataille*, cf. *Rol.* 3336; *f[e]ist* is monosyllabic, as similarly in the *Livre.* cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

D271—B233.—*Le roy de Saint Denis*, i.e., the king of France, so styled by the English who maintained Edward III's title to the throne (cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 519, n. 2). Still, this title was also used by the French themselves, as Bertrand's speech shows (cf. Cuvelier, *Bert. du Guesclin*, I, 238; II, 285).

D275.—*liée:* should possibly be replaced by *membrée* as in B237; yet *liée* may also be kept as the expression was one used in Francian and may be used either with or without reduction. *Liée* is regular in the west, though the *Livre* has both *lie* and *liée* in rime and so also *aillie* (cf. D357, B332) which Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 40, explains as due to the fact that it is used in common expression. Otherwise the reduction of *iée* to *ie* is not found either in the *Bataille* or in the *Livre*.

D279.—*digés:* an odd form. Dottin et Langouet, *Gloss. du Parler de Pléchâtel* (Canton de Bain, Ille-et-Vilaine), Rennes et Paris, 1901, give the modern pronunciation as *dizié*. Guill. de St. Andre, *Livre* 1302 has *diëz*.

B246.—*de chi la mer salée*, i.e., in France. Charruel is the best warrior of the Breton party ("on this side the salt sea"), as distinguished from the English.

D286.—*Anorée;* **B249.**—*Homourée.* Chevalier, *op. cit.*, lists three saints Honorata: (1) the patroness of Bar-sur-Aube (fifth century); (2) martyred at Carthage, February 11, 304; (3) of Pavia, d. January 11, 500. Apparently none of these have any significance to western France. It is quite possible that there may be a confusion here with St. Henore, or Anora as La Borderie calls her, who is famous in Brittany. She was the wife of an Irish prince who came to Brittany in the early part of the sixth century and who is known as St. Efflam. Their shrine is at Plestin (Côtes-du-Nord). Chevalier quotes a work upon her, viz., Miorcec de Kerdanet, *Notice sur S^e. Honore de Lesneven*, Brest, 1853. For the romantic story of Efflam and Anora, see La Borderie, *op. cit.*, I, 361–62, and the *Vita S. Enflami*, in *Annales de Bretagne*, VII, 289.

D294.—*Voyez que dist Charruel:* meter correct if *Charruel* is dissyllabic, though regularly trissyllabic elsewhere in the poem (cf. 144, 283, 324, 403). B257 has the line metrically correct but *Voyez là* does not go well with the sense of the following lines. D probably represents the correct reading despite the metrical value of *Charruel*. Reductions of *U*+*I* to *U* are common in the N.W. dialects to the present day. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 57, gives illustrations from Anjou and Maine. They are frequent also as attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 43).

D296.—*de:* required by the sense. The *et* of the MS is probably a scribal error due to the *et* of the preceding line.

D300.—*gientz.* Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, calls attention to the readiness of *E* to become *IE* after *g* in the departments of Morbihan, Loire-Inférieure, and Côtes-du-Nord (no examples in Ille-et-Vilaine). A similar *i* appears after *c* in Anjou, Maine, and Berry.

B267–68.—*mie:* the repetition of the rime *mie* suggests an interpolation. The sense does not require these lines and they are wanting in D.

B275b.—Is hypermetric; cf. D313.

D321.—*non:* < (NECUNU)—"pas un." Godefroy quotes similar examples. *feble* (<FLEBILEM), *feible*, *feble*, not *foible*, as would be expected. Norman and Western French, cf. Schwan-Behrens, NO. 225A. The *l* of B287 is learned.

B295.—*piis* (PEJUS); monosyllabic. Cf. *pies*, *Rom. de Rou*, ed. Andresen 6937, 7289, and *peix*, *Greg. pap. Hom.* ed. Hoffman, p. 123. Cf. *Aliis*, Charte of Ille-et-Vilaine of 1294, Schwan-Behrens, p. 287.

D308–10—B271–72.—The names of some of the most important Breton families of the period and representative of the whole duchy. Save *Quintin*, the names occur frequently in Cuvelier and in the *Livre*. In the latter (ll. 427–28) Laval, Montfort, and Rohan occur together as leaders of the nobility. Gui X de Laval, Lohéac, Rohan, Tournemine, and Quintin are mentioned by Froissart among those who failed to join the banner of Montfort; Gui de Laval, Geoffroy de Tournemine and Jean de Quintin perished in the battle of La Roche Derrien in 1347 (cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 327, 371). There are two Rohans in Brittany (1) of Finistère; (2) of Morbihan, of which the latter is undoubtedly meant. It is one of the oldest houses in France and was made a vicomté in 1100. *Rochan* (D309) is unusual and is possibly due to Rochefort (D308); only *Rohan*, *Rohen*, and *Roen* are found in Cuvelier and the *Livre*. The author of the *Bataille* is evidently suggesting a contrast between the noble families of Beaumanoir's party (and the loyalty of the great Breton families as well) and the crowd of *routiers* whom Brambro presents.

D331.—*paour:* as monosyllable, is found frequently in western texts (cf. *Livre*, 251, 821, 1220, etc., quoted by Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

B297.—(*con*)*fondu:* the scribe wrote *feru* before *confondu* and later crossed it out; *feru* would have given a hemistich metrically correct but is impossible as it is the rime word in the next line.

D337.—*Et percié mainte lance: rompu* for *percié* as in B306 (?).

B311–317.—this *laisse*, missing in D, is important, as it contains the account of the rest and refreshment that the combatants took. It is not a later interpolation, for Jehan le Bel refers to the incident. It possibly existed in the MS from which the Didot scribe copied. *Laisses* XXVII and XXVIII of B begin in similar style, *Forte fu la bataille* and *Grande fu la bataille*. The scribe was probably misled by the similarity and proceeded with the following *laisse* without noting the omission. De Courcy, in his account of the battle (*op. cit.*, p. 11), on the authority of Jehan le Bel evidently, speaks of the two parties talking with each other pleasantly—a rather unnatural proceeding which is not borne out by the text of the *Bataille*.

B330.—*Et Giuffroy jure Dieu;* MS *Et je jure Dieu:* D gives the correct reading, for Geoffroy would be the one who would naturally take the oath.

B333.—The *prise* of 332 is to be understood as governing the line.

D360.—Does not occur in B and is probably an interpolation. The author is often hard put for rimes but the use of *mie* three times, almost in succession (359, 360, 362), is without parallel in the poem; moreover, it is in sense merely a repetition of 359.

D361—B336.—*amye:* this reminds us of Jehan le Bel's statement that the battle was fought for the sake of the ladies and it may be that this reference is his authority for the assertion. Brambro is probably referring to Jeanne de Flandres, countess of Montfort.

D365—B340.—*tendrons, entendon:* Beaumanoir is referring to the battle; the sense of D is preferable.

D369—B344.—*sur toy sera hazart. Hazart* was a technical throw of the dice and was generally considered a good one. See F. Semran, "Würfel u. Würfelspiel im alten Frankreich," in *ZrP*, Beih. 23 (1910).

D372—B347.—Apparently the scribe of D did not understand the passage. In B, Buchon and Crapelet both read *à avoir; amoïr* makes much the better sense (i.e., a verbal formation from *mutus*), "to make dumb" or "silence." Cf. Péan Gatineau, *Vie de St. Martin*, ll. 6655, 10167. L. 1572 has *amoï* in the sense of "made weak" (Lat. orig. *labefacti);* cf. T. Söderhjelm, *Die Sprache in dem afz. Martinsleben des Péan Gatineau aus Tours*, Helsingfors, 1906.

B352.—Is unnecessary; an interpolation (?).

D382.—*à [la] terre estandu:* MS reads without *la* which gives a case of hiatus. This sort of hiatus is found in the *Bataille*, but cf. B358.

D387.—*biën:* with diaeresis the hemistich is correct. This diaeresis of *ie* is found frequently in the *Livre*, e.g., *biëns*, 493; *tiën*, 309, etc. (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 13). We might possibly read *Or pensés*, etc.

B359.—*le(z) Bouez:* should read *le bon(?)*. Cf. D383.

B360.—*De cestu es (tu) vengié:* we might read *De cest(u) es tu vengié* as in D385. But *cestu* is attested by rime (B363).

B365.—*fiertés:* the scribe wrote *fertés*, later inserting an *i* between *e* and *r*. *Fiertés* is his regular form (cf. 44, 51, 461).

B371b.—Cf. B100.

B378.—*blechiers:* Buchon alters to *blechiés* but Crapelet follows MS.

B387a.—*Apres y demoura;* D reads differently. For *y* cf. *Belifort y fu*, l. 388.

D428—B402.—*mourir:* in the transitive sense; Beaumanoir is the subject.

B403.—The line is badly corrupted in the MSS which reads, *Et d'Ardaine da derains, ly conuett soudoiant.* The *da* is evidently an error through which the scribe neglected to draw a line as he does in other cases (cf. l. 297). D'Ardaine came from Rennes (cf. *Introduction*, II); as for *conuett* it may be *convert*, i.e., "turncoat" (?) which accords well with the sense and would be a natural epithet for a supporter of the Blois party to apply to a Breton fighting on the other side.

B431–440.—Are omitted from D probably by carelessness. From D452 we infer that mention is about to be made of the oak of Mye-Voie; but instead of continuing, the scribe writes, "Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel," which is lacking in B.

B430–431.—The lines are very disconnected unless *fu* is inserted before *Le chesne*. The Oak of Mye-Voie became famous as the monument of the Bataille. It fell of old age at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was replaced by a cross called "La Croix de la Bataille des Trente." This cross, fallen in its turn, was raised in 1776 at the expense of the states of Brittany, was destroyed in the Revolution and replaced by an obelisk, raised July 18, 1819, the year of the Fréminville edition. Crapelet (*op. cit.*, pp. 69–110) and De Courcy (*op. cit.*, pp. 15–19) give a long account of the ceremonies on this occasion. An illustration of the monument of 1776 is given by D'Auvergne (cf. *Archeologia*, VI [1782],

p. 144) according to whom it was not a new monument but merely the restoration of an old one. The oak stood on a slight rise of ground and is represented in the frontispiece of De Courcy's work from the original illustration in the MS of Pierre Le Baud.

B433.—*moncel.* The *herisson* or *moncel* was the hollow square the English formed to resist attack. It was extremely efficient at Crécy and Poitiers.

D455.—*Sainct Marcel:* Wetzer-Welte (*op. cit.*, article "Marcellus") quote five saints of this name down to the fourteenth century. It may be St. Marcel, bishop of Paris, d. 436 (day, November 1); cf. Bolland, *Bibl. Hag. Lat.* (1900), p. 779. We have here probably a local trait, for St. Marcel was a little parish (mentioned in the *Dict. des Communes* as *Morbihan*, arr. *Vannes*), united in the fifteenth century to the parish of Bohal (cf. Abbé Luco, *Bull. soc. polymathique de Morbihan* [1876], 1st. Semester, p. 79). B reads *com gentil demoisel* and in B440 (not in D) *St. Michiel* is mentioned.

D457–458.—B interverts these lines.

B440a.—*For(men)t fu desconfité:* the scribe probably took *fort* as an abbreviation for *forment.*

B449.—*feront eulx:* the tonic form for the atonic. Bretagne and Maine show this dialectical peculiarity of *eulx* for conjunctive *ils* (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

B467.—*hoirs]hoirez;* Buchon, *hoirs;* Crapelet, *hoirez. Hoiers* is found as monosyllable in the *Livre*, 2986; as for the form *hoirs* in a Picard MS; cf. the Chartes of Pas-de-Calais of 1292 (Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 250) and of St. Quentin (Aisne) of 1219 (*idem*, p. 256). The meter requires *hoirs* or possibly *hoiers* as in the *Livre.*

D488–489.—The gap in D represents the last of B, *laisse* XXXIV, and all of B, viz., 33 lines, equivalent to a page of MS. Apparently the scribe of D (or the scribe of his model) has made the same sort of omission as the B scribe who omitted *laisse* V of D.

D488.—*disconfités:* evidently the past participle of a verb *disconfiter* formed from the participle of the regular verb *desconfire.*

B480.—*Montjoie:* the old war cry of France, of uncertain origin, though it probably comes from *Mons Gaudii* rather than *Meum Gaudium* (G. Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 417, note). The case is best summed up by J. Bédier (*Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1908, II, 225–39) in connection with the passages in the *Roland* (3084–96 and 2501–11). *Montjoie* is first mentioned by Orderic Vital in describing a battle of 1119 (Bédier, *op. cit.*, 235, note).

B483.—*amornez;* Buchon, *aornés.*

B484.—*Dieu croisse [en] bontez:* though metrically correct, the sense demands *en.*

B506–7.—These characters, taken from the Old French epic, show the purpose of the author of the *Bataille* to imitate the epic style of composition. *Charles le ber*, i.e., Charlemagne; *Guillaume au cornair* is the hero of the Cycle d'Orange. He is called *Guillaume au cort nés* in *Aliscans; Guillaume au cornais* in the *Enfances Vivien* (cf. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres*, art. "Guillaume d'Orange").

B518.—*Ce jour leur soit (en) aïe:* the rime of the *laisse* proves *aïe* trisyllabic.

VOCABULARY

(Note.—The vocabulary is not a complete list of all the words in the *Bataille*. Words whose form or sense do not differ from modern French are, in general, omitted. The numbers refer to the lines; those numbers which are not preceded by letter refer to the Bigot MS; those with the letter D refer to Didot.)

achier, acier, v.a., achever; complete, fulfil. Pp. *achivé* D52 (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, §28).

accordance, s.f., accord; agreement. D125, *avons accordance*, we are agreed.

anchesourie, assessourie, s.f., ancienne et noble race; ancestry.

aconcheu, v. *aconsuivre*.

aconsuivre, v.a., atteindre; strike. Pp. *aconcheu* 357.

actendre, v.a., attendre; await. *actendron* D259. Pp. *actendu* D379.

admeine, v. *amener*.

adoncques, adv., alors; then.

adjournement, ajournement, s.m., jour fixe; set day.

advis, v. *avis*.

aet, v. *avoir*.

affoler, v.a., blesser; maim.

agraventer, v.a., abattre, écraser; beat down, crush. Norman and Picard patois have *cravanter* today in this sense (*Godefroy*).

aie, aye, s.f., aide; succor.

aillie (*ailliée*), s.f., ail; garlic.

ains, prep., avant; before.

ainsin, adv., ainsi; so.

aïst, v. *ayder*.

aloser, v.a., couvrir de gloire; glorify. Pp. *alosé*, estimé; esteemed.

ambler, v. *embler*.

amener, v.a., amener; bring along. Pres. ind. 3, *amaine* 207; *ameine* D246; fut. 4, *amerron* 216.

amme, s.f., âme; soul D20; *arme* 20.

amoïr, v.a., silencer; silence.

amornez, adj., morne, sombre; gloomy, forbidding. (From *amorner=se mortifier.—Godefroy.*)

ampres, apres, prep. and adv., après; after.

amouré, adj., affilé, aiguisée; pointed, sharpened. The *Dict. Général* distinguishes this word from the present nautical term, "Coin d'une basse voile fixé du côté d'où vient le vent."

an, en, on, pron., on; one. The indefinite pronoun *on* regularly appears as *l'en* or *l'an* in the N.W. dialects (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 75). In the unemphatic position following the verb we find *on* (cf. D77).

araisonner, aroisonner, v.a., adresser la parole; harangue.

aré, eré, s.m., terre labourée; fields. Still today in Anjou, "*on prononce la rée*" (Ch. Menière, *Glossaire étym. et compar. du Patois, angevin*, Angers, 1881, p. 36).

arrestezon (for *arrestison* or *arrestoison*), s.f., arrêt; delay. (For the form of the suffix, cf. Nyrop, *Gram. Hist.*, III, §281.)

assessourie, v. *anchesourie*.

ataindre, v.a., atteindre; strike. Pres. ind. 3, *ataint*.
atargier, v.n., tarder; delay.
au jour d'é, adv., aujourd'hui; today (210, D249). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 6.
auxi, adv., aussi; also.
avis, advis, s.m., avis; opinion; *avis* D254(?).
avoir, v.a., avoir; have. Ind. fut. 1, *auroy* D152; 3, *ara* 198, *aura* 237; 6, *aront* 319; pret. 3, *oust* D34, *ot* D33, *eust* D37; 3, *urent* 312, *ourent* 180; subj. pres. 3, *aet* D461, *ait* D288; 6, *aient* 52, *ayent* 51.
avoueltre, adj., illégitime; illegitimate D95. It is also possible that the author uses this word in the sense of *étranger, méchant, perverti*, which is its figurative value; cf. "E cumenzet a cultiver deus avuiltres e aürer," *Livre des Rois*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 268, which is a translation of the Latin, "colueritis deos alienos."
ayder, aider, v.a., aider; ind. pres. 3, *aïst* 77.
bacheler, bachelier, s.m., jeune homme ou chevalier; young man or knight.
bacinet, bacynet, s.m., casque de fer très léger; light helmet.
baffier, s.m., moqueur; taunter.
baneret, bannerois, adj., ayant le droit de porter une banière; banneret.
barast (for *barat*), s.m., tromperie, fraude; deception, fraud.
barnaige, bernage, s.m., assemblée de barons; baronage.
bault, adj., joyeux; happy.
bayer, béer, v.n., bayer; gape (*béer* is the Picard form.—*Godefroy*).
belement, bellement, adv., gentiment; nobly.
beneichon, beneisson, s.f., bénédiction; blessing.
ber, s.m., baron; baron.
bernage, v. *barnaige*.
besoigner, besoignier, v.n., travailler; take care.
besser, v.a., diminuer; decrease.
beuff, bouef, s.m., boeuf; ox.
biau, adj., beau; fine, beautiful.
blechié, blecié, pp. of *blechier* (*blecier*), v.a., blesser; wound.
boire, v.a., boire; drink. Pp. *beü*.
boudie, v. *boydie*.
bouef, v. *beuff*.
bouter, v. refl., se jeter; cast oneself.
boydie, boudie, s.f., méchanceté, perfidie; malice, perfidy.
branc, s.m., épée; sword.
bu, s.m., tronc du corps; trunk (of the body).
caucher, v.a., chausser; to fasten on the feet.
cel, dem. pron., obl. case, *celuy;* as adj. D19.
celé, s.m. (for *lieu celé*); *en celé*+en cachette; in a dungeon.
cenel, s.m., canal; little stream.
centence, v. *sentence*.
certen, certein, certain, adj., certain, D24, 88, D253.
certeinement, adv., surement; certainly. (The groups *ai* and *ei* had the value *e* by the middle of the thirteenth century in the N.W.; cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 17.)
cest, pron. and adj., ce, celui; this, this one. Obl. masc. sg. *cest, cestu, cestuy, cetuy*.

chaillenge, v. *chalenger*.
chaindre, v.a., ceindre; gird on.
chaïr, v. *cheoir*.
chalenger, *chalonger*, *chaillenger*, v.a., challenger; challenge, defy. (The form with *ai* is unusual; cf. Schwan-Behrens, §87 (2) A.)
chapple, s.m., carnage, mêlée; slaughter, fight.
chenel, s.m., petit chêne; small oak.
cheoir, v.n., tomber; fall. Pret. 3, *chay* 358, *chet* D382; pp. *cheu* 354, *chet* D390.
chere, v. *chiere*.
chesp, *sep*, s.m., "morceau de bois emboitant les pieds des prisonniers"; stocks. (Cf. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes (1891), X, p. 20, and also G. Paris, *Romania*, XXX, 386.)
chetif, *chetiff*, adj. as subst., prisonnier; prisoner.
chi, v. *cy*.
chief, s.m., tête; head. *à chief de*, etc. (223, D262) = au bout de; at the end of.
chiere, *chere*, s.f., visage, mine; face, countenance.
clarjon, v. *clergon*.
cler, adj., clair; bright.
clergon, *clarjon*, s.m., petit clerc; little clerk.
colée, *collée*, s.f., coup; blow. (Still current today in Anjou, cf. Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 111.)
comparer, *comperer*, v.a., payer cher, expier; pay dear for, expiate (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 23).
compter, v.a., raconter; relate.
congneü, pp. of *congnoistre*, v.a., connaître; be acquainted with, know.
convenir, *couvenir*, v.n., convenir; to be fitting or necessary.
coul, s.m., cou; neck.
courant, adj. from *courir:* courant; fleet.
courage, s.m., intention; purpose.
courrouchier, *courroucier*, v.a., courroucer; to anger or become angry.
cousté, *costé*, s.m., côte; side.
couvenir, v. *convenir*.
coux, pl. of *coup* 101.
croistre, v.a., augmenter; increase.
cuider, v.a., penser, croire; think, believe.
cuydance, s.f., opinion mal fondée; unfounded belief.
cy, *chi*, adv., ici; here.
dam, *dom*, s.m., seigneur; master (in contemptuous sense). In works of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries *danz* added to the insult (cf. Stowell, *Titles of respect in Old French*, Baltimore, 1908, p. 111).
dard, s.m., dard; dart. "Cette arme était montée sur un manche de bois de 6 à 7 pieds de long" (Crapelet). Cf. also Keller, *Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names*, Heidelberg, 1905, p. 132.
davancier, s.m., devancier; front.
dé, *detz*, s.m., dé; dice, 343, D368.
dechi, adv., de ce côté; on this side.
decza, adv., de ce côté-là; on that side.
deffaillance, s.f., faute; failure.

defaloir, v.n., manquer; be wanting (cf. *deffaillir;* see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram.*, §321).
deffier, v.a., déclarer la guerre, défier; declare war, defy.
definer, v.n., prendre fin, terminer; come to an end, die.
demoisel (for *damoisel*), s.m., jeune gentilhomme; young noble.
demourance, s.f., hésitation; reluctance.
demourer, v.n., rester, rester au lieu de; remain, be in the place of.
departir, v.a., séparer; disperse.
deprier, v.a., prier avec instance; pray fervently. (Still used in Anjou; cf. Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 134.)
desconfort, s.m., découragement; discouragement.
desesperance, s.f., désespoir; despair.
desverie, s.f., folie, action mauvaise; madness, evil action.
detz, v. *dé.*
deul, v. *dueil.*
devés (pp. of *desver*), adj., fou; mad. (Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 156, quotes *endevé*, perdre le calme ordinaire.)
devier, v.n., mourir; die.
devis, s.m., plaisir; pleasure.
devision, s.f., division; selection. (For the various significations of this word see Berger, *Die Lehnwörter in d. frz. Spr. ältester Zeit.*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 100.)
devoir, v.a., devoir; ought, owe. Pres. ind. 3, *doibt* 488; imperfect ind. 6, *debvoient* D226; fut. 3, *debvra* D162.
dient, *diēs*, *digés*, v. *dire.*
dimence, *dimenche*, s.m., dimanche; Sunday.
dire, v.a., dire; say. Pres. ind. 6, *dient* 66; pres. subj. 5, *diēs* 241; *digés* D279.
dit, *dix*, s.m., parole, petit poème; word, short poem.
doeul, v. *dueil.*
doibt, v. *devoir.*
doint, v. *doner.*
dolent, adj., triste, misérable; sad, unhappy.
dom, v. *dam.*
domage, *doumaige*, s.m., dommage; harm.
doner, v.a., donner; give. Pres. subj. 3, *doint* D166, *dont* 125.
dormir, v.n., dormir; sleep. With *gesir* in the sense of pâmer, s'évanouir; swoon, faint; sometimes alone in the same sense; (cf. "L'autre sauvage qui *avoit* cependant *dormy* au coup, etc.," quoted by Godefroy).
doumaige, v. *domage.*
droitturier, adj., droit, juste; just.
dueil, *doeul*, *deul*, s.m., douleur, deuil; grief, mourning.
durée, s.f., résistance; staying-power. Cf. "Li noble n'auroient point de durée à euls" (Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, II, 17).
efforcer, v.a., se renforcer; reinforce.
effroier, v. refl., avoir peur; become afraid.
election, s.f., choix; choice.
em, prep. and pron. (for *en*).
embler, *ambler*, v.a., prendre, dérober; take, ravage. (According to Godefroy, the word is still used in Normandy.)

emprise, s.f., esprit entreprenant (Bartsch), violence (Godefroy); rashness.
enchoisir, v.a., élire; select.
encontre, s.f., rencontre, combat; meeting, combat.
engignant, engingnant, part. of *engignier, engingnier*, v.a., tromper; deceive.
enmener, v.a., emmener; lead away. Fut. 6, *enmerront*.
ensuivant, part. of *ensuivre*, v.a., *ensuivant*, suivant; following.
ent, adv., dans cette affaire; in this business.
entencion, s.f., intention, sens; purpose, idea.
entente, s.f., avis, pensée; opinion, thought.
entiers, adj., entier, loyal, irréprochable; loyal, faultless.
entreprinse, s.f., entreprise, conquête; undertaking, conquest.
envier, v.a., désirer, chercher; desire, seek.
encombrier, s.m., malheur; ill fortune.
eré, v. *aré*.
ès: contraction for *en les*.
esbahy, pp. of *esbahir*, v.a., troubler, désoler; trouble, terrify.
escremie, s.f., escrime; skirmish.
esmoulu, pp. of *esmoudre*, v.a., aiguiser; sharpen.
esparpillier, v.a., disperser; scatter.
essoiés, imperative of *essoier* for *essaier*, v.a., tâter, éprouver; strive, struggle. Cf. *effroier* for *effraier* 393.
(*estendre*), v.a., étendre; extend. Pret. 3, *estendy* 354.
ester, v.n., se tenir, être debout; to remain, remain standing.
estor, estour, s.m., assaut, combat; attack, combat.
estoutie, s.f., présomption, témérité; impertinence, daring (from Ger. *stolz;* Flemish, *stout*, cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIX, 200).
estre, v.n., être.
esturmie, s.f., alarme, tumulte; alarm, tumult.
esvertuer, evertuer, v.a., s'évertuer; strive one's best.
eure, oeure, s.f., heure; hour.———*de complie*, hour of *completorium* (cf. Wetzer-Welte, *op. cit.*, article: "Completorium").
exoine, s.f., excuse legale; legal excuse.
expleter, exploitier, v.n., agir vite, se hâter; act quickly, hasten.
Faescon, s.f., façon, manière; way, manner. (This *ae* is a Breton characteristic; checked, pretonic *a* with attracted *i;* cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)
faesmes, v. *faire*.
faillance, s.f., faute; failure.
failli (pp. of *faillir*), s.m., faux, traître; traitor, renegade.
faindre, v.a., feindre; feign; as refl., hésiter; hesitate. Imper. 2, *faing* 343, D368.
faire, v.a., faire; make, do. Fut. 1, *feré* 105; imperative 1, *faesmes* D68 (cf. Schwan-Behrens, §139, 2, A1).
fauchart, fauchon, fussart, s.m., coutelas; broadsword.
fauldré, fut. 1 of *faillir*, v.a., abandonner; forsake.
feble, flebe, adj., faible; feeble, weak.
felon, s.m. (obl. case of adj. *fel*), traître, scélérat; rascal, villain.
feré, v. *faire*.
ferré, pp. of *ferrer*, v.a., enchaîner; put in irons.

festu, s.m., fêtu; bundle of straw. (For the form of this word, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Zt. f. öst. Gym.* [1891], p. 770.)

fiancier, v.a., certifier; pledge. Pres. ind. 1, *fiant* 72.

fierté, s.f., fierté, hardiment, violence; pride, daring, violence.

flaiel, flayeul, s.m., fléau; flail.

flebe, v. *feble*.

flour, s.f., fleur; flower. (*ou* from *o* free is regular for all western dialects; *o* is the regular orthography up to *ca.* end of the thirteenth century, *ou* from then on; *eu* from Francian appears late in the fourteenth century, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.)

forment, adv., fortement, beaucoup; powerfully, much.

fort, adj., fort; strong. *Je m'en fais fort*—"je me porte garant," cf. *Farce de Pathelin;* Bartsch, *Chrest.* 96, 128. Godefroy also presents similar idioms, e.g., *se rendre fort, se porter fort.*

fourni (pp. of *fournir*) as adj., fort, grand; strong, great.

fuir, v.a., and n., fuir; flee. Fut. 6, *fouyront* D313.

Gaieres, guaires, adv., guère; scarcely.

genestay, s.m., lieu planté de genêts; field covered with broom.

gesir, v.n., être couché; lie. Ind. pres. 3, *giest* 360; *gist* 371, D396.

geter, v.a., jeter; throw. Imperative 2, *gette* D368; *giete* 343.

gient, s.f., gent; people.

glout, glouton, s.m., glouton, brigand; glutton, brigand.

goberge, gouberge, s.f., forfanterie, moquerie; boast, insult. In the form *gabegie* = ruse, tromperie, this word is still in use in the west. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry et des Provinces voisines, recueilla par un amateur du vieux language*, Paris, 1838 and L. Favre, *Glossaire du Poitou*, Niort, 1868. "On prononce *gabgie*" (L. Favre).

goule, s.f., gueule; throat, jaws.

gracier, v.a., remercier; thank.

grandement, adv., grandement, beaucoup; greatly, much.

gresillons, s.m., lit. "*grillons.*" "Attache de fer primitivement en forme de gril, que l'on mettait aux mains des criminels" (*Godefroy*). Cf. Cuvellier, *B. du Guesclin*, l. 13791. "gresillon = grillon," Orain, "Patois d'Ille-et-Vilaine," in *Rev. Linguistique*, XVII, Paris, 1884.

guaires, v. *gaieres*.

guerroier, guerroyer, v.a., faire la guerre à; make war on.

Haïr, v.n., haïr; hate. Fut. 6, *haerront* 201; *hayeront* D240. The stem of the fut. and cond. of *haïr* was regularly monosyllabic.

hasterel, s.m., nuque du cou; back of the neck.

haubergon, hauberjon, s.m., petit haubert; small hauberk. "Cotte de mailles qui couvrait la poitrine jusqu'au defaut des côtes et descendait jusqu'aux genoux; les nobles et les chevaliers avaient seuls le droit de les porter" (Crapelet).

hoir, s.m., héritier; heir.

hazart, s.m., hasard; luck.

Image, ymaige, s.f., image; image.

jouël, s.m., petit jeu; little game. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 526, n. 7. La Borderie's explanation is questionable; from *lez* 438, we may conclude

that the *martel* is no longer the subject referred to. For *jouël* in the sense we indicate, cf. Godefroy, who quotes a long passage from Froissart.

journée, s.f., journée; day. *Prendre journée* = préférer un jour; allot a day; cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, VIII, 210, where the term is similarly used.

jouvencel, jovencel, s.m., jouvenceau; youth.

Labourer, v.a., cultiver; cultivate.

letare Jherusalem, i.e., the fourth Sunday of Lent, cf. Wetzer-Welte, *s.v.*

lié, adj., gai, joyeux; gay, happy.

losengier, s.m., trompeur, calomniateur; deceiver, falsifyer.

lourdie, s.f., bêtise; stupidity.

lu, ly, pers. pron., obl. case of il (for *lui*). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 21.

Maill, s.m., maillet; mace.

maindre, comp. of *moins.*, moindre; less.

maine, v. *mener.*

maistrie, mestrie, s.f., puissance; power.

maitent, pres. sub. 6 of *metre.*

mander, v.a., demander; ask.

marry, adj., affligé; distressed.

maugré, maulgré, prep., malgré; in spite of.

mectes, pres. ind. 5 of *metre.*

meina, v. *mener.*

membré, part. adj. from *membrer*, v.a., prudent; wise.

mener, v.a., mener; lead. Pres. ind. 3, *maine* 42, D40; pret. 3, *meina* D95.

menestrier, s.m., minstrel. *Haulx menestriers* (D5) are those who sing of the deeds of heroes as distinguished from the minstrels who treat less dignified themes.

menu, adj., menu, petit; small, of lower degree.

merchier, v.a., remercier; thank.

merchier, s.m., marchand; merchant, tradesman. (The humble origin of at least one of Brambro's party [Knolles, cf. De Courcy, p. 61] is known.)

meshuy, adv., désormais; henceforth (cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry*, p. 29.)

mesprendre, v.refl., se tromper; deceive oneself.

mestier, s.m., service, office; position, office. *Avoir mestier*, 82, D128, avoir besoin de, convenir bon.

mestrie, v. *maistrie.*

moncel, s.m., amas, tas; closely massed group.

mot, s.m., espèce de poème, "petit poème descriptif" (*Godefroy* supp.).

musart, s.m., fou, sot, dupe; fool, dupe.

my, adj., demi; half. *en my*, au milieu de; in the midst of.

Naistre, v.n., naître; to be born. Pret. 3, *naquist* D366; *nasqui* 514; *nacquist* D490.

noiant, nyant, rien; nothing. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, 1353 has *neënt;* the *Livre, neänt* 1544, 2005, 2092, etc.; *nyant* 2245; *noyant* 3183; in all cases 2 syl. The word is always 2 syl. in Wace and Benoit, cf. Suchier, *Voy. Ton.*, p. 140.

O, prep., avec; with. *Apud* regularly gives *o* in N.W. dialects and occasionally *ou* in Berry (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 78). It remains still in the patois of

Haute-Maine, cf. *Vocabulaire des mots usités dans le Haute-Maine*, C.R. de M., Le Mans, 1889, *s.v.*

oblacion, s.f., offrande; vow.

ochire, v.a., tuer; kill. Fut. 1, *ochiray* 355.

octrier, v. *ottrier*.

oeure, v. *eure*.

oiiez, v. *ouïr*.

onques, *onquez*, adv., jamais; never.

ordenance, s.f., disposition, ordre; assignment, order.

ordination, s.f., ordonnance; order. *Par ordination* 316, en ordre; in order, one after another.

orguel, *ourgouil*, s.m., orgueil; pride.

orible, adj., horrible.

orphanité (variants *orphenté*, *orphanté*), s.f., abandon, douleur; distress.

orrés, v. *ouïr*.

orrois, v. *ouïr*.

ottrier, *octrier*, v.a., accorder, permettre; grant, permit.

ou=el=en le.

ouïr, *ouyr*, v.a., entendre; hear. Imperative 5, *oiiez* D293; fut. 5, *orrés* D464; *orrois* 256.

ourgouil, v. *orguel*.

Panoncel, *pennoncel*, a.m., petit enseigne; pennant.

paour, s.f., peur; fear.

paouvre, *povre*, adj., pauvre; poor.

paramer, *paraymer*, v.a., aimer beaucoup; love greatly.

pardurable, adj., éternel; eternal.

pautonnier, s.m., gueux, vagabond, "homme prêt à tout faire" (*Godefroy*); rogue, vagabond.

pener, v.a., tourmenter; torture.

pennoncel, v. *panoncel*.

per, adj., and s., égal; equal.

pesant, adj., lourd; heavy.

petticion, s.f., petition; petition.

pié, s.m., pied; foot. *Ne . . . . pié* 63, 215 D64=ne . . . . pas, ne . . . . personne; not, none.

piis, adv., pis; worse. *Le piis;* le pire; the worse. Cf. note to B295.

plenier, adj., entier, grand; full, great.

planté, s.f., abondance; plenty.

plates, s.f.—"Gantelets de lames de fer" (Crapelet); "plaques de metal flexibles recouvrant le corps" (Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, V, 99).

poesté, *posté*, s.f., pouvoir, puissance; force, power.

pourroy, fut. 1 of *pouvoir*.

poursembler, v.n., resembler à; resemble.

pouvreté, *povreté*, s.f., privation; privation.

povre, v. *paouvre*.

prendre, v.a., prendre; take. Pret. 6, *prinrent* 191; *prindrent* D143; cond. 1, *prandroie* D281; *prendroye* 243; pp., *prins* D221.

present, s.m., cadeau, don; gift 336.

present, adj., *à present* 134, D35, en presence, assistant; *en present* 238, D276, D375, present.
prinrent, v. *prendre*.
prins, v. *prendre*.
proudoms, s.m., prud'homme; noble and distinguished man.
Quer, conj., car; for.
querre, v.a., chercher; seek. Pres. ind. l, *quier* D94.
Radement, adv., fortement; vigorously, 309. With this word must be considered *roidement*, the reading of D; *radement*=rapida+mente: roidement=rigida+mente. However, we may have to do here with the same word.
ranchon, *ransczon*, s.f., rachat, rançon; ransom.
repreuchier, *reproucher*, v.a., reprocher; reproach.
requerre, v.a., demander qqch. à qqn.; ask somebody for something. Pres. ind. 1, *requier* 195; *requiers* D234; 3, *requiert* 324; pret. 3, *requist* D349.
roiaulme, s.m., royaume; kingdom.
roidement, adv., fortement; vigorously (cf. *radement*).
romants, *roumant*, s.m., histoire; tale.
rosoyer, v.a., tomber comme la rosée; fall like dew.
roumander, v.n., écrire ou parler en français; compose in the vernacular. (I have not been able to find this word elsewhere.) The sense seems plain.
roumant, v. *romants*.
Sabmedy, *semmedy*, s.m., samedi; Saturday.
saichés, *saichiés*, v. *savoir*.
saintismes, *santismes*, adj., in superlative, très saint; most holy.
sapience, s.f., sagesse; wisdom.
savoir, v.a., savoir; know. Pres. ind. 1, *sçay* D188; 3, *soit* 506; 5, *saichés* D392; *saichiés* 367; pret. 3, *sust* 153.
segneur, s.m., seigneur; lord.
segneurie, s.f., puissance, domaine; seignory, domain.
seignour, v. *segneur*.
semmedy, v. *sabmedy*.
sené, adj., sensé; wise.
sentence, *centence*, s.f., sentence, judgment; opinion, judgment.
sep, v. *chesp*.
serementer, v.a., "prendre la parole aux prisonniers" (Crapelet); parole.
seurté, s.f., sureté; surety.
sexante, *soixante*, adj., soixante; sixty. (Cf. *Livre*, 659, also *saixante* 2488 where *ai*=*e*.
sextier, s.m., sétier.
siecle, s.m., monde, vie; world, life.
siement, from *semer*, v.a., semer; sow. Pres. ind. 6.
soeff, s.f., soif; thirst. (*oe*=*oi* is also in the *Livre*, e.g., *Genevoez: Franczois* 2111–2112).
soit, v. *savoir*.
soudoiant, s.m., traître; traitor.
soudoier, *souldoyer*, s.m., homme soldé; hireling.
sourenvier, v.a., "j'enchérirai sur toi, je te previendrai" (Crapelet). *sur* gives

intensive force, e.g., *surmener*. Cf. also *surabonder*, *surembrasser*, *surembêté* of Flaubert quoted by Nyrop, *op. cit.*, III, 498.

soutiff, adj., fin; shrewd. The form *soutif* is common in Deschamps, cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. SATF., X, 118. Note also *Rom. de. Thèbes*, ed. SATF., p. xci.

sust, v. *savoir*.

Tailler, v.a., couper; cut.

tappichier, v.a., for *tappissier*. Pp. as substantive, *tappichiez* 502. This is the Picard form of *tappischier*, cf. MSS St. Omer, 1499, quoted by Godefroy.

targier, v.n., and refl., tarder; delay.

targison, s.f., sans tarder; without delay. (Cf. note to *arrestezon*.)

tart, adj., tard; late. *avoir tart* 147, D188, avoir besoin.

tiel, adj., tel; such (D447, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

trebucher, *trebuschier*, v.a., renverser, culbuter; overthrow.

tressuër, v.n., être couvert de sueur; be covered with sweat.

treuvent, pres. ind. 6 of *trouver*.

trichierre, s.m., traître; traitor.

tunicles, s.f., cotte d'armes. "Sorte de bliaut à l'usage des hommes seulement" (*Godefroy*). Cf. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, l. 21570.

Vantance, s.f., vantardise; boasting.

veillart, *vilart*, s.m., 163, D201, paysan (?); cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

veoir, v.a., voir, see. pp. *veü* 352.

veulent, v. *voloir*.

vieult, v. *voloir*.

vieulté, *vilté*, s.f., mépris, méchanceté; scorn, contempt.

vilart, v. *veillart*.

villein, s.m., paysan; peasant; as adj., bas, vilain; low, common.

vilté, v. *vieulté*.

vis, s.m., figure, visage; face, countenance.

vo, atonic possessive for *vostre*.

volenté, *voulanté*, *voulunté*, s.f., volonté; will.

voloir, v.a., vouloir; wish. Pres. ind. 1, *vueil* 10, D10; *wueil* 17; 3, *vieult* D10; 6, *veulent;* pres. subj. 3, *veuille* D91; *wueille* 16.

voulanté, *voulunté*, v. *volenté*.

vray, *vroy*, adj., vrai; true. As subst. 10.

vueil, v. *voloir*.

Wueil, *wueille*, v. *voloir*.

Yceulx, pron. dem., obl. plur., D495.

ymaige, v. *image*.

ysgnel, adj., rapide, vif, prompt; quick, prompt, ready.

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1.

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SHAKESPEARE AND DUCIS

I

In discussing the adaptations of Shakespeare made by Jean-François Ducis for the last generation of the old régime, my object will be twofold. I wish to show in some detail the changes in Shakespeare demanded by French taste at that time; and to demonstrate how Ducis represented in a rather logical and interesting manner a certain point in the evolution of the classical tragedy.

These were the first versions of Shakespeare to be performed on the French stage. They were decidedly popular. They came just at the time (1769–92) when new currents of *sensibilité*, humanitarianism, Anglomania, and iconoclasm were the strongest things in French literature. Ducis illustrates admirably the first three of these phases; but neither he nor any other dramatist could illustrate the fourth, for the reason that the stage was the last thing to be touched by the coming Revolution.

The course of tragedy since the days of Racine had been marked by a sure, if spasmodic, decline. Crébillon *père*, the admired of Poe, has been credited with dealing the first mortal blow to the *genre*.[1] I shall return to him in a moment. But Voltaire, for good or for evil, is by far the most consequential representative of what for convenience we may call the neo-classic tragedy. He was in the main a devout Racinian. He was as much of a conservative in the drama as he was a radical in philosophy. He held by the unities, by the

[1] In *Atrée et Thyeste*, 1707, and a preface to this. See Lanson, *Nivelle de la Chaussée et la comédie larmoyante*, Paris, 1887, pp. 102–4.

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dignity and harmony of language, by the exhibition of strongly centered action and passion, by the use of a mannered artistry to import the one principal novelty that he considered possible after the wide exploitation of the great masters. Yet he was forced to certain relaxations of his doctrine, not only, perhaps, through the public expectations aroused by his controversy with La Motte Houdar, but mainly through his interest in those very plays of Shakespeare whose introduction to the reading public he first forwarded and then deplored as dangerous.[1] It will be found that his hesitations and variations are chiefly about rather minor matters. No surer sign of the failing of the genuine *vis tragica* than that most of the dramatic discussion in those days was about "rules" first and incidental technique afterward. Would it not be permissible, asks Voltaire, to give, as the English do, the names of "real" kings and queens? The stage must not be a "lieu de carnage"—but could he not be allowed to show a little blood on Caesar's robe? Might not the unity of place include a rather extensible place? What is the matter with taking subjects from mediaeval and oriental history? And, more importantly, what about the introduction of heart-interest?[2]

In his own plays he has answered these questions with varying degrees of assurance; and several of his compromises seemed good to his contemporaries, particularly to Ducis. He visited the East[3] in *Zaïre* and *Mahomet;* in *La Mort de César,* Antony makes his speech over a blood-besprinkled corpse; in *Brutus,* slight shifts of scene are maneuvred between the outside and the inside of the consul's house; in this play and in *Œdipe* a heart-interest is dragged in by force, whereas *La Mort de César* is stripped bare of feminine rôles. *Zaïre* has a touch of Crébillon's trickery in the fraternal relationship (unknown to the heroine's lover) which exists between Zaïre and Nérestan. In none of these plays, whether imitated from Shakespeare or not, do we find the scorned "multiplicity of interest," the broken and realistic language of crowds, or any mixture of kinds.[4] As to

[1] See Lounsbury, *Shakespeare and Voltaire,* New York, 1902.

[2] These views will be found for the most part in the *Préface d'Œdipe* and the *Discours sur la tragédie.*

[3] Ducis followed him there in *Abufar;* but by that time the Orient had won again for *literati* its old position as the home of the *romanesque* and the apologue.

[4] Such as, deriving from Shakespeare, produced later Hugo's theory of the grotesque.

expression, the fortress is still held in the name of dignity and *éloquence;* but save in the best purple patches there is more than a tendency for the *éloquence* to become rhetoric. In Crébillon and Ducis it became that pulseless unrelated rhetoric which substitutes characterless verbiage for the psychology of Racine, *simplex munditiis.* When to this have been added, as cross-currents from the *comédie larmoyante,* increasing streams of philanthropic and domestic tears, one may even now ask whether the point in tragedy attained by Ducis was not the *nadir.*

That distinction, it is true, is claimed for Crébillon himself by Brunetière: Crébillon is either altogether outside of tragedy or he is its forlorn hope, its "phantom."[1] Without dwelling on this peculiar dramatist, it may be shown in what respects his technique paved the way for Ducis. Crébillon stands for the use of such horrors as parricide and incest, in a way to keep their effect for the imagination while mitigating it in fact. In the past, they are told of in *récit.* In the action itself, they threaten rather than occur; and when parricide (in the more general French sense) does occur the absolute monstrous is avoided by a liberal use of incognito.[2] Oreste kills his relatives unwittingly; Pharasmane kills his son Rhadamiste under a false name; Atrée indeed desires to slay his brother and does slay his nephew, but Atrée is an exceptionally strong horror. As a rule, disguises and misunderstandings protect the brother who might marry the sister[3] and excuse the parricidal hand. Other violences actually occur in all crudity, such as trying to drown one's wife, striking one's mother, and giving a father his son's blood to drink. Such was the "new shudder" that Crébillon gave the stage.

I will anticipate by saying that certain of these veneered melodramatic terrors, which in spite of their author's twisted formula did not lead to pity, have their milder echo in Ducis. Either writer, although choosing subjects akin to those of Euripides and Sophocles,[4]

[1] Brunetière, *Époques du théâtre français,* Paris, 1893, pp. 192–216 (*Rhadamiste et Zénobie*).

[2] See Lanson, *loc. cit.,* also *Hist. de la litt. fr.* (11th ed.), pp. 646–47. Crébillon's chief plays, after *Atrée et Thyeste,* are *Électre,* 1708, *Rhadamiste et Zénobie,* 1711.

[3] Something like this looms in nearly all these dramas.

[4] The subjects generally of primitive times or stage-craft, of mythological rehandlings. Compare Wagner and the pre-Shakespearean atrocities.

is much less Greek than Byzantine: there are too many signs of decadence, too much artificial expression and *romanesque* juggling for the sense of fate and the sweeping pall of tragedy. Crébillon soon acknowledged his error, in words whose very spirit subsequently stimulated our dramatist:[1]

> Je vois bien que j'ai eu tort de concevoir trop fortement la tragédie comme une action funeste qui devait être présentée aux yeux des spectateurs sous des images intéressantes; qui doit les conduire à la pitié par la terreur: *mais avec des mouvements et des traits qui ne blessent ni leur délicatesse, ni les bienséances.*

That voices exactly the ambition of Ducis. But I do not predicate the direct influence of Crébillon across two generations. It seems a question to a certain extent of a common aim and, to a larger extent, of social and dramatic conditions that had survived—with a demand for added decorations. Ducis indeed rather looks askance at his predecessor, calling him a "singular" person, "plein d'une vigueur inculte et d'une rudesse originale." And he adds that Crébillon "fut presque étranger à sa nation comme à son siècle."[2] Qualifying the last statement, one may recall that Shakespeare bore much the same reputation.

A common set of conditions would also account for two apparent infiltrations from the *comédie larmoyante* into the pages of Ducis. Everybody was more or less lachrymose and Ducis particularly so. Everybody wanted art to represent goodness after the order of Greuze; and the depiction of villains who may be admirable *au fond* is not original with La Chaussée or Ducis: it finds defense in Corneille,[3] *renchérissant* on Aristotle.

Such then might reasonably be the contortions that Shakespeare would have to undergo on being forced into the neo-classic mold. He might be diluted with tears; he might be forced into brutal though somehow *bienséantes* attitudes; but whatever his attitude, he would speak in very Voltairian Alexandrines, with deference to a "sort of general oneness," abstractness, and politeness. Would this also accord with the personality and ideals of the Shakespeare-purveyor, Ducis?

[1] Preface, dated 1715, to *Atrée et Thyeste*—italics mine.

[2] *Œuvres*, I, 11. The edition used is that of 1826, 4 vols. Nepveu, Paris. The Shakespearean plays occupy the first two volumes.

[3] In the *Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique.*

II

He was a man of excellent character and heart. He abounded in all kinds of genuine affection, paternal, filial, and toward his friends. His letters are frequently very charming bits of prose, and Sainte-Beuve would have us remember that fact when impatient with the apparently conventional rhetoric of his dramas.[1] His impeccable private life, the proven esteem of his contemporaries, and the intensity of his affections are points to be borne in mind. He was the genuine Man of Feeling of his age.

He conceived of himself otherwise. He was a "wild bird," a "vieux chêne à demi dépouillé et rugueux."[2] The best-known painting of him, caught in the act of writing *Léar*, presents him with flying locks and a skyward-pointing craggy expression. "Il était *lion* par son père, disait-il, et *berger* par sa mère." And Sainte-Beuve follows with approval of the style and psychology of this self-criticism: "'Il y a dans mon clavecin poétique,' disait-il, 'des jeux de flûte et de tonnerre: comment cela va-t-il ensemble? Je n'en sais trop rien, mais cela est ainsi.'"

The truth is that all the thunder of *Le Roi Léar* is not worth a single pastoral note from his kindly letters. He deceived himself about his inspiration, as did many a would-be "romantique échevelé" like Jules Lefèvre or Boulay-Paty. Neither they nor Ducis were other than mild-mannered gentlemen who tried to construct an astral self fitted to dwell in the midst of alarms. The *drame sombre*, amply derided by Voltaire, was the natural frame for Ducis' projection of his tragic muse: his sunny temperament reacted safely among literary horrors. But his own character shows in the native goodness of all his heroes and several of his villains.

He extended his affections to include his admirations; and the chief of these, very consistently, were Shakespeare and Voltaire. He kept before his eyes in writing *Hamlet* an engraving of its original author and another of Garrick in the title-rôle. He always

[1] Ste.-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, VI, 456–73, and *Nouveaux lundis*, IV, 318–91. Also G. Pellissier, "Le Drame Shakespearéen" in *Essais de litt. contemporaine*, 4th ed., Paris, 1894, pp. 69–109. The disposition of Ducis comes out clearly from his correspondence (*Œuvres*, IV) and from the *Épîtres dédicatoires* to his plays. *Hamlet* and *Le Roi Léar* are affectionately dedicated respectively to his father and mother (I, 69–71; 321–24.)

[2] Ste.-Beuve, VI, 457–58, 471.

celebrated Shakespeare's birthday, which he called the "fête de Saint-Guillaume." Crowning the bard's bust with flowers, Ducis would tell Campenon, "Les anciens couronnaient de fleurs les sources où ils avaient puisé."[1] It is an authentic case of literary *engouement.*

Voltaire's second fulminating letter on Shakespeare was read before a séance of the Academy in March, 1778. Just a year afterward that institution welcomed as Voltaire's successor the man whose task it was to reconcile the two systems. Time's revenges were swift; yet Ducis' *Discours* on this occasion is all to the honor of his French master and is more than the conventional tribute. It contains as well his own *ars dramatica.*[2]

He holds first that Voltaire's renown, traversing all Europe to reach posterity, sprang originally from his theater. In using the English influence (concerning which Ducis has an excellent page) Voltaire acted like a legislator who should strive to import barbaric virtues into a civilized—and enervated—race. His method was to give more energy to the action, more vehemence to the interest, the dialogue, and the pathos. Consequently, in painting love, Voltaire drew tragedy from the faded gallantry and bad taste of the lesser Racinian imitators by insisting on the principle that love should either dominate the stage or should not appear at all.

All this sounds like eulogy indeed, but fairly intelligent eulogy. The subtle danger is that Ducis, like all eighteenth-century dramatic theorists, sounds much more plausible in speeches and prefaces than he does in plays; and that here he is really admiring Voltaire only for the same plausibility, unsupported by consistent action. For if the latter makes the point about the domination of love, we have seen that he nevertheless twice gives the heart-interest a feeble and secondary part.

Continuing, Ducis differentiates his predecessor's treatment of the master-passion from that of Racine: Voltaire is less *nuancé*, stronger in sweep, and his masculine lovers are as impetuous as himself; but the women—and here is where Ducis most commends him—

[1] Quoted by Ste.-Beuve, VI, 472. See for Ducis' character the *Notice* by Campenon in the former's *Œuvres*, IV, iii–xcviii.

[2] *Œuvres*, I, 1–51.

are possessed above all of "cette sensibilité douce et tendre." For example, Zaïre is shown as sweet rather than strong, as seductive rather than overpowering.

But Voltaire has "enlarged the field of tragedy among us." (Indeed it was one of the Patriarch's chief claims.) This is how he did it: "C'est lui qui le premier a fait entendre ces cris déchirants et terribles sortis du cœur d'une mère; qui a osé substituer les transports de la nature à ceux de l'amour." This shows a momentary forgetfulness of Racine on the part of Ducis, but it shows more than anything else an approval of his master's course in frequently depicting the family affections. The word "nature" is used in exactly the same sense by Auger, in attributing the same dramatic merit to Ducis:[1] "Thomas disait à son ami: 'Vous serez le poète de la nature.' . . . . C'est aux sentiments de la nature qu'il doit ses plus heureuses aspirations et ses succès les plus éclatants." Practically all of the versions that we shall consider fully develop one or another of the natural affections.

Voltaire is further praised for the variety of nations and manners that he depicts—another point that the Patriarch had made himself —and *Sémiramis* is credited with giving the "premier exemple de ce merveilleux effrayant et sombre"; this refers to the question of apparitions which had already troubled Ducis in connection with *Hamlet*. Follows an interesting defense of the *récit*, which deserves to rank as a classic plea:

> Mais avec quel art il a distingué les moments d'action qui deviennent plus effrayants ou plus majestueux quand on les voit, de ceux que les prestiges de l'imagination doivent embellir ou créer, et qu'il ne faut point voir pour en être frappé d'une manière plus puissante.

The rules in general, declares Ducis, are made to be observed. It is true that a "happy irregularity," artistic enthusiasm, may sometimes impose and subjugate. But "it is not in this assembly," he prudently adds, "that I invite talent to free itself from those rules, which are only the usual march of genius watched over by taste." Yet elsewhere[2] he makes one bold exception, in favor of Shakespeare, to the tyranny of rules, and adds that his freedom does

[1] L. S. Auger in the *Avertissement* to Ducis' *Œuvres*, I, viii.

[2] *Avertissement* to *Le Roi Léar*, I, 325.

not at all diminish the glory "du plus vigoureux et du plus étonnant poète tragique qui ait peut-être jamais existé." It is not the only time that Ducis is caught between his two admirations.

His praises of Voltaire for the "idée sublime" of making the stage a moral agent are much what we might expect. More pointed is the dwelling on sentiment, which he calls the "first truth" and which easily redeems Voltaire's occasional offenses against *vraisemblance* and regularity. "Je demanderai," he challenges, "si au théâtre le jugement des pleurs ne l'emporte pas sur celui de la raison." The only important word which Ducis uses more frequently than *pleurs* is the word *larmes*.

His discovery of feeling in Voltaire makes him prone also to observe that author's "humanity." This incidentally is the trait that loomed large in Shakespeare, according to the authors of the Le Tourneur translation; Ducis must have seen their significant observation that "descending to the poor man's hut, he saw humanity there and did not disdain to depict it."[1] Ducis personally did not often descend to that hut: he remained among the circles frequented by Voltaire. Hence his awkward dilemma—how to reconcile his own humanity and that of Shakespeare with the neo-classic "nobility" of personages and language. The most perplexing dilemma of all is best given in his own words:[2]

> Je n'ignorais pas que la sévérité de nos règles et la délicatesse de nos spectateurs nous chargent de chaînes que l'audace anglaise brise et dédaigne, et sous le poids desquelles il nous faut pourtant marcher dans des chemins difficiles avec l'air de l'aisance et de la liberté.

The Voltairian technique of Ducis, independently of what elements Shakespeare furnished, may just here be illustrated by his *Œdipe chez Admète* (1778).[3] This play, of the same date as the eulogium which I have summarized, largely follows Voltaire both in subject and method. The Patriarch, to please the groundlings, had introduced into the Oedipus story a love-intrigue which was subsequently deemed superfluous; Ducis fused the *Alkestis* with the

[1] Quoted by Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime*, New York and London, 1899, p. 416. The English translation of this work is the more generally accessible and will be often cited.

[2] I, 325. [3] I, 237–317.

Oedipus at Colonus—and afterward (1797) took out the Colonus part, making it a separate drama in three acts. Both writers then hesitate, for all their classic descent, concerning the unity of action. Ducis further, by bringing in Admetus and his palace (in addition to the Fates and their temple), renounces complete unity of place. He generally does. And one main difference between the neo-classic drama and its Racinian prototype is that the former, while dogmatizing about the unities, shuffles and compromises when it comes to performance; it tries to stitch up a garment that is too loose for Racine and too tight for Shakespeare.

Without following the *péripéties* of Ducis' play, one may call attention to the exposition, which is worked like Voltaire's by means of the arrival of a stranger at court; to the excess of vague and banal rewordings; to the method of filling the gaps between acts by *récits;* to the unusual length of these makeshifts—there is one of seventy lines; to such Voltairian devices as interruption with *suspension* (. . . .), antitheses, common rimes, *chevilles*, and repetitions like "il vient, il vient." There are gleams of preciosity—as distinguished from the more abundant periphrasis—in such expressions as "tes jours me sont acquis" or "rouvrir encore son flanc" of one's sad country. More characteristic of Ducis himself are the soft words ("mes doux embrassements"), the stale figures, and the inevitable flood of trite moral and *sensible* reflections.

III

We are still not certain to what extent Shakespeare was popularized as reading-matter, when Ducis began the stage-versions with *Hamlet* in 1769. The curiosity first aroused by the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), stimulated by the well-informed Prévost and Le Blanc's *Lettres d'un Français à Londres*,[1] could hardly have been quite satisfied by La Place's meagre translations.[2] The first two volumes of his work are devoted to Shakespeare: La Place professedly translates *Othello*, *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*. For the last of these and one other, he will serve as a source to Ducis. La Place analyzed more plays than he translated, and even in the

[1] Three vols., The Hague, 1745.

[2] *Théâtre anglais*, 8 vols., 1745–48.

earlier group, as Le Blanc said, analyses proved no less acceptable than "extraits."[1]

The propaganda of La Place—who had rather penetrating views on Shakespeare—and later of Garrick, Mme. Riccoboni, etc., do not stand out sharply from the general Anglomania of the time. It was usually a zeal not according to knowledge. Shakespeare was confused with the *drame sombre;*[2] the legends concerning Young and Ossian traversed the land; sentimentality formed strange alliances with a nascent realism. The English influence, which, as I think may be shown, had been primarily philosophical under Voltaire's earlier sway, became mainly belletristic after the turn of the century. The condition of the public mind, in 1769, would exhibit an uncertain amount of knowledge and a larger amount of curiosity.

Ducis himself knew practically no English and was dependent upon the French versions. But he caught the movement on the rise and the success of his second-hand renderings is indubitable. This fact and still more the wide popularity of Le Tourneur's translations[3] provoked, as is well known, the last stand of Voltaire, alarmed at the size of the avalanche that he had originally loosened.[4] Yet, granting a popular hearing for Shakespeare, it cannot be too often recalled what an adulterated article was served under that name and how it was served to an audience more *raffiné*, conventional, and timorous than any other recorded in dramatic history.

Hamlet was our author's first and not least important attempt to please this audience. It appears that the subject was already better known than the rest of Shakespeare, through many excerpts and allusions, through the eternal debate (Voltaire, La Place, *et al.*) over the introduction of the grave-diggers. The question of the ghost—close kin to the ghost that killed Voltaire's *Sémiramis*—was

[1] Pellissier, article cited, p. 81. Cf., for the general Shakespearean vogue, Jusserand, pp. 214 ff.

[2] Which apparently sprang from English melodrama.

[3] Twenty vols., Paris, 1776–82. Vols. I and II (1776) contained *Othello* and *Julius Caesar;* Vols. III and IV (1778), *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet;* Vols. V and VI (1779), *Lear* and *Hamlet.* From these dates, and from other detailed testimony, it can be proven that Ducis uses Le Tourneur for the last four of his six versions. Le Tourneur is far superior to La Place. He is still current in Guizot's adaptation. On the whole he seems to have done fairly well for his time, though his "literalness" still forms matter for debate. See Miss Cushing, *Pierre Le Tourneur*, New York, 1908.

[4] The first *Lettre à l'Académie* was read on the appearance of Le Tourneur's first volume in 1776.

also of a throbbing actuality, and a third question, that of the funeral urn, owed its birth to Ducis' personal creativeness.

Perplexed and haunted by the mad Englishmen's genius, he proposes the subject of Hamlet to Lekain, who disserts upon the temerity of the enterprise and politely refuses. The dramatist notifies us in his preface, "J'ai donc été obligé en quelque façon de créer une pièce nouvelle"[1]—to temper that wind to the lambs of the *parterre*. Shakespeare filtered through La Place into Ducis gave "a hybrid drama, Greek and Danish, French and English all at once."[2]

Like every play we deal with, it is written in Alexandrines throughout.[3] The unities are preserved, in that the action passes entirely in the palace and the question of time does not come up at all.[4] The list of personages include a Hamlet, king of Denmark; a Gertrude, his mother, widow of the late king; a Claudius, first prince of the blood; an Ophélie, daughter of Claudius; an Elvire, confidante of Gertrude. There are only three other speaking parts, though Polonius (as confidant to Claudius and a sort of accommodating "super") speaks much less than in the original and "Norceste" merely listens to Hamlet.

The exposition begins immediately, in the classic way, by a statement of the political situation and the *état d'âme* of Claudius. He tells about a sinister storm that accompanied the death of the late king and quotes a lengthy speech of his own delivered on that occasion. He is conspiring with Polonius to unseat Hamlet, and fortunately he has Gertrude under his thumb. The ghost scene of course is dispensed with; Hamlet, instead of appearing, is described as "mourant," "morne." In the second scene, Claudius pays court in form to Gertrude. But she refuses to hear him. She is repentant from the beginning on account of their double crime—for Gertrude is considered as guilty as Claudius. She wishes the memory of their passion to perish and lives only to see her son crowned. Leaving Claudius with an exhortation to a better life, she sends for Polonius

[1] Quoted by Pellissier, p. 90. The title-rôle was subsequently given to Molé.

[2] Jusserand, p. 419. In this volume (pp. 416–35) are given short and pointed descriptions of the plays I shall discuss. By analyzing them more in detail, I hope constantly to bring out that sharp antagonism of Shakespeare v. neo-classicism.

[3] The only exception is the incidental one of the willow-song in Othello. See below.

[4] "*Hamlet*, tragédie en cinq actes, imitée de l'anglais," *Œuvres*, I, 67–152.

to carry out her orders. She learns of the arrival of Horatio-Norceste, who will, she hopes, enliven Hamlet's melancholy. It will readily be seen that none of these interviews are in Shakespeare.

In the second act, Gertrude fully confesses her crimes to Elvire. She had intended giving poison to her husband with her own hand—but she falters before the actual deed and only leaves the cup where he drinks it. Thus even retrospective "crudity" is avoided. It seems that the king was taking medicine, or in neo-classic phraseology

> Empruntait le secours de ces puissants breuvages
> Dont un art bienfaisant montra les avantages.

When Elvire asks, "What monster led you to this *forfait*?" the queen answers simply, "L'amour." Her love, if guilty, is at least refined and repentant. In Shakespeare what is between the two is not love at all—it is effective realism. But here no one hurls the rude epithets which clash in every page of the original; the gross facts are veiled as much as may be by an elegant remorse, by manifestations of a mother's persistent affection. Indeed Gertrude is almost sympathetic. It may be said at once that she is really cast for the heroine of the play. The point is then brought out that everybody fears Hamlet. The reason for this is hard to imagine, since Hamlet, the redoubtable, now comes on fleeing from the ghost. He has already, according to report, shouted his frightful cries "all over the place"—perhaps hardly a classic rendering of "ces lieux." This is in lieu of the grim irony of "Art thou there, truepenny?" etc. The ghost is here restricted to his normal habitat, the *coulisse*.

Norceste, who appears as the third confidant, had written the prince concerning the death of a contemporary English monarch (we are not told which), who had been poisoned by his wife. Hamlet now says that this incident first awakened his suspicions of his own relatives. He tells these suspicions to Norceste, whereas the real Hamlet makes no such confidence. Follows a *récit* of the ghost's revelations, substituted for two of Shakespeare's scenes. It is related how Hamlet summoned the "dear and terrible shade," who came and called for vengeance, reappeared, called again for vengeance, and was generally fearsome. Observe that Hamlet described himself as trembling, *éperdu*, feeble:

> La pitié m'attendrit, le meurtre m'épouvante.

His native indecision and weakness are exaggerated in Ducis. They mark him from the very beginning, before the "pale cast of thought" has had time to operate. The real Hamlet responds instinctively to his father's first call; this man runs away from the ghost to the arms of Norceste, who cannot subdue his terrors with the assurance that the apparition is nothing but a bad dream. Yet he and other characters constantly inform us that Hamlet is furious, terrible, a "tigre impitoyable." It is all a part of the same vicious theory of substituting words for action.

Now comes in the curious inventiveness of Ducis. The whole device of the play-king and play-queen is done away with, and in its stead it is agreed that Norceste shall relate to the guilty ones his story of the poisoned English king—the purpose being of course to extract their confession and discomfiture. The scene closes with an allusion to the funeral urn of the late king, which Hamlet will bring out, if only to "fatigue the eyes" of the criminals.

Claudius and Polonius introduce Act III by more conspiring. Claudius thinks he can handle satisfactorily the matter of Hamlet's coronation. This threatened ceremony, by the way, is used throughout as a connecting link and an element of suspense. Claudius has skilfully won over a large party by spreading the belief that Hamlet himself poisoned his father—whence his melancholy. With the entrance of the others, an opportunity is given for Norceste to tell his King-of-England anecdote. This trick is played in a singularly unconvincing and undramatic manner. The result, however, just contrary to Shakespeare, is that Claudius brazens it out with ease and Gertrude is the one who is disturbed, though not to excess. After a vague consultation between these two, Ophélie at last appears. Ophélie, being the daughter of Claudius, the niece of Gertrude, the cousin of Hamlet, serves as the knot to this new *drame de famille*. But her rôle is perhaps where Ducis has best succeeded, the reason being that, madness apart, she is almost *ingénue* in Shakespeare. The young girl will now make, with Madame's permission, a disclosure to her aunt. It is to the effect that the cause of Hamlet's gloom is really nothing but his love for her and his despair of bringing that love to a happy termination. For we learn that the late king had harshly forbidden Ophélie to marry. The repentant Gertrude

listens sympathetically, revokes the decree, and promises her blessing.

The fourth act, opening with Hamlet's soliloquy, offers as fair an opportunity for textual comparison as we shall have:

> Je ne sais que résoudre . . . . immobile et troublé. . . .
> C'est rester trop longtemps de mon doute accablé;
> C'est trop souffrir la vie et le poids qui me tue.
> Eh! qu'offre donc la mort à mon âme abattue?
> Un asile assuré, le plus doux des chemins
> Qui conduit au repos les malheureux humains.
> Mourons. Que craindre encore quand on a cessé d'être?
> La mort . . . . c'est le sommeil . . . . c'est un réveil peut-être.
> Peut-être . . . . Ah! c'est ce mot qui glace épouvanté
> L'homme au bord du cercueil par le doute arrêté.
> Devant ce vaste abyme il se jette en arrière,
> Ressaisit l'existence, et s'attache à la terre.
> Dans nos troubles pressans qui peut nous avertir
> Des secrets de ce monde où tout va s'engloutir?
> Sans l'effroi qu'il inspire, et la terreur sacrée
> Qui défend son passage et siège à son entrée,
> Combien de malheureux iraient dans le tombeau,
> De leurs longues douleurs déposer le fardeau!
> Ah! que ce port souvent est vu d'un œil d'envie
> Par le faible agité sur les flots de la vie!
> Mais il craint dans ses maux, au-delà du trépas,
> Des maux plus grands encore, et qu'il ne connaît pas.
> Redoutable avenir, tu glaces mon courage!
> Va, laisse à ma douleur achever son ouvrage.
> Mais je vois Ophélie. Oh, si des traits si doux
> Suspendaient mes tourmens!

> Nymph, in thy orisons
> Be all my sins remembered.

It will be seen that only a few phrases in this clearly reflect Shakespeare. The rest, poetic expression apart, shows a similarity of general movement, with stop-gaps introduced by La Place or Ducis. Yet in spite of inversions and banalities, perhaps because of a certain respectable harmony, the soliloquy is better rendered—from the French standpoint—than we might anticipate, much better than anything else in the play.

Ophélie, entering at the peroration, is not told to go to a nunnery, because Hamlet still remains decidedly in love with her. But his tragic secret separates them; she pleads in vain to share it. There is a rather pathetic scene between the lovers. The intervention of Gertrude, her exhortations to cheerfulness and marriage, provoke a more vivid appearance of the ghost. Hamlet, "seeing the shade," becomes excited, addresses it, and ends by obscurely threatening Claudius. There is nothing of the prayer scene or the slaying of Polonius. The act ends with another dreary political discussion between Claudius and his henchman.

The next and last opens with Norceste bringing in that fateful urn, by way of grave-yard scene. Ophélie pleads for Claudius, but Hamlet seems now to have set his resolution—

Ma gloire est d'être fils.

Taking issue with her on the paternal question, Hamlet enunciates this excellent sentiment:

Mais un vertueux père est un bien précieux
Qu'on ne tient qu'une fois de la bonté des dieux.

He has before informed us that

Les effets sont pareils, quand la cause est la même.

Ducis has dared to render the strange solemn scene between mother and son. It is one of the few things which he has preserved, and the method of it is this: Hamlet tells his mother what he is going to do; he accuses her, sadly and sternly, as in the English—but without the realism. The urn, whose ashes according to the superstition have seemed to stir at her entrance, will officiate in the supreme test. Since his mother will not admit her guilt, he requires of her to swear her innocence over this altar. She attempts to do so and faints, which was one of the resources of former good-breeding. Hamlet falls moved and appeased at her feet.

The coronation affair, which has been hanging in the balance, precipitates the *dénouement*. The much-used ghost enters once more. Claudius and the crowd rush on and attack Hamlet, but in a mild way, without clash of swords. Hamlet then, in one version, actually kills Claudius on the stage, almost an unheard-of thing; but in a

more acceptable variant—Ducis frequently dodges behind a variant —the prince retires to the *coulisse* for this deed, then comes back and tells about it, much as in *Mérope*. Gertrude confesses the poisoning, though not her infidelity, and kills herself; which was usual enough. Hamlet survives. He has decided to follow Ophélie's advice to "groan no more, but reign," for duty's sake.

Je saurai vivre encore; je fais plus que mourir.

Such is the conclusion, quite in Voltaire's antithetical vein.

The great divergences are evident. There is much less blood: Hamlet is left, Polonius is left, Ophélie is left—and she does not go mad. The effect of the conspiracy detail is even to mitigate the vengeance *motif* in the slaying of Claudius. We observe the *beau rôle* given Gertrude, the slurring of infidelity. Claudius himself is a *naïf* sort of villain. M. Jusserand points out that the "king and queen . . . . declare their intentions with the most dangerous simplicity. Ducis' monsters are black, but not complicated."[1] There is no grim humorous contrast, as represented by the grave-diggers or Polonius. The characters, the philosophy, the tragedy are all quite attenuated, strictly according to the neo-classical prescription. Ducis' habit of explaining, repeating, expanding by commonplaces further serves immoderately to water his little wine.

The reason for dwelling on this Shakespearean echo is that historically it is the most important of these attempts and furthermore it gives the type. It shows how Ducis took from his master, as Pellissier says,[2] hardly more than "une certaine excitation chaleureuse pour se monter l'imagination sur les mêmes sujets." And Sainte-Beuve, indicating how Shakespeare was sentimentalized *à la* Young, declares:[3] "Aux tragédies de Ducis, il ne faut demander ni plan, ni style suivi, mais des mots et quelques scènes."

Ducis, "bonhomme Ducis," as Napoleon called him, his happy gift of conciliation once proven, did well to continue on his easy path. He watched his public to some effect. Three years later he gave to the world *Roméo et Juliette* (1772),[4] a subject which had already been staged by young Chastellux in 1770. At first a doubtful success, Ducis' play was worked over and "alla aux nues." Its

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 419.
[2] P. 94.
[3] *C. de l.*, VI, 459.
[4] *Œuvres*, I, 157–234.

final triumph was partly due to the fact that its author had two strings to his bow.

The plot is taken both from Shakespeare and Dante. The former gave the groundwork of a love-affair between rival families and the latter furnished a grisly but distant episode. Ducis, in his preface, bows in passing to his sources, but considers it "inutile de m'étendre sur les obligations."[1] Shakespeare is much deleted of course, and the action is patched in with the story of Ugolino and his sons—the ravenous rôle being assigned to old Montaigu. Ducis remarks that the audience seemed pleased with the character of this dweller in the woods and avenger of sons, a sort of Timon *manqué*, whose soul, however, was "autrefois vertueuse et tendre." We are again in the presence of ruffians who must have their soft side; it is the Cornelian virtue universally bestowed.

In piecing two sources together, as he did also in *Œdipe chez Admète*, the dramatist ventures on certain departures from the strict classic tradition, since the scene changes to the tomb in the last act. From half a dozen instances, it is clear that Ducis does not mind tampering with the unity of place; it is rare, however, that he keeps the full tragic ending, as he does in this play. The list of characters again is shortened by half. The gossiping nurse, like Polonius, is replaced by a characterless confidante, Mercutio becomes Albéric, Tybalt and the other roysterers vanish entirely. Dolvédo, a young man of mysterious antecedents, is the lover of Juliette. He is represented as a "generous warrior," and "Dolvédo" is the *nom de guerre* of Roméo, son of Montaigu. Juliette alone is in possession of this secret, though she imparts it to her confidante in the first fifty lines. There is a great deal about banishment and, as always, about filial and fraternal affection. The child Roméo was torn from his father's arms, wandered about a time, and finally, all unknown, was adopted by Capulet, in whose house he was brought up. This fostering propinquity may explain the attachment of the lovers; but it hardly explains the omission of the balcony scene. Instead, Dolvédo comes in with "des drapeaux" in the *L'Aiglon* style and addresses this salutatory to his lady:

> Je puis donc, content et glorieux,
> Madame, avec transport reparaître à vos yeux.

[1] I, 155.

Characterized also as a "guerrier parvenu," the young man in that capacity proceeds to boast of his martial exploits. The flags are really for old Capulet, who comes in and looks them over with an appraiser's eye, but gives the preference to Paris, the other suitor. This fact is according to Shakespeare. But we do not hear the clash of weapons, the rough and ready Tybalt, the servants brawling. We have instead this drawing-room *milieu* and one can almost imagine the old man taking snuff and dabbing at his patches. He says that Paris would be a convenient man in case of a fight and Dolvédo must really help him make that match for Juliette. That young lady, who has spoken prettily enough when alone with her lover, who has made a very respectful remonstrance on the subject of Paris, is shortly reproached with lukewarmness by Dolvédo-Roméo. She retorts—

> J'ai moins d'emportement, ingrat, j'ai plus d'amour.

But the truth is that Juliette is by no means Shakespeare's ardent heroine; she is enfeebled, inconsistent, conventional. Adjuring her lover to be "virtuous," she demands of him—

> Pensez-vous qu'il soit libre aux enfants téméraires
> De s'unir aux autels sans l'aveu de leurs pères?

Ducis at any rate does not want society to think so; and that perhaps is why he leaves the tragic ending.

The movement increases when old Montaigu descends upon them with wolflike hate and Orphic utterances. There are various interviews which leave unraveled two mysteries—the identity of Roméo and the reason for Montaigu's deeper desire for vengeance. There is a stormy scene with Capulet, when, as in Shakespeare, the duke of Verona tries to patch up the feud. He has to arrest old Montaigu. A fight takes places none the less, and Roméo takes his father's part and kills Juliette's brother. After that, he is alternately loved and hated by her in accordance with the tradition. But there is still "méprise"; Capulet appeals to Dolvédo-Roméo for vengeance on Roméo, cleverly alluding to the flags. The mystery of Roméo's birth then comes out and there is much declamation.

The fourth act—always hard to keep in tone—introduces Ducis' novelty. But first Ferdinand again plays the peace-maker and with

more apparent effect. The lovers will unite themselves and their families. As the result of appeals to virtue and "citizenship," there is a general *attendrissement*. Even old Montaigu requests the company to be touched by his tears. But he is merely pretending reconciliation—a trick that he may have learned from Atrée—in order to gain his ends. This is shown when he insists that Roméo shall kill Juliette. In quite an impressive scene most of the cords are pulled between father and son. The old man tells how he was forced to watch his other children done to death. It now appears that twenty years ago Capulet's brother poisoned Montaigu's offspring. They offered him their blood as sustenance; and now they call for their enemy's. This is a genuine neo-classic thrill. It is clearly evident that Ducis has no objection to piling on horrors, provided they are heard of but seldom seen.[1]

The *dénouement* in the tomb—a scene rather uncalled for according to our dramatist's preliminaries—might be impressive from a spectacular standpoint. There is not the same series of mistakes as in the original. Juliette does not kill herself from grief at the death of Roméo; she dies first, wishing to remove the obstacle between the families. Both lovers actually perish on the stage, showing that the author's artistic conscience occasionally operates, even to the exclusion of the variant.

It is a curious *rifacimento*, somewhat less lively, on account of the ground-tone of moralities and platitudes, than even the above abstract. One is struck by the conventionality of the larger part over against the attempted soarings. When Ducis dared be bold, he dared not be too bold, and the next moment he dared not be bold at all. The simplicity of his stage-craft, his lack of the "art des préparations," and his hurry to get everything before us may be instanced by a device at the beginning of the play. After Juliette has told her confidante about Dolvédo, the confidante submits this broad hint: "Suppose the old man who has recently come here should turn out to be Montaigu?" Juliette counters: "Suppose

[1] Jusserand (p. 425) alludes to the strictures passed upon Ducis by the *Correspondance littéraire*—also by La Harpe and Marmontel—for the blood-guiltiness of the Montaigu-Ugolino story. But this very thing helped his success with the large public, which certainly had no objection to taking its *frisson* from afar. Ste.-Beuve records that some of the traits in the old man's *récit* were deemed as beautiful as anything in Corneille (*C. de l.*, VI, 460).

my uncle had done disastrous things to Montaigu's sons?" Needless to say these are very awkward and unlikely anticipations on the part of the women. The principal fact about the play is that Montaigu's tower alone remains to strike the eye on a horizon from which the passionate sweep of young love has vanished.

IV

Our good man is quiet for eleven years and in the meantime Le Tourneur's translation appeared. It provoked not only the dying howl of Voltaire but the recrudescence of Ducis, who acknowledged in a general way its vogue and his indebtedness.[1] One may question, however, whether *Léar* is any closer to Shakespeare than the *Hamlet* of 1769. I cannot see that Le Tourneur, comparatively faithful as he was, stimulated Ducis to the exercise of a like virtue. He dilutes, curtails, and follows his own sweet will afterward as before. What may be granted is a greater ease and a surer hand in following his own peculiar technique. But whatever may be thought of Ducis' maturity, the interval of time hardly seems to betoken very much advance in general dramatic tolerance. *Le Roi Léar* (1783) is in a sense its author's "strongest" play, and its action may as well be detailed for comparison.[2]

The *Avertissement*[3] admits a double debt, to Le Tourneur and to his "own inventions." That the subject was a "happy" one is proved by the flowing of his own tears during composition and by the tears of the audience afterward.[4] The piece is therefore "utile aux mœurs," and other fathers could take their children to it. We may readily imagine, indeed, the zeal with which Ducis would attack the subject of filial ingratitude. "Cependant, j'ai tremblé plus d'une fois, je l'avoue, quand j'ai eu l'idée de faire paraître sur la scène française un roi dont la raison est aliénée." Follows the passage about the severity of rules.[5]

[1] "La traduction . . . . par M. Le Tourneur est entre les mains de tout le monde."—I, 325.

[2] I, 329–433. [3] I, 325–26.

[4] According to Ste.-Beuve the tears were *de rigueur*. The mild Ducis is reported to have carried his daughters to a representation of *Léar* and to have declared afterward: "Si elles n'avaient pas fondu en larmes, je les aurais étranglées de mes mains." (!)—*C. de l.*, VI, 462.

[5] See above, p. 143.

The *dramatis personae* include twelve named characters, which is very full for the neo-classic play. Yet certain notable ones disappear from our vision. There is no Fool, in the first place. There are no "France" and "Burgundy." Goneril-Volnérille does not appear on the stage. There is no Gloucester and the sons of Gloucester—a model youth, Lénox, being substituted for the vigorous bastard Edmund—are assigned to Kent; but this is an excusable tightening of the threads. The action is vaguely continuous. The place changes: two acts are in the castle of Cornouailles and three are near a cavern in the forest. That is, there is one change of scene as opposed to nearly twenty in Shakespeare.

The action begins only after the division of the kingdom and the banishment of Cordelia—known as Helmonde. Oswald gives in a *récit* to "Cornouailles" some of the previous history: Léar, the "inconstant vieillard," installed with Volnérille, regrets his loss of power and his harshness toward Helmonde. Cornouailles expresses his fear of revolutions, in which England is "féconde"; he thinks that troops are hidden in these very woods. Helmonde's whereabouts are unknown. Léar is characterized as "extrême en tout"; as in Shakespeare the very rashness of his behavior toward his best-loved daughter is used by the opposing side to argue his general fickleness.

Enter Régane, Albany, and the two sons of the banished Kent. Albany keeps his "mild" rôle, speaks of Léar as an august benefactor, and is not sure concerning the crimes imputed to Helmonde. Neither is Lénox, who interrupts the censorious Régane with—

> Des forfaits! Elle! O dieux, je ne les crus jamais!

Lénox will thus prove *amouraché* of Helmonde, though Edgard, his brother, is the suitor who really counts. There is no such love-affair in Shakespeare: the courting there assigned to "France" consisted only of a speech or two. Cornouailles, who has revoked the banishment of Kent, appeals to the latter's sons to aid him in repelling the "insolent Danes," whose threatened attack replaces that of France as enveloping action. But instead Lénox urges Edgard to come with him and console the weariness of their old father "sous son toit vertueux." Edgard refuses, saying he is not

his own master, and Lénox, after extolling the happiness of Kent in exile and the general merit of a Sabine farm, makes a clumsy transition to the fate of Helmonde. Edgard can that tale unfold: Helmonde, who wished to marry Ulric the Dane, was accused by the "adroite Volnérille" of treason to her country and the intention of poisoning her father. Banished and a fugitive, Edgard has hidden her under the "impenetrable horror of a tutelary rock," i.e., in a cave. Edgard describes Helmonde's clothes and her affecting attitude when she hears of her father's downfall—

> Quelquefois, au travers de sa douleur touchante,
> Un souris s'égarait sur sa bouche innocente.

The combination inspired him to assemble friends, whom he has led to revolt and whom he holds ready to strike the "grand coup" tonight.

Kent finds the brothers and, uninformed of their project, remonstrates in vain at his abandonment. There is much filial and fraternal matter, which provides a poor echo of the Gloucester subplot. Shakespeare's admirable design of showing misplaced parental confidence in both plots is here badly twisted, since Kent's sons are too good. Albany returns to inform us that Léar has left Volnérille and that his reason is failing. Kent thereupon says that he will not lament the death of his king—the only thing that he would lament in Shakespeare.

Kent apparently remains on the stage between acts, and an old man is announced, blinded by tears, poverty-stricken, and with senses chilled by the cold. It is Léar who then enters. At first he does not know Kent (in spite of the fact that he is looking for him), but that nobleman shortly throws himself at his former master's feet. This scene corresponds vaguely to the one before Gloucester's castle. Ducis loses the effect of Lear's energetic anger and the mounting effect of the *two* interviews with his daughters. Léar speaks brokenly, already anticipating the loss of his reason and strength, complaining of Volnérille instead of cursing her, remorseful as to Helmonde. Kent tries to reassure him, but admits that the conduct of his own children leaves something to be desired (which is artificially Shakespearean) and concludes that both fathers had

better repair to the soil of the Sabine farm. Léar wishes to approach Régane first. In the presence of her and Cornouailles, he alternately requests her hospitality and upbraids her—confusing her with Volnérille. He apologizes for this and Régane has taken no stand as yet, when Kent returns to deliver these four remarkable lines:

(*À part*) Volwick m'a tout appris. (*À Léar*) Non, tu n'as plus de fille.
Ce palais est pour toi tout plein de Volnérille.
(*Montrant le duc de Cornouailles*)
Régane est digne en tout de ce monstre odieux,
Tu cherchais la vertu; le crime est en ces lieux.

Neither "Volwick" nor anybody else informs us of what this crime is nor why it should be immediately credited; which is another neo-classic way of assuming a terrible situation in order to conceal it. Kent none the less is at once put in chains (which reduces to half a line the scene of the stocks), and Léar, refusing the proffered aid of Albany, calls down the wrath of heaven upon the offspring of Régane. Léar and Kent are left alone; presently Volwick comes with the more definite exhortation:

Fuyez, le feu s'apprête.

He speaks, and Léar and Kent wander out into the storm.

The third act represents the tempest and night of Shakespeare, the cavern and conspiracy of Ducis. Edgard addresses a body of his soldiers to the effect that they are to follow Lénox and save the country. The situation of Helmonde, he says, is what chiefly inflames his ardor. That heroine joins them, pleads for the cause of her father and receives their homage. An opportune burst of thunder presages victory.

Edgard, left alone with Helmonde, does not make love but declares:

Bientôt, Léar vengé par leur valeur guerrière. . . . .
Dieux! vous versez des pleurs!

This is a good example of "those suspensions, those solutions" which were almost the only form of abruptness left to the neo-classic tragedy. This one is probably imitated from the famous "Zaïre, vous pleurez" of Orosmane.

Helmonde weeps, she avows, because she has a presentiment (not particularly *vraisemblable*) that Régane in turn has chased her father out into the storm. Helmonde apostrophizes the thunder and the great gods, while Edgard urges the shelter of the *souterrain*. They withdraw and Léar then enters alone. He has lost his way; he is exposed to a terrific tempest of wind, hail, and lightning.[1] He also exhorts the storm to spend its fury on his feeble body. Kent finds him and they converse with a humanitarian touch suitable to the year 1783—

Léar: Combien d'infortunés, soumis à notre empire,
Réclament loin de nous la nature et nos soins!
J'ai peut-être moi-même oublié leurs besoins.
Le Comte: Non, vos peuples jamais n'ont senti la misère.
Léar: Crois-tu qu'encor pour eux ma mémoire soit chère?

But Kent, observing the cavern, suggests that they retire there. Léar, rising superior to the storm, declares that a worse one will soon be raging in his own breast.

Up to this point, and very differently from Shakespeare, the language has been calm and measured. It now takes on a mild madness, when an old man called "Norclète" enters. Léar, "avec un égarement doux et paisible," demands of this proprietor of the cave—

Aurais-tu donc aussi donné tout à tes filles?

As in Shakespeare, this speech marks the beginning of Léar's insanity. But observe that Norclète replaces Shakespeare's strange Edgar; there is no wild triple madness of Lear, Edgar, and the Fool; and that "égarement doux" is characteristic of Léar's derangement throughout. He declares mysteriously that he has committed a great crime, he says smilingly that his daughter was "jeune et belle."[2] Then he falls into a state of insensibility. Norclète remarks that a young girl of that sort has been dwelling with him in his cave. Thus announced, Helmonde comes forth with Edgard. But Léar, con-

[1] Is this the "Appareil" so heartily recommended by Voltaire? "Ducis fait grande consommation de foudre et d'éclairs."—Ste.-Beuve, *C. de l.*, VI, 462.

[2] Compare

"Her voice was ever soft,
Gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman."
(Act V, scene iii.)

fusing her with the other daughters, repulses her, wishes her laden with chains and dragged into judgment. He details his wrongs and weeps as he has wept before. Shakespeare's Lear says that his heart will burst before he weeps and Ducis, suddenly remembering that, makes his old man declare:

Je ne pleurerai plus.

Then Léar, who feels that he was not born "pour aimer la vengeance," observes that he suffers less near this unrecognized daughter—who has a gentle countenance and seems of Helmonde's age. Assured that they are one and the same, he asks if it is possible that he sees his victim; and the semi-recognition follows in this style:

Léar: C'est dans la sombre nuit un éclair qui me brille.
Un tendre instinct me dit que vous êtes ma fille;
Mais peut-être qu'aussi, pour calmer ma douleur,
Votre noble pitié cherche à tromper mon coeur.
Es-tu mon sang?
Helmonde: Mon père!
Léar: O moment plein de charmes!
Helmonde: Helmonde est dans vos bras, voyez couler ses larmes.

And with the appearance of that familiar rime, one may trust that domestic bliss is near. But Ducis needed another turn of the screw. It continues:

Léar: (*tirant son épée et voulant s'en percer*):
Hé bien! puisque tu l'es, voilà mon châtiment.
Helmonde: Que faites-vous, grands dieux!
Léar: Je te venge.
Helmonde: Un moment!
Je vous trompais, seigneur; vous n'êtes point mon père.
Léar: Oses-tu prendre un nom que la vertu révère!
Va, ne m'abuse plus; va, fuis loin de mes yeux.

After which, he falls insensible and is taken into the cavern.

The trick is turned otherwise and later in the original, and indeed very little of the preceding is Shakespearean save in the most general way. What follows, in the last two acts, is even less so and may be briefly condensed.

Edgard, like Shakespeare's doctor, hopes that slumber may restore Léar's faculties. At daybreak the old man is brought to the

mouth of the cave—on a "lit de roseaux"—and in a long fatherly scene he passes from ignorance of such words as "Léar" and "king" to a full recognition of Helmonde and Kent. He is himself again; but the tide of battle drawing near forces the friends back into the cavern. Kent has time to apostrophize the gods before the re-entrance of Helmonde and the advent of Oswald, who leads the opposing hosts. "Cette fille?" demands Oswald. "La mienne," answers Norclète. Oswald, knowing that Léar is a fugitive in the neighborhood, searches the cave in vain; but as Helmonde feebly faints, he becomes suspicious and will carry her off; whereupon Léar walks out and gives himself up.

In the same setting, Cornouailles hears Oswald's report and we learn that Léar has again fallen into a "doux égarement." Régane stimulates her lord to vengeance on Helmonde by reminding him of her supposed crimes. Helmonde wishes only to attend her father; she admits that she is responsible for the present revolt; but she would rather die than betray the names of her allies. Enter Léar. "Avec un égarement paisible et plein de tendresse" (which is not a new kind of *égarement*), he includes Régane and Cornouailles in his affection—

> Vers vous, mes chers enfants, c'est le ciel qui me guide.

Albany, entering with troops, states that the army of Edgard is near and (as in Shakespeare) quarrels with Cornouailles over the hostages. Oswald, who probably has his orders, takes Helmonde aside. The men of Cornouailles presently return victorious, with Edgard prisoner. Cornouailles brutally declares that Oswald has killed Helmonde, thereby again restoring Léar's reason with the shock and thereby losing his own cause. For his men, at Edgard's appeal, desert his inhuman standard and hail Léar king. This is done without violence, of course. Helmonde, equally of course, is not really killed. She is given to Edgard in marriage, Kent will watch over them, the traitors are punished, and Léar will end his days in peace.

It may be granted that this drama is more ingenious than the others: it is all the more false. The tremendous divergences from the original hardly need pointing out. Aside from the heart-interest and the general sentimentalism, there is the loss both of wild horror

and of tragic dignity; the pathos sinks into bathos, the pertinacious optimism has its unintentional comic relief. The plot is more concentrated, to be sure, it is simplified, but it is also emasculated.

A more important difference than any will emerge from the point of view of character contrast. Shakespeare's Lear is marked by the jealous affection of the aged, by a pathetic madness, but also by impetuosity and the pride of insulted fatherhood. The Léar of Ducis is timid, gentle, and thoroughly *bienséant* even in insanity. He pines for his crown, whereas the other cared not a button for his crown. The mild humanitarianized Léar is really cowed by his bad daughters. He curses Régane once, but there is no real scene, no contest of pride and will. He complains, he weeps, where Shakespeare's king swore that his heart would break first. Léar *à la* Ducis is more pitiable than powerful. He is allowed no torrent of language to voice his "hysterica passio." His very desires for vengeance and death are expressed in passionless Alexandrines. There are more long "screeds" in this play than in any other by Ducis and frequently the feebleness comes through prosing about society, through generalizing about those social categories which Diderot would have us believe dramatic.

However, Ducis' deletions are consistent, historically interesting, and occasionally justifiable in themselves. Without being guilty of *lèse*-Shakespeare it may be held that certain things are best omitted from the play—the matter of Gloucester's eyes, the matter of his false childish leap from the cliff. Neo-classicism naturally omitted these, but it took a graver liberty in omitting the ghastliness of the triple madness and the grim horror around that scene. The storm-effect is also deleted and the milder madness of Léar seems on all these accounts less convincing. In itself, perhaps it is not so badly, it is even feelingly done, save for too much self-pity. It is a good stroke to make Léar take his one true daughter for Régane or Volnérille. But certainly his shifts from sanity to madness are too frequent.

There are moments of intensity that slip back into the maudlin. Ducis has no skill in transitions; he can touch only the one fountain. Such a Lear may make us weep but cannot make us wonder. The *motifs* of filial ingratitude and vengeance become hazy in the domi-

nant rôle accorded to the faithful daughter. Affection is stronger than hate and Ducis' sentimentality blurs the stark lines of Shakespeare's realism.

Treading on the heels of this success—which duly angered the critics—its author produced *Macbeth* the following year (1774). Here too he was reproached with his choice of subject and begged to write "une pièce tendre."[1] Yet it would seem fairly "tender" to endow Lady Macbeth with a beloved young son. Her heroic rôle, thus qualified and dubbed with the inspiring name of Frédégonde was played by Madame Vestris.

The most remarkable thing in the play is Ducis' rendering of the sleep-walking scene. This offers a good opportunity—which is rare—for textual comparison. But to glance first at the author's general intentions and deviations.

The *avertissement*[2] alludes to the success of his other versions and to the "terrible" nature of this subject, which would naturally be more applauded at London than at Paris. Then he gives another expression of his dramatic recipe, compounded of Aristotle and Crébillon:

> Je me suis appliqué d'abord à faire disparaître l'impression toujours révoltante de l'horreur, qui certainement eût fait tomber mon ouvrage; et j'ai tâché ensuite d'amener l'âme de mon spectateur jusqu'aux derniers degrés de la terreur tragique, en y mêlant avec art ce qui pouvait la faire supporter.

These precautions have subdued the critics, who allow him at least the merit of the "difficulté vaincue"—that common formula of the age, which meant at bottom that beauty was a *tour de force.* Ducis then proceeds to compliment Shakespeare and Siddons and to assign Macbeth a soul "née pour la vertu."

The play itself is another compromise.[3] For instance, the scene shifts from the forest to the palace of Inverness. The setting is described several times, not only in the exceptionally detailed account of Lady Macbeth's somnambulism, but more *à la* Ducis in the vague and adjectival introductions to each act. The first is supposed to pass in "the most sinister spot of an antique forest," adorned with rocks, caverns, and precipices, in short "un site épou-

[1] Pellissier, p. 91. [2] II, 3–5. [3] II, 7–89.

vantable." This horrible place is covered by a "menacing and tenebrous" sky and decorated apparently by the firm of Radcliffe and Lewis. The setting for Act II repeats several of these epithets, freshly applied to the palace and, says in conclusion: "Il doit être d'un caractère terrible." These first gropings after the art of stage-directions are infantile, but they are quite in line with the budding English pseudo-romanticism.

In Act I Duncan and Glamis come to Birnam wood. There are didactic debates concerning that "ungrateful mortal" Macbeth. Glamis, first prince of the blood, absorbing the rôle of Banquo, is used also as confidant of Duncan. He recites a rimed history of Scotland, to the supposedly ignorant king. But first he tells us that two of Duncan's sons have been made away with before the beginning of the action. The remaining heir, Malcome, is kept in hiding and an old man is brought in who is secretly rearing the prince and makes prophecies concerning him. This *vieillard*, a replica of Norclète, is periphrased as

> Un de ces mortels[1] qui dans l'obscurité
> Par de mâles travaux domptent l'adversité.

The witches are *not* brought in, except in the usual *récit*—and in a variant about the added "terror" of which Ducis hesitates. But seen or unseen, the weird sisters depress the spirits of Duncan, especially Hecate's substitute, "Iphyctone, interprète et ministre des dieux."

In the palace, there is first a *récit* of Macbeth's victory, according to Shakespeare. Malcome has quite a rôle from the beginning. A family party of Macbeth, wife, and son is dissolved by the cares of empire, but the lady remains to tempt her husband by much talk about the witches, by dwelling on their prophecy, "tu seras roi," and by accusations against Glamis. To her are attributed the superstitious consultations and this first suggestion of crime comes from an interview with Iphyctone. But Lady Macbeth's motive is

> O mon fils! quel espoir pour l'orgueil d'une mère.
> Un jour tu seras roi.

This maternal hope is the palliation Ducis offers for her crime.

[1] Since all men are "mortals."

The story continues to the effect that Macbeth has had a dream, like Crébillon's Atrée, anticipating the murder; and Duncan enters with the confidence of hospitality which he showed in Shakespeare.

Act III passes between midnight and dawn. It opens with Frédégonde's soliloquy (partly reminiscent of the original) on her husband's character. The presence and supposed designs of Banquo-Glamis are used to precipitate Macbeth's resolution. A second prophecy of the head-witch, meant to have the same effect, merely repeats. The final touch is given by a note which announcing the death of two other aspirants, leaves only Duncan and Glamis between Macbeth and the throne. Thereupon Frédégonde speaks forcibly and persuades him to the deed. There is some rather good dialogue through here, in the short Voltairian style; there is no brooding and bewildering sense of doom either before or afterward. All is arranged for Duncan's death—which was to be foisted on Glamis—when the soldiers of a rebel surround the castle. While Frédégonde hopes that Duncan will perish in the mellay, Macbeth runs to defend him.

The murder, as before, is accomplished between acts. We learn that though Macbeth drove the dagger, it is Frédégonde herself, according to him, who is the most guilty. The noblest trait in the real Macbeth is that he never reproaches his wife. This man says: "C'est toi, c'est toi, barbare, en empruntant ma main . . . ." and actually threatens to kill her next.

There is no banquet. The unity of time is practically preserved and it is immediately after the murder that Macbeth gives himself away—which is rather soon for a ghost to appear. The existence of Malcome is sprung on the harassed Macbeth. He is able to tide that over, but remorse makes him finally give up the crown and kill himself. Frédégonde (except in a variant) lives afterward, a prey to her own horror. For the shudder introduced here by Ducis—and the point of the sleep-walking scene—is that she kills her own son, through mistaking him for Malcome. The bloody cradle of the child is even introduced in the variant but scarcely on the stage. Here is a part of her somnambulism that leads to the melodramatic "parricide":

Frédégonde (*avec joie et un air de mystère*):

Ce grand coup fut caché dans la nuit.
La couronne est à nous. Macbeth, pourquoi la rendre?
(*Avec le geste d'une femme qui porte plusieurs coups de poignard dans les ténèbres.*)
Sur le fils à son tour. . . . .

Sévar: Ciel! que viens-je d'entendre!

Frédégonde (*en s'applaudissant, et avec la joie de l'ambition satisfaite*):

Oui, tout est consommé, mes enfants règneront.

For a page she mutters of her maternal ambition, of the blood which stains her hands, of her remorse and this fresh crime which fascinates her—all with very full stage-directions—and then:

(*Son front s'éclaircit par degrés, et passe insensiblement de la plus profonde douleur à la joie et à la plus vive espérance.*)
Quel espoir dans mon sein est rentré?
(*Tout bas, comme appelant Macbeth pendant la nuit, et lui montrant le lit de Malcome qu'elle croit voir.*)
Macbeth! Malcome est là.
(*Avec ardeur.*)
Viens.
(*Croyant le voir hésiter et levant les épaules de pitié.*)
Comme il s'intimide!
(*Décidée à agir seule.*)
Allons.
(*Avec joie.*)
Il dort.
(*Avec la confiance de la certitude, et dans le plus profond sommeil.*)
Je veille . . . . .
(*Elle regarde le flambeau d'un oeil fixe; elle le prend et se lève.*)
Et ce flambeau me guide.
(*Elle marche vers le côté du théâtre par lequel elle doit sortir. S'arrêtant tout-à-coup avec l'air du désir et de l'impatience, croyant entendre sonner l'heure.*)
Sa mort sonne.
(*Avec la plus grande attention, immobile, le bras droit étendu, et marquant chaque heure avec ses doigts.*)
Une . . . Deux.
(*Croyant marcher droit au lit de Malcome.*)
C'est l'instant de frapper.
(*Elle tire son poignard et se retire, toujours dormant, sous l'une des voûtes.*)

This is whatever one pleases, but it is certainly striking. And on the whole, barring the forced parricide *motif*, I consider *Macbeth* the best of these plays, the most faithful to the original and the version in which Ducis' variations have the most plausibility.

V

This is quite relative praise and therefore not excessive. It would be difficult to say anything at all in favor of the last two dramas, which are the least important of the lot, judged even by contemporary criticism. The perversions in *Othello* are as great as the perversions in *Hamlet;* and if *King John* is not among Shakespeare's best, *Jean Sans-Terre ou la mort d'Arthur* (1791)[1] is surely Ducis' worst.

The subject of this play is more narrowly limited and the list of personnages more curtailed than in any yet considered. It is Arthur's story, nothing more.[2] None of the French characters, nothing about a war, no Eleanor, no English earls. For most people, Falconbridge, the bold bastard, is the hero of *King John:* there is no Falconbridge in *Jean Sans-Terre.* There are only three acts, in which respect it is unique among the Shakespearean dramas of Ducis. The scene, with an effect of much cramping, passes entirely in the Tower of London. Ducis states[3] that he took the Hubert-Arthur episode from Shakespeare and implies, quite truthfully, that the rest is a poor thing, but his own. Three hundred lines of the original are expanded into three acts. There is an ancient Briton by the name of Kermadeuc, who takes the stock part of loyal retainer. There is a Constance who flits around disguised. There is a cowardly Hubert, who promises to save the prince, who lets his eyes be put out notwithstanding, and who laments and makes long speeches afterward. As to the death of Arthur, Ducis preferred to stick to a shady sort of history and make John kill him. He also makes John kill Constance, both events occurring comfortably off the stage. John himself, being as bad as ever, represents the one saving virtue in the play.

[1] II, 97–161.

[2] Compare the popularity of the "Enfants d'Edouard" subject, in Delavigne and the Romantic painters.

[3] *Avertissement,* II, 93–94.

Othello ou le More de Venise (1792) ends the attempts of Ducis.[1] Talma played the title-rôle with great applause. The scene passes entirely in Venice, but in three different places. There are seven personages, not including Shakespeare's blackamoor. "As to the color of Othello," says Ducis, "I thought I might dispense with giving him a black visage. . . . . I thought that the yellow coppery tint would have the advantage of not revolting the eye of the public, and especially that of the women."[2] Iago too—styled Pézare—requires many *ménagements* not to be "revolting," requires in particular to be "carefully hidden" from the eyes of the spectators. For the English, says Ducis, might be able to stand such a monster as the original Iago, but the French could scarcely put up with his presence, still less with the development of his depths of villany:

> C'est ce qui m'a engagé à ne faire connaître le personnage qui le remplace si faiblement dans ma pièce, que tout à la fin du dénouement. . . . . Je me suis bien gardé de le faire paraître du moment qu'il est connu, du moment que j'ai révélé au public le secret affreux de son caractère.

Then the author adds that in a "court récit" we are instructed as to Pézare's death-penalty. Another reason for thus removing the criminal from the public gaze is that if this perfidy were known during the action the horror of the audience would have surpassed its interest in the love-story.

If Pézare is mild, Hédelmone is milder. She is more like Zaïre than Desdemona. She has the former's hesitation when all is ready for her wedding, she is involved in a similar "mistake" over a letter. She shows fright and weakness of a languishing order and little individuality. Hédelmonde or Helmonde, it is much the same thing.

There are again two *dénouements*. They were necessary, said Ducis, since an author's principal aim is to please and to suit the character of his nation.[3] Consequently, although he thought it more artistic and even more moral to end a tragedy tragically, although his original version allows that Othello shall stab Desdemona and himself, there is once more an optimistic variant in which Pézare's

[1] II, 175–272.

[2] *Avertissement*, II, 167–69.

[3] So he roundly states in the *Avertissement*, II, 171.

villany is discovered in time. A crowd enters as the poniard is raised, the lovers embrace, etc. "Les directeurs des théâtres seront les maîtres de choisir."

The original ending made a "terrible" impression.[1] The audience rose as one man and several women fainted.[2] The famous "oreiller," the infamous "mouchoir" are gently replaced by the devices of a poniard and a letter of *double entente* which Pézare foists on Lorédan-Cassio. Pézare is himself in love with Hédelmone and is responsible for an attempted *enlèvement* which he also attributes to Lorédan.

Othello is not concerned with any elopement. His marriage does not occur until the fourth act; like the coronation in *Hamlet*, it is obviously used to hold the strings together. The Cassio machinery is kept, but it is badly handled. Fearing for her father's life, Hédelmone asks succor and support from Lorédan, a "jeune inconnu." They become friends with startling rapidity, quite startling enough to give Othello just cause for suspicion. Lorédan begins by asking to be admitted into the Moor's service. He ends by actually making love to Hédelmone, a thing which the real Cassio never thought of doing. The old father—Ducis could not spare us him—tries to promote the union of his daughter with Lorédan. Then Hédelmone, to save the old father from punishment by the state, stoops to trickery and gives Lorédan a *bandeau* (*sc.* "*mouchoir*") from her brow together with a compromising note in which she is pledged to him. This note is meant to operate on *his* father, but Iago gains possession of it and "all is discovered."

But the note is too feeble, for it is clearly a mere trick; Othello is too feeble, for he rushes, like Orosmane, from great calm to great anger; Hédelmone trembles more than she loves; and the whole system of "préparations" is feeblest of all. For instance, a senator naïvely introduces Pézare's first *récit* by saying: "C'est à vous de conter." Hédelmone's father prophesies lumberingly: "Tu seras malheureuse," etc. There are the familiar banalities and periphrases. Some one speaks of spies as

Ces mortels dont l'état gage la vigilance.

[1] II, 169.

[2] It is true that Hédelmone dies a bloody death on the stage. This was not strictly forbidden to neo-classicism: it was only debatable land, and there are precedents in Voltaire

Othello thus moralizes over Hédelmone's body: "I would never have thought that such brazenness could be found in such youth. It is the effect of the climate."

Shakespeare's suggestion of a willow-song delighted Ducis, who wrote a lengthy version of it with the refrain

Chantez le saule et sa douce verdure.

The effect of these pentameters is not happy.

Ducis had observed, in 1792, that "la tragédie court les rues," and faint echoes of the Revolution are heard on his stage. There are such sounding couplets as these:

L'amour, fier de ses droits, comme la liberté,
Rend l'homme à la nature, à son égalité.

We have much information about these abstracts, especially about "nature" (it is really time to find out what this Protean word has meant in France), and we have something about self-made men—Othello himself, like Roméo, being a "soldat parvenu."

But in spite of its date and these details, the play is obviously as neo-classic, the audience as refined as ever. "Never was anything seen so gentle, so attenuated, so delicate and so polished," says M. Jusserand emphatically;[1] and Ducis' melodramatic pill remained coated with respectability and vagueness. Impatiently did the clear-sighted *Correspondance littéraire* point out that "les petites mœurs" barred appreciation of energetic crimes and strong characters. Not yet was the pit flooded by the equally impossible Incroyables, so bitterly complained of by La Harpe, de Bray, and others. The theater was the last stronghold of the red heels against the red bonnets.

VI

It is evident that Ducis was no lonely artist-peak overtopping his generation; his lack of uniqueness will appear all the more clearly if we glance at certain of his dramatic congeners in the art of adapting Shakespeare. Still in connection with the "patriotic tragedy," for which his voice was strongly uplifted, M.-J. Chénier

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 429.

has left two political plays on the Anglo-Roman model.[1] The first-written of these is *Brutus et Cassius ou les derniers Romains* (1786). It is just such a subject as the Revolutionary generation delighted in; and the handling is much closer to Voltaire than to Shakespeare. In fact Chénier, concerning the Englishman's *Julius Caesar*, has several contemptuous remarks to make. He is displeased with the low expressions, such as an "itching palm," and Shakespeare's popular appeal quite offends him. For the rest, the connection between the two plays consists mainly in the fact that both are based on the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius. Chénier's piece has but three acts, all of which pass in Brutus' tent at Philippi. He is discovered musing on Caesar's ghost, which has already appeared. He receives the news of Portia's death with more words than become a Stoic, and Cassius finds him in a reverie. They discuss the ghost a little and then pass immediately to their dispute which begins, as in Shakespeare, by the question of condoning corruption. It is not dramatically handled. The great quarrel between great friends is turned into what is scarcely more than an argument with recriminations, fading vaguely away as the other Romans enter.

The rest of this drama does not particularly concern us. Marie-Joseph uses a Shakespearean stepping-stone occasionally but not enough to carry him very far. Such are the presage of the two eagles and Cato's name as the first suggestion of the suicides. Some of the minor characters are also repeated. Otherwise about all that remains is the fact that Brutus and Cassius fight, lose, and are killed—but remember that the action stays in Brutus' tent. The drama contains a great deal of political discussion, which probably helped it at the time and now makes it only a poor performance. Chénier's theories were revolutionary not only anent government but in stage-craft. Yet when it came to the touch, he proved, like certain socialist statesmen, quite docile in practice.

Henri VIII (1791) is styled by Janin "un gascon de tragédie."[2] It presents no Katherine, no Wolsey, no pageant—the elements which alone save the original. The cycle of Henry's wives is moved

[1] *Œuvres*, 10 vols., Paris, Guillaume, 1826: Vol. VI, 199–245; Vol. II, 3–74.

[2] Janin, "La Naissance du drame en France—Influence de Shakespeare," in *Critique dramatique*, Paris, 1878, III, pp. 15–52.

up just one point. The characters are thoroughly softened. Jane Seymour, Anne Bullen are both made impossibly "noble" and even moral. Cranmer's opportunism and shiftiness are obliterated and he becomes simply a holy prelate. Henry himself does not order his progressive harem in the traditional large manner. He is less of a giant and more of a villain, frequently discomposed and disconcerted. The speeches are throughout forced into the service of Revolutionary propaganda: such words as freedom, tyranny, justice, *égalité* are much bandied about. It is perhaps worth mentioning that after dwelling in *Henri VIII* on the wrongs of hapless queens, Chénier, the morning after its representation, attended the execution of Marie Antoinette.

There is a certain *Cléopâtre* by Marmontel, which although scantly acted in 1750, comes down to us as finally arranged in 1784.[1] Marmontel did not acknowledge this as an imitation of Shakespeare; and indeed the trail of Dryden seems over it all; but whether version or perversion, there is naturally a Shakespearean *fonds* to such a subject. The play has fewer ups and downs in the neo-classical handling, since it begins only after the battle of Actium. The unity of place is preserved—everything passes in Cléopâtre's palace at Alexandria. The unity of time is slightly relaxed.

Cléopâtre considers sacrificing herself in order to obtain peace; and when her rival—in a scene between the two which Shakespeare did not attempt—when Octavia pleads for peace, Cléopâtre generously wishes to cede her lover and her happiness. Antony wonders at her nobility and asks where is her love. It is revealed, when she suddenly changes front, as she does several times with unreal effect. After bidding him fight to the last, after setting out to flatter and placate Octave, she recurs at the last to the idea of sacrifice. It is with this idea rather than from despair of a possible ultimate happiness that she kills herself. Neither she nor Antony ever show the instinctive jealousy which serves to add nature's touches to the original. They are too noble for that.

Antony is truly noble, for instead of reviling Cléopâtre after his defeat, he accuses only himself. In a singular scene with his rejected

[1] Marmontel, *Œuvres*, 7 vols., Paris: Belin, 1819–20: Vol. V, II^e Partie, pp. 387–428.

wife (not according to Shakespeare) he admits his fault, but stiffens with pride when she speaks of rescuing him from the dangerous charm. He says that she is only a tool in the hands of the cunning Octave—who is forced into the part of vindictive villain. The lovers are never allowed their few moments of exultant victory, which Shakespeare used for contrast.

No one supposes Marmontel to be a great or even a good dramatist, but he seems, in a certain elevation and harmony of style, to be at least equal to Ducis. The respectable neo-classic effect is still there, without melodrama.

Of the same year, there is a *Coriolan* by La Harpe,[1] which, it has been suggested, may present another facet of the gallicized Shakespeare. But La Harpe emphatically disclaims that origin, Janin supports his disclaimer, and after comparing the two plays, I am disposed to think that their similarities are due to the fact that they use Plutarch as a common source.[2] Besides there were no less than eight French *Coriolans* represented between 1607 and 1784. La Harpe violates the unities, but rather in the name of Houdar de la Motte than of Shakespeare.

Some of the smaller fry also deserve a passing word. Editions of these are not readily attainable and I can only speak of them at second hand. Some rather curious facts are reported.[3]

Sébastien Mercier, another daring theorist, has three quite conventional versions. In *Les Tombeaux de Vérone*, he uses prose, but it is a noble periphrastic prose, full of *récits* and monologues. Juliette has a confidante, words replace action, and the lovers' woes have a happy ending—for the heroine awakens at the moment of a general killing which is thereby turned into a general embracing. In *Le Vieillard et ses trois filles*, Mercier presents a Lear who is not a king at all but a private citizen. Diderot supersedes Shakespeare. The author boasts that it is a "tableau moral," a lesson to ungrateful children. Finally, his *Timon d'Athènes* is said to be nearer the spirit of the original. Written in prison during the Reign of Terror, such

[1] *Œuvres*, 16 vols., Paris, Verdière, 1820: vol. II, 451–526.

[2] La Harpe, II, 467 (*Préface*); Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[3] Especially by Jusserand, pp. 405 ff., 439–40. He thus summarizes the more obscure adaptors (whom Janin calls "maître-mosaïstes"): "They all surprised the public then by their rashness, and surprise us now by their timidity."

a subject may well have interested Mercier. But apparently he handles it without fire.

Hilas et Silvie, by Rochon de Chabannes, is described by Jusserand as a musical-pastoral adapted from *The Tempest*. Caliban remains; the rest shows the influence of Dryden. The comedies generally were clearly less appreciated than the tragedies and histories. When adapted at all, they were very roughly handled. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, more popular than most, was remodeled, for instance, by Collot d'Herbois under the title of the *Amant loup-garou*. This was merely a vulgar farce, as was also, according to La Harpe, De Rozoi's *Rhapsodie de Richard III*.

There remain two versions of *Othello* and two of *Romeo and Juliette*—after which this painful subject of travesties may well be dismissed. *Le More de Venise* by Douin (an army-captain) evinces a military frankness. The author cannot stand Shakespeare's low comedy and has remedied "that essential fault." Like Boileau, he admits only a pagan mythology and wants no such terms as "heaven," "angel," "devil." Like Ducis, he held that Othello's skin and Iago's soul both required whitening. The whole action passes at Cyprus. Douin's main compromise is in allowing Desdemona to be stabbed on the stage. Rodrigo perishes otherwise: Cassio "charge Rodrigue qui tombe dans la coulisse—mais de façon à être vu."

Butini, another obscure character, has an *Othello* whitened, softened, and simplified, according to the canon. The Moor does not kill his wife—"il la frappe." Butini says modestly of his collaboration: "Si cette pièce peut ne pas déplaire aux véritables hommes de goût . . . . la gloire en sera dûe principalement à Shakespeare."

Mention has already been made of Chastellux' *Roméo et Juliette*. It was performed privately at La Chevrette in 1770 and was quite an event. According to the author he "left out all that is comic" and according to Jusserand all that is tragic, "for the Chevalier's play ends as merrily as possible." The rendering by Moline and Cubières (1806) shows the veering of the wind. Cubières had represented, in 1776, a take-off on the "sombre" play called *La manie des drames sombres*, in which he ridicules Shakespeare, Young, and English melancholy in general. But this *Roméo et Juliette, tragédie lyrique*,

not only has a mournful catastrophe, but reveals the contortions of the poisoned Roméo, furnishes a background of cypresses, and changes all merry meetings to lugubrious marches.

I shall not dwell upon *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* reduced to the level of ballets, pantomimes, and "spectacles à cirque." Passing over the excesses of the Revolution and the stagnation of the Empire, it may be well to repeat here that Shakespeare really reached France only in the days of the Romanticists. As early as 1827 Soulié achieved a not unmerited success with his more reverent version of *Roméo et Juliette*—by far the most popular subject of all in France: when Vigny followed two years later with his admirable *Othello*, then Hugo's propaganda and English acting had won their cause and an approximate Shakespeare was first made possible on the French stage. But it would take us too far afield to show just how the new order succeeded: I return to our Ducis, after subjoining here a list of the more or less Shakespearean plays analyzed or mentioned above. The date given is usually that of the first representation.

1732. Voltaire, *Zaïre.*
1733. Voltaire, *La Mort de César* (private); 1743 (public).
1769. Ducis, *Hamlet.*
Chabannes, *Hilas et Silvie.*
1770. Chastellux, *Roméo et Juliette* (private).
1772. Ducis, *Roméo et Juliette.*
1773. Douin, *Le More de Venise.*
1780. Collot d'Herbois, *Amant loup-garou.*
1782. De Rozoi, *Richard III.*
Mercier, *Les Tombeaux de Vérone.*
1783. Ducis, *Le Roi Léar.*
1784. Marmontel, *Cléopâtre* (reprise).
Ducis, *Macbeth* (reprise "avec changements," 1790).
La Harpe, *Coriolan.*
1785. Butini, *Othello.*
1786. M.-J. Chénier, *Brutus et Cassius.*
1791. Ducis, *Jean Sans-Terre.*
M.-J. Chénier, *Henri VIII.*
1792. Ducis, *Othello.*
Mercier, *Le Vieillard et ses trois filles.*
1794. Mercier, *Timon d'Athènes.*
1806. Moline and Cubières, *Roméo et Juliette.*
1816. Lemercier, *Le Frère et la sœur jumeaux.*

1827. Soulié, *Roméo et Juliette.*
1828. De Vigny, *Shylock* (never acted).
1829. De Vigny, *Othello.*
1833. Delavigne, *Les Enfants d'Édouard.*

VII

Tu conçois, cher Lénox, qu'en mes tristes récits
Des tableaux si cruels doivent être adoucis.

These words of Edgard to his brother[1] are a fitting expression of Ducis' dramatic ideal. It has been sufficiently shown, I hope, how Shakespeare was travestied and travestied according to pretty definite principles and demands. It seems also to be probable that the contrast between the original and the shadow was more pronounced at this time than it would have been either at the time of Corneille or of the younger Voltaire. And I submit as concluding thesis the opinion that Ducis represents the full artistic decadence of the neo-classic tragedy.

Crébillon, as Brunetière has argued, might seem more positively to be entitled to that bad eminence; but there is the chronological space between the two and the fact that this space was occupied by the tragedy, still languishing but still living, of Voltaire. Now Ducis adds to the decadent horrors of Crébillon the sentimentality of his time, the *naïveté* of his mind, and especially the Voltairian technique in a state of weak dilution.

To resume the more salient features of that technique in opposition to Shakespeare's: we have constantly rhetorical Alexandrines instead of blank verse or prose; conventional centering of action, though with some relaxation of the unities; conventionalized characters instead of profoundly psychological and individual protagonists; no subplot; no comic relief; a language that is smooth, not appropriate, tasteless epithets, commonplace generalizations; prosaic verse and monotonous rimes; a few characters instead of heterogeneous humanity, no realistic crowds, no turmoil of action; the latter replaced by profuse apostrophes, *récits*, monologues, and confidants; above all, happy endings, with repentance and forgiveness; in short, the appeal of a bastard *genre*, legitimized to suit the sensibilities of a lady-like audience.

[1] In *Le Roi Léar*, I, 344.

Ducis' environment of course is his main defense and the main reason for writing about him at all. His interest is purely historical. If it was possible for his tragedies to outlive their author,[1] if it was possible for even a publisher's puff to declare him "classé comme quatrième tragique entre les auteurs du premier ordre,"[2] there can be no doubt that he was essentially the man for his time. Personal merits he had none, or rather his merits were all personal and not in the least literary. Sainte-Beuve, with his usual generosity toward the lesser lights, holds that the harmony and simplicity of the "bonhomme's" character reflect on his work a certain originality, blurred for us by the preponderating bad taste of his contemporaries.[3] Ducis' *cachet* is indeed from time to time discernible; but on the whole the personal characteristics that have appeared in his plays are not sufficiently momentous to make us waver in the conviction of his dramatic ineptitude. Whatever may have been his honorable qualities, his plays are decadent, his audience was effete, his Shakespeare was made in the image of a half-god—and Shakespeare "le lui a bien rendu."

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[1] They were played even under the Restoration (Jusserand, p. 438.)

[2] "Avis du librarie" to edition of *Œuvres*.

[3] *C. de L.*, VI, 458.

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SOME NOTES ON THE *DUNCIAD*

I. THE NEW DUNCIAD, 1742

The history of the numerous changes the *Dunciad* suffered before it reached the form in which Pope finally left it has been sufficiently elusive to tease many a student of literature into strenuous efforts to uncover its secrets. In 1854–55 a discussion of the various editions grew so warm and so at cross purposes in *Notes and Queries* that at length one of the contributors suggested that he and the other disputants should send copies of all their editions to the editor to let him pass judgment on them. So the editions were sent. And the editor, W. J. Thoms, a skilled antiquary, compared them, and made out the descriptive list that has remained the standard bibliography from that day to this. To be sure, many facts have been brought to light since then and published in various books and journals, but Thoms is still the Baedeker of the *Dunciad*. The most noteworthy revisions of his list have been made by Colonel Grant in a supplemental list (Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works*, IV, 309–11), and by the late Edward Solly, who described (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S., XII, 304, and the *Athenaeum*, October 24, 1885) eight editions of the year 1728, the year of publication, as opposed to the seven known to his predecessors. A good many things yet remain, however, to be said about editions subsequent to 1728.

After the incorporation of the notes in 1729, the most thoroughgoing of all the changes suffered by the *Dunciad* was its alteration from a poem of three books to one of four books. This change was a gradual rather than a sudden one, the fourth book being first published separately and then itself revised several times before it was incorporated with the three preceding books into a single poem.

Of the fourth book, printed separately, Thoms listed three editions; I give below a list of eleven editions, and suggest the probability of a twelfth. For information concerning them I have drawn upon W. J. Thoms, *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., X, 477 ff.; the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books;* M. C. Lefferts, *Alexander Pope: Notes towards a Bibliography of Early Editions*, etc.; the Grolier Club,

A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Editions, etc. (New York, 1911); and my own library. I have not had opportunity to examine all of these editions, and consequently am not sure that the sequence is correct. And I think it not improbable that there are still other editions.

1. *The New Dunciad: as it was Found In the Year 1741.* With the Illustrations of Scriblerus, and Notes Variorum. London: Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster Row. MDCCXLII. (Price 1*s.* and 6*d.*)

4to, pp. 39, lines 618. Engraved headpiece and ornamental initial on p. 1.—Thoms, O; B.M.; Lefferts, 19; G. C., 37.

2. *The New Dunciad:* etc. T. Cooper, London, 1742.

8vo, pp. 36.—B.M.

3. *The New Dunciad:* etc. (as No. 1). London: Printed for J. H. Hubbard, in the Old Bailey. MDCCXLII.

Large 8vo (but printed in fours), pp. 36, lines 618. Headpiece and engraved initial on p. 5 (first of poem).—B.M.; Gx.

4. *The New Dunciad:* etc. (as No. 1). Dublin: Printed by A. Reilly; For G. Ewing, at the Angle and Bible in Dame-Street. M,DCC,XLII.

12mo, pp. 58.—B.M.; G.C., 39.

5. *The New Dunciad:* etc. Dublin: Reprinted by and for G. Faulkner, 1742.

8vo, pp. 51.—B.M.

6. *The New Dunciad: As it was found in the year MDCCXLI.* (Rest as No. 1.)

4to, pp. 44, lines 620. No engraving. A second edition; lines 39–40 of earlier editions are expanded to 39–42 of this one; some of the errors are corrected, some notes revised, particularly the note to line 436 (p. 30).—Thoms, P; B.M.; Lefferts, 20; G.C., 38; Gx.

7. *The Dunciad: Book the Fourth.* By Mr. Pope. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus, and Notes Variorum. The Second Edition. London, Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster Row. MDCCXLII.

4to, pp. 44, lines 620. A reissue of the sheets of No. 6 with a new title-page and without No. 6's "To the Reader" and "The Argument."—B.M. (?); Gx; and see *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., XII, 151–52 (August 21, 1909).

8. *The New Dunciad:* By Mr. P—O—P—E. With the Illustrations of Scriblerus. And Notes Variorum, The Second Edition. London: Printed for J. H. Hubbard, in the Old-Bailey. MDCCXLII.

8vo, pp. 36, ll. 620, misnumbered as 618, error beginning at l. 47, which is numbered 45. This edition was set up from No. 3 as "copy," but incorporates some of the revisions of No. 6.—Gx.

9. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq;* Vol. III. Part II. Containing the Dunciad, Book IV. And the Memoirs of Scriblerus. Never before Printed. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, and Sold by T. Cooper, MDCCXLII.

Small 8vo, pp. 60, lines 620, misnumbered as 618, the error beginning at line 47, which is numbered 45. Poem and notes occupy pp. 1–60. The note to line 436 mentioned under No. 6 is omitted, the couplet (numbered 433–34 here) having been revised. An "Appendix" occupies pp. 61–83 (pp. 83 and 84 are not numbered, 84 being "Errata in the *Dunciad*" and "Errata in the *Memoirs*"); the *Memoirs*, pp. 1–128; followed immediately by p. 261, "Pieces of Scriblerus (written in his Youth) already published" and "Others not yet published, mentioned in the *Memoirs*"; and by p. — (=262), "Advertisement."—Gx.

10. *The Works*, etc. (worded like No. 9 throughout).

Small 8vo, pp. 70, lines 620, numbered correctly. The title-page is worded like that of No. 9, but reset and inked differently; the half-title is unlike that of No. 9. Poem and notes occupy pp. 4–70. The following lines are revisions of the corresponding lines of No. 9: 55, 110, 195, 318, 386, 552, 592, 600. On pp. 59–61 appears a 37-line note to line 509 that is not in No. 9. The *Memoirs* follows the poem, occupying pp. 1–132 (being a different printing from that of No. 9); in one of my copies no appendix is included, in another the *Memoirs* is followed by the "Appendix" (pp. 75–112) and the "By Authority" leaf prepared for no. 11.—Thoms, Q; Lefferts, 23(?); Gx.

11. *The Works*, etc. (worded like Nos. 9 and 10).

Small 8vo, pp. 74, lines 648, misnumbered 650, the error beginning with line 633, which is numbered 635. This is in the main a reissue of the sheets of No. 10, with some substituted and some added leaves; in my copy there are two inserts, B2 and B4 (pp. 3–4 and 7–8). Following the poem there are an "Appendix," occupying pp. 75–112, a leaf "By Authority," and the *Memoirs*, pp. 1–132 (the sheets being the same as those for No. 10).—Lefferts, 24; Gx.

(12?) That there was an edition of the fourth book, separate, in 1743, contemporaneously with the quarto (in four books) of that year appears probable from Pope's letter of November 3 to Bowyer, the printer: "I doubt not you'll be upon the watch, or set any other, in case of any piracy of the *Dunciad* to inform me, who shall be ready to persecute. As to the little edition, they have still not separated it aright. The second volume must (as the title you'll see implies) contain the fourth book as well as the memoirs and index. Pray close your account with Mrs. Cooper of the octavos, second volume (no more of which should now be sold) and make all that remain correspond with the present edition, ready to be republished as we shall find occasion, the two together. And let me know when you have vended 500 of the quarto" (Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, IX, 522). None of the editions 1 to 11 contains an index, I think. If we may suppose that Pope meant appendix when he wrote index, it is possible that No. 11 is the edition referred to in this letter, though it does not look probable that the publisher would have let the 1742 title-page remain when he was changing other leaves.

An edition is mentioned by Lowndes (Bohn, 1869): "*The New Dunciad:* etc. London, T. Cooper. 1742. 12mo." But I think that in reality this is the one I have numbered 2; Lowndes calls some other small octavos 12mos.

The British Museum catalogue, under "Works," lists three editions, one of 9 vols., one of 6, and one of 4, all octavos, bearing dates from 1740 to 1753. The descriptions are meager, and I cannot tell whether there appears among them any edition of the fourth book that I have not listed; after a comparison of the list with a similar list in the Lefferts catalogue, I judge there is none.

As to more specific dates, the statement is repeated in several places—Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, IX, 216; Courthope's *Life of Pope*, 333; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVI, 120; etc.—that No. 1 appeared in March, 1742, but the ultimate authority for this assertion I have not succeeded in learning. No. 6 must have been issued as early as the first of July; the reference to "line 524" in Colley Cibber's *A Letter* (dated July 7) does not apply to any earlier edition that I have seen. No. 11 was probably published late in September: Cibber's *A Letter* is quoted on one of its inserted leaves (p. 7); and Cibber, in *Another Occasional Letter*, asserts that Pope remained quiet through the thirteen months preceding the publication of the quarto on October 29, 1743.

The history of the composition of the fourth book can be made out in part at least. In the summer of 1741, later than July 19 and earlier than August 12, Pope made a round of visits among his friends, taking Warburton with him as his guest. Within this time he was persuaded by Warburton to undertake the continuation of the *Dunciad*. Pope entered upon the task reluctantly, but he continued at it during the months of August, September, and October, which were apparently spent at Twickenham. Late in October he went to Bath to stay till Christmas with his good friend Ralph Allen; and work on the *New Dunciad* was continued there. Warburton says, in notes to his edition of the *Works* (1751, small 8vo, IX, 248, 251): "He had then [September 20, 1741] communicated his intention to the Editor, of adding a fourth book to it"; and, "He had concerted the plan of the fourth book of the *Dunciad* with the Editor the summer before; and had now [November 22, 1741] written a great part of it; which he was willing the Editor should see." The part played by the editor is made clearer by several passages (*op. cit.*, 246–54) in Pope's letters—August 12: "I thank you heartily for your hints;

and am afraid if I had any more of them, not on this only, but on other subjects, I should break my resolution, and become an author anew: nay a new author, and a better than I yet have been; or God forbid I should go on jingling only the same bells! . . . ." September 20: "If I can prevail on myself to compleat the *Dunciad* it will be published at the same time with a general edition of all my Verses (for Poems I will not call them). . . . ;" and November 22, after urging Warburton to join him at Mr. Allen's: "You will owe me a real obligation by being made acquainted with the master of this house. . . . . But whether I shall owe you any in contributing to make me a scribbler again, I know not." Long after the fourth book had been published, Pope wrote (December 28, 1742): "The encouragement you gave me to add the fourth book first determin'd me to do so; and the approbation you seem'd to give it was what singly determined me to print it." I have not been able to learn just when the book in its earlier state was completed.

Concerning the earliest combination of the fourth book and the first three books into a single poem the authorities are, I think, in error. Ever since the appearance of the list in *Notes and Queries* in 1854, the statements made there by Thoms have been accepted as representing the facts. These statements are as follows:

> Q. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, Vol. III., Part I., Containing the Dunciad now first published according to the Complete Copy found in the Year MDCCXLI. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, and sold by T. Cooper, 1743. Small 8vo.
>
> *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, Vol. III., Part II., Containing the Dunciad, Book IV [etc., like No. 10 above].
>
> This we believe to be the first perfect edition of *The Dunciad* in *Four Books*. We presume there are impressions bearing date both in 1742 and 1743. As will be seen in the copy before us, Part II. bears the former date, while Part I. is dated in the latter year. . . . . We may in conclusion remark, that the words "never before printed," in the title-page, refer to the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*.

As for the publication of the *Memoirs*, Thoms is wrong, for the *Memoirs* had appeared in the *Prose Works* folio and quarto of 1741 and in a 12mo issued by Faulkner in Dublin in 1741. As for the rest, Lowndes and Elwin-Courthope repeat Thoms; Lefferts after quoting the same two titles adds: "This and the preceding form Thoms'

'Q.' It is the first complete edition of the four books. . . . . And throughout Cibber is enthroned as King instead of Theobald."

I expect to show later that the quarto of 1743 is the earliest publication of the four books in their complete form. There is good reason for believing that no edition of the first three books was issued by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742. No one, so far as I can discover, has ever seen a copy. Thoms's assertion is merely an inference. There was an edition of 1742, the one published by Lintot (Lefferts, 21; unknown to Thoms; I have a copy); but in all probability his was the only edition of that year, for the ownership of the copyright then rested with him. And as a matter of fact, it is only a title edition, a reissue of the sheets of Lintot's 1741 edition with a new title-page. The status of the copyright is made fairly clear by the proceedings in Chancery in a lawsuit brought by Pope against Lintot, February 16, 1742, in which it is asserted that in 1728 Pope sold the copyright of the *Dunciad* to Gilliver for a term of fourteen years, which was to expire December, 1742; and that many years later Lintot purchased the copyright of Gilliver, with the concurrence of Pope, Woodfall, and others, for the unexpired term. In replying to the suit, Lintot stated that he had printed only one edition (the title edition of 1742 was probably issued afterward), and that it was printed with the consent of Pope, who had corrected the work for this edition; and as proof of Pope's consent he offered this letter of January 31, 1740–41, from the poet to him:

SIR: I received yours of this last post, but it does not mention one I wrote to you some time since which I desired Mr. Cole to deliver to you with a state of that affair upon which I troubled you last summer at Mr. Murray's, and as to which I wonder you have given me no answer. I hope Mr. Wright has returned you the 50 Books in exchange for yours, as he was directed to do some weeks ago. When you purchas'd the shares in the *Dunciad*, I hope Mr. Gilliver delivered you his title under the hands of the lords as well as mine to them, of which I wish you would acquaint me, for he told me he could not find it, and without it yours would be (I apprehend) insufficient. I am your most humble servant,

A. POPE.

Please to direct to Twitnam, though I am present at Bath. I will revise the new edition of the *Dunciad* or do anything that may be of service to you which is not very greatly to my own injury.

The promised revision was made, but it was slight, being mainly the substitution of Osborn for Chapman in lines 159, 163, and 181 of Book II, and the consequent alteration of the note to line 159. On December 28 Pope wrote to Warburton: "My lawsuit with L[intot] is at an end." Since the end of the copyright and the end of the lawsuit both fell in December, 1742 (though the dispute between poet and publisher was not yet ended), I think it likely that—notwithstanding the numerous editions of the fourth book—Lintot's was the only edition of the first three books in that year.

II. THE CORONATION OF KING COLLEY

I have been seeking for a long while to procure information as to just when Cibber was promoted to be hero of the *Dunciad*. Last summer when the second portion of the new *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reached me, I turned first to the article on Pope, but only to encounter disappointment. The article is not much more than a rearrangement and revision of the one by Professor Minto in the ninth edition; nevertheless, one of the additions is a definite pronouncement on the date of the exchange of Theobald for Cibber: "In the edition which appeared in Pope's *Works* (1742), he was dethroned in favour of Colley Cibber, who had just written his *Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope inquiring into the motives that might induce him in his satyrical writings to be so frequently fond of Mr. Cibber's name* (1742)." The same date is given in the article on Cibber: "In 1742 Cibber was substituted for Theobald as the hero of Pope's *Dunciad*"; but the *Britannica* itself casts doubt upon this assuredness of statement by asserting in the article on Warburton that the change was made in the edition of 1743.

The outlines of the quarrel between Pope and Cibber are well known, and need not be more than suggested here. As early as 1717 Pope was violently offended when Cibber introduced into a revival of *The Rehearsal* an allusion ridiculing *Three Hours after Marriage*, an unsuccessful play in the construction of which Pope had had at least a finger. The poet remembered the incident, and in the ripeness of time sought revenge by inserting the actor's name in the *Dunciad* and in other poems, notably the *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. In 1740 Cibber published his *Apology for his Life*, and again

he gave offense to Pope. In the summer of the next year Pope was spurred on by Warburton to prepare the *New Dunciad*, and in it he took occasion to make the attack upon Cibber more direct and more virulent.

In the *New Dunciad* Cibber was only "the laureate son" of the goddess Dulness, not monarch of the realm; but in the revisions and the additions that adorned the numerous editions of the fourth book, as it soon came to be called, the way was being made straight for the enthronement of King Colley—indeed, the procession of those editions constituted a sort of coronation pageant prefatory to the grand event.

Whenever the date of the event is given as 1742, the historian derives his authority ultimately, I suspect, from the inference that Thoms announced under "Q" in his list. This statement I have already quoted, questioning its accuracy. Very probably, however, "M. Br." (Margaret Bryant), who revised the Pope article for the new *Britannica*, is directly indebted to the following comment in the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works* (IV, 17–18):

> Pope, in a fury of resentment, determined to avenge himself by dethroning Theobald, and elevating Cibber to the throne of the Dunces. It may easily be believed that Warburton, who doubtless felt some uneasiness from the remembrance of his connection with the original hero, encouraged him in his new design, which was executed in an edition of the *Dunciad* inserted among the general works of Pope, published by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742. In this edition appeared the "Prolegomena of Ricardus Aristarchus on the Hero of the Poem," and four new Appendices: (1) the "Advertisement to the First Edition, separate, of the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad*"; (2) "Of the Poet Laureate"; (3) "Advertisement printed in the Journals, 1730"; (4) the "Proclamation deposing Theobald," which is supposed to have been intended for a stroke at the House of Brunswick. . . . .
>
> The last stage in the history of the *Dunciad*, as far as Pope was concerned, was the publication of the edition of 1743 under the editorship of Warburton. "A project has risen in my mind," writes Pope to his friend on the 27th of November, 1742, "to make you in some measure the editor of the new edition of the *Dunciad*, if you have no scruple to owning some of the graver notes, which are now added to those of Dr. Arbuthnot." It would appear that these "graver notes," written by Pope and signed by Warburton, were those which were added to the first three books, for we find from Pope's letter of 28th December, 1742, what we should have inferred from internal evidence, that many of the notes on the fourth book had been really written by

Warburton. "I am willing," says Pope to the latter, "to conclude our whole account of the Dunces at last, and therefore stayed till it was finished. The encouragement you gave me to add the Fourth Book first determined me to do so, and the approbation you seemed to give it was what singly determined me to print it. Since that, your Notes, and your Discourse in the name of Aristarchus, have given its last finishings and ornaments." As the notes to the Fourth Book, in the edition of 1743, are almost identical with those in the edition of 1742, we may conclude that Warburton was the actual writer of all those to which in the edition of 1751 he attaches the initial "W." To the edition of 1743 was prefixed the "Advertisement to the Reader," now printed in the Appendices, and the poem was followed by the Appendices inserted in the edition of 1742 and by the "Declaration" before John Barber, Mayor.

This editor writes as if he had before him a copy of an edition of the first three books of the *Dunciad* published by Dodsley and Cooper in 1742, but I suspect he is relying upon the statement of Thoms. I have stated at length my reasons for disbelief in the existence of any such edition.

To prove that Cibber was enthroned first in 1743 I have still some other evidence to offer. That 1743 was the year of elevation is asserted by two of Pope's biographers, Carruthers in 1857 and Stephen in 1880; and by R. W. Lowe in his edition of Cibber's *Apology* in 1889; but none of these writers refers to the foundation upon which his statement rests. Courthope in his *Life of Pope*, 1889, does not mention the date. The information I present is to be found in the *Dunciad* itself, in Pope's letters, and in the two letters of Cibber.

The Dodsley and Cooper octavo of the fourth book, separate, which I have numbered 11, contains an "Appendix" which omits some of the matters included in the "Appendix" of No. 9, and adds others. Two of the additions offer some information here. The first is the proclamation "By Authority" (p. 113, unnumbered), in which occurs this sentence: "We have ordered [Theobald] utterly to vanish and evaporate out of this work: and do declare the said Throne of Poesy from henceforth to be abdicated and vacant, unless duly and lawfully supplied by the Laureate [Cibber] himself." This statement I take to mean, not that Pope has already substituted Cibber for Theobald throughout the poem, but only that he meditates, or has about decided upon, doing so. The other addition is the

author's "Declaration" in revised form. Since 1735 this declaration had stated that the poem contained 1,012 lines; the revision of No. 11 gives the number as "one thousand six hundred and fifty verses." This number, however, does not fit any edition or combination of editions that I have seen. From 1735 (Gilliver's undated small octavo) to 1742 (Lintot's edition) the first three books contained 1,016 lines. Edition No. 11 of the fourth book contains 648 lines. These two numbers added together make a total of 1,664. I believe the 1,650 of the "Declaration" is an error for 1,664, and I have a theory to account for the discrepancy, but it need not be stated now. At any rate, the 1,650 would be far from including the fourth book with 648 lines (or even in its earliest shape with 618 lines) and the revised form of the first three books after Cibber has been substituted for Theobald, when their total number ran from 1,016 lines up to 1,098.

The information afforded by Pope's letters is not free from ambiguity, caused in part by statements which were perfectly clear to the correspondents but which are too much abbreviated for us, and in part by Pope's delightfully parsimonious bad habit of writing letters on whatever scraps of paper he had in hand—"paper-sparing Pope"—thus rendering it difficult for his editors to be sure to which letter a particular scrap belongs. Quotations from two letters have been given above. The project that "has risen in" Pope's mind by November 27, 1742, to make Warburton the editor of a new edition appears to me to refer forward, not backward. In the second letter (December 28, 1742—which, by the way, is slightly misquoted by the writer of the extract above) the mention of Warburton's "Discourse in the name of Aristarchus" looks dubious, because "Ricardus Aristarchus of the Hero of the Poem" belongs to the *Dunciad* in its final shape, with Cibber as the hero; but it is reasonably sure that Pope is thanking Warburton for the manuscript of the piece; for a statement that the editors decided belongs to this letter occurs at the end, "the edition in quarto of the *Dunciad* is half printed." January 18, 1743, he had "delayed a while longer the publication of the *Dunciad*." March 24 he wrote: "When the *Dunciad* may be published I know not," but the delay, caused by the still-continued dispute with Lintot over the copyright of the first three books, was

not displeasing to him. And October 7 he wrote: "The *Dunciad* I have ordered to be advertised in quarto."

Three or four statements in Cibber's two pamphlets, *A Letter* and *Another Occasional Letter*, are more nearly decisive. When the aged but sprightly playwright finally lifted in 1742 the gauntlet the poet had thrown down, he declared himself enlisted for the war, whether it should take all summer or considerably longer: "While I have Life, or am able to set Pen to Paper, I will now, Sir, have the last Word with you" (*A Letter*, p. 8). This was July 7, 1742. The derision caused by the defiance would furnish us amusing comment, but it is not the story at present. Eighteen months later Pope learned—not without considerable dread, one conceives—of a second letter preparing, and communicated the news to Warburton, January 12, 1744: "I am told the Laureat is going to publish a very abusive pamphlet." His means of securing information must have been swift, for just a few days later the Laureate's pamphlet, *Another Occasional Letter*, came from the press. Its author wrote:

> Where ever I come then, they say, that this new Edition, this *Da capo* of your *Dunciad*, which like a Song in an Opera, only ends with the Repetition of the same Strain it set out with [p. 5]. . . . . At last, 'tis true, in meer Sport for others, rather than from the least Tincture of Concern for my self, I was inticed to be a little wanton, not to say waggish, with your Character [in *A Letter*]; by which having (you know) got the strong Laugh on my Side, I doubt I have so offended the Gravity, and Greatness of your Soul, that to secure your more ample Revenge, you have prudently taken the full Term of thirteen Months Consideration, before you would pour it, upon me! But at last, it seems, we have it, and now Souse! out comes your old *Dunciad*, in a new Dress, like fresh Gold, upon stale Ginger-bread, sold out, in Pennyworth's of shining King *Colley*, crown'd the Hero of Immortal Stupidity! [p. 8].

The middle section of the three in which the pamphlet is arranged has the heading "To the Supposed Author of the Preface to Mr. Pope's last Edition of his *Dunciad*, in Quarto, publish'd October the 29th, 1743" (p. 20). In this section a sentence is quoted from Warburton's "Aristarchus":

> "It happen'd, that just at that Juncture was publish'd a *ridiculous Book* against him, full of personal Reflexions." (By what follows, I presume you mean, my first Letter to him of *July* the 7th 1742) "which furnish'd him,

with a lucky Opportunity of improving *this Poem*, by giving it, the only thing it wanted" (*Gall! you could not mean, I dare say! No, it could be only, as you say*) "A MORE CONSIDERABLE HERO. He was always sensible of its Defect, in that particular, and owned he had let it pass, with the Hero it had, purely for want of a better; not entertaining the least Expectation that such a one was reserv'd for this Post, as has since obtain'd the Laurel."

Here are two precise statements: the quarto was published October 29, 1743; and through the thirteen months immediately preceding, Pope had remained quiet. If the edition of the fourth book numbered 11 in my list was Pope's last contribution before the quarto, it appeared, then, late in September, 1742, a date which is probably correct. From Pope's letter to Bowyer November 3, 1743, quoted above, we may conclude that the small octavo edition of 1743—meant to be contemporaneous with the quarto—appeared either October 29 or, more likely, two or three days later. The quarto of 1743, then, was the first edition of the *Dunciad* in its final shape, the first, that is, in which the hero of the poem is Cibber, "shining King *Colley*, crowned the Hero of Immortal Stupidity."

III. TWO UNDATED EDITIONS

The two undated editions of the *Dunciad* are a folio and a small octavo. The folio has a half-title, but no title-page; it is bound separately, but was evidently intended to be included with other pieces in an edition of Pope's *Poems*. It is rarely to be met with, and is infrequently mentioned in discussions of the *Dunciad*. The only bibliographical notice of it that I know is in Colonel Grant's supplementary list in the fourth volume (p. 311) of the Elwin-Courthope *Works*, where the half-title is quoted. The description there is accurate in the main, but Colonel Grant erred, of course, in saying in his last paragraph that there was no quarto in 1729; and though the edition is correctly printed, the list of "Errata" at the end makes two references to the *Dunciad*. Only by indirection is a date hinted at.

I have once or twice seen 1732 or 1733 suggested as the year of issue, but either date is manifestly wrong. The evidences briefly stated so far as I know them are: (*a*) events of 1733 are mentioned in the notes (pp. 192, 196); (*b*) Theobald's edition of Shakespeare is referred to as published, and his edition was issued January 24, 1734, whereupon both he and it were ridiculed by Mallet in a poem

(republished) on "Verbal Criticism," of which twelve lines are quoted in the folio (p. 99); (*c*) "Variations" of the fifth edition of Epistles II and III of the *Essay on Man* are quoted in the notes at the end; (*d*) there are notes to the "Epistle to Arbuthnot" (which had previously been published), and this epistle, though the first edition is dated 1734 on the title-page, was entered in the Stationers' Register January 2, 1734–35; (*e*) the folio in the Lefferts collection (the British Museum also has a copy) is almost exactly the same as this—they are two varieties of the same edition, I think—and it bears 1735 on the title-page; (*f*) finally, if I may rely on a comparison I was able to make cursorily in October, 1908, the *Dunciad* in Volume II of the quarto *Works* of 1735 and this folio are from the same setting of type, the forms of the folio being rearranged to fit a quarto page, and certain slight changes being introduced.

The folio was set up from a copy of the Gilliver 1729 octavo "Second Edition" revised by the author. The copy used was one with the original leaf P3 (pp. 109–10), for the octavo's omission of the line of a French note is repeated by the folio. The revisions were numerous, but were not of capital importance. Two lines of the octavo (III, 209–10) were omitted from the folio. There was some shifting of names of persons: B—y (folio II, 197) took Welsted's place; Welsted (II, 199) took Oldmixon's; Oldmixon (II, 271) took Dennis'; Arnall (II, 293) took Welsted's; Goode's name (III, 147) is printed in full; the initial P—(II, 283) appeared instead of **; Morris (III, 162) replaced Durgen; etc. Besides the changes in the notes needed to suit them to the altered verses, numerous others were made. Some notes, e.g., were lengthened—a paragraph of fifteen lines was added to the note to I, 179. An epigram upon Cibber was added to a note on III, 317. The most important change was the addition of a new note at the very beginning of the notes (p. 81), commencing, "This poem was writ in 1727," and going on to recount the number of early editions and the incident of the presentation of the 1729 quarto to King George. In the "Prolegomena" a quotation from Thomson's *Seasons* was inserted. By the shifting of an exponent letter, a note on "Sawney" was made to refer to a quotation from Dennis (p. 66); this error has continued on down into the Elwin-Courthope edition (Vol. IV, 58, n. 2.)

The folio is adorned with plates designed by William Kent, more famous as a landscape gardener than as painter or architect.

The undated small octavo is number "L" of Thoms's list (it is in Lowndes and B.M.; and is Leffert's 13; and G.C., 34). There are copies with the owl frontispiece, and others with the ass; I have a copy of each of these, and a third copy not precisely like either. The edition has usually been assigned to the year 1733; Thoms says, "not earlier than 1733"; Lowndes suggests 1733; and B.M. and G.C. add to their descriptions 1733 in square brackets. Colonel Grant thought the folio "probably earlier" than the small octavo. My present opinion is that the two editions (and the quarto *Works*) were issued almost simultaneously, in conformity with a custom of the time.

One very good reason for thinking the octavo slightly subsequent to the folio is that four lines were added to the poem: the folio lines I, 250–56 (unchanged from the 1729 "Second Edition"), were revised to be I, 250–60, of this octavo. Another is that in the octavo's list of books "After the *Dunciad*, 1728," two books printed in 1733 were added to the folio list. The ass plate of the octavo is like that of the quarto of 1729—unlike that in the folio, then.

The octavo, like the folio, was set up from a revision of the 1729 "Second Edition," but not, I think, from the identical copy. Its errors substantiate this assertion. Some of the errors not made by the folio may be pointed out. In Book II this octavo follows the 1729 octavo in misnumbering as 210 the note to line 110. In Book III all the notes from 222 to 254 are misnumbered by two lines too much; two lines of the poem of 1729 (lines 209–10) were omitted in 1735, but the typesetter did not alter the numbering of the 1729 notes to correspond. The numbering of the verses is wrong from line 253 to the end of the book: line 252 (it was 254 in 1729) is the last line on p. 159 of the 1729 "Second Edition"; when the compositor turned the leaf over he thoughtlessly followed his copy exactly and gave the next line (253) the number (255) it had correctly in his "copy," and he continued his error to the end, so that while both verses and notes are numbered to correspond to each other from III, 255, on, both are wrong for this undated octavo.

The folio and the octavo agree together in much as opposed to the 1729 "Second Edition," but they also vary the one from the other in many places. The small octavo is nearer to the "Second Edition" than is the folio in some places; e.g., in the notes to I, 102 and 103, 106; II, 66, 367; and III, 146 (first note). The small octavo omits the epigram on Theobald in the folio (I, 164) and its predecessor, and the note on "Lady Mary's" given in the folio (II, 128) but not in the edition of 1729. In place of the initial P— of the folio (II, 283) the octavo reverts to the anonymity of a star. The octavo is the first edition to print a long note (45 lines) on Bentley (II, 197); the folio used only the two letters B—y, and made no note. The octavo alters the verse of I, 250–60, and, of course, the notes are consequently unlike those in the folio.

The most interesting disagreement concerns a point which has aroused considerable discussion (in *Notes and Queries*, for instance) and which has been rolled under the tongue by inimical critics eager to show that the great "moral" poet was overfond of lying. I have mentioned above the placing of new matter at the very beginning of the notes of the folio (p. 81). It is, with two exceptions, printed in precisely the same words at the beginning of the notes (p. 66) of the octavo. One of the differences is inconsequential—"Sir Robert Walpole" for "Sir R. Walpole"—the other is not. In the octavo the first line of the note is: "This Poem was writ in 1726"—instead of 1727, as in the folio. I think it in the highest degree probable that the "6" is merely a printer's blunder. Nevertheless, good white paper has been wasted in the exposure of Pope's turpitude in thus trying to deceive the public with a note that gives a false date. Both the title-page of the undated octavo and the half-title of the folio carry the legend "Written in the Year 1727."

It has seemed well to be thus full in the comment upon the undated octavo because it first contains about all the materials of the *Dunciad* in the condition (though not in the sequence) in which they were to remain until the great revision of 1743. In the next year after its publication one change was made. Pope had by then been reconciled to his old-time colaborer Broome; and to please him he caused the leaf O7 (pp. 221–22) to be canceled and a new-printed leaf inserted on the stub. In the following letters he explains himself:

[November 18, 1735] . . . . I would add another instance of it [my regard for you], by changing that verse in the Dunciad thus:

> Hibernian politics, O Swift, thy fate,
> And Pope's, nine years to comment and translate.

I have therefore sent you my second volume [quarto?] without that poem till it is so altered in the next edition.

[January 12, 1736] . . . . I had also a mind not to write to you till I could perform my promise of altering the line in the *Dunciad*. I have prevailed with much ado to cancel an impression of a thousand leaves to insert that alteration, which I have seen done, and I will in a week send you the small edition of my works, where you will find it done, by your carrier, when I find the direction whither to direct the books, which I have mislaid. In the meantime, I enclose the leaf. You will observe I have omitted the note as well as the verse, and again told them I translated but half the *Odyssey*.

[March 25, 1736] I have been a good while a little surprised, and somewhat in pain, at not having heard from you, after I had sent you what I thought you could not but take kindly, a sacrifice of that leaf in a whole edition of the *Dunciad*, which alone you could be displeased with.

One of the main factors in leading students to assign these two undated editions to some year preceding 1735 is, I imagine, the absence of any edition bearing date from 1730 to 1734. The War of the Dunces went forward merrily, as the pamphlets of the half-decade show. And it is hard to understand why there should have been no edition of the *Dunciad* printed then, whereas so many had appeared in 1728 and in 1729 and so many more were to appear in 1735–36. The poet's interest in the *Essay on Man* accounts for the matter so far as he was concerned, perhaps, but not as concerns the publisher.

IV. SOME UNNOTED VARIANTS

None of the lists of the editions of the *Dunciad* makes mention of the quarto *Works* of Pope in two volumes dated Vol I, 1717, and Vol. II, 1735, though the second volume contains the *Dunciad*. The edition is well known, and its *Dunciad* is made up in a form unlike that of other editions except the folio. I cannot account for its general omission.

In 1736 an edition of Pope's *Works* in three volumes duodecimo was published by Faulkner ("Printed, London; reprinted, by and for G. Faulkner, etc.: Dublin, 1736"). It is listed under "Works"

in the British Museum catalogue, but it is not described, so that I am not certain it contains a *Dunciad*; but Faulkner issued a *Dunciad* in 1728 and another in 1729, and it is probable that one appears in this three-volume edition of the *Works*.

In 1736, again, an edition of Pope's *Works* (Vols. I–IV in 1736; and Vols. V and VI in 1737, with the imprint of J. Roberts) was issued by a group of London publishers—Lintot, Gilliver, Clarke, and Roberts—in six volumes, small octavo. The *Dunciad* is Vol. IV of the set: for a description of it see "N" in Thoms's list. I have two copies of this fourth volume that are printed from totally different settings of type, as may easily be seen by observing how the letters fall one under another on the page. On the title-pages the only difference I have detected is a comma; one copy prints the names of the publishers "L. Gilliver, and J. Clarke," the other "L. Gilliver and J. Clarke." The comma edition misnumbers pages 31, 144, and 218, as 13, 244, and 118. One copy trails the other not only page by page, but line by line, words being broken into syllables at exactly the same places. What puzzles me is, why should there have been two settings of type? It looks probable that if the whole of an edition was sold off and another demanded all in the year 1736, some indication of the fact would have been made on the title-page. This edition contributed something more toward obscuring the year of the first appearance of the *Dunciad*. The quarto of 1729 began its Appendix with "Preface prefix'd to the five first imperfect Editions of the Dunciad, printed at Dublin and London, in Octavo and Duod." The Gilliver and Clarke 1736 edition reprints these words (p. 3), but affixes to them the date "1727." The first note to the poem repeats the date 1726 as the year of composition, and mentions a "4to 1728." All of these changes I incline to attribute to the publisher rather than to Pope himself.

The importance of Bishop Warburton's edition of Pope's *Works* in 1751 is well understood. Not only is it frequently quoted as an authority, but scholars have made use of the fact that the Bishop indicated which of the notes (to the *Dunciad*, say) were of his composition by signing an initial W to them. I do not recall that any commentator has made the slightest intimation that there were two editions of that year; yet such was the case. And since the two are

different, it is important that the existence of the second edition should be known. One is a large octavo, the other a small one. The printed portions of the pages are of different sizes, being $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in the large, and $5\frac{3}{8}$ by 3 in the small edition (Vol. V, p. v of each). The differences are in part indicated by the small octavo; it reprints at the beginning of Vol. I the "Advertisement to the Large Octavo Edition," and follows it with this note in italics (p. xi): "N.B. This Edition of Mr. Pope's Works is printed verbatim from the large Octavo; with all his notes, and a select number of the Editor's." The *Dunciad* is Vol. V in each set. In the large octavo it occupies a table of contents and a list of errata (one leaf, unnumbered), pp. i–lxiii, 64–323, and two indexes (13 pp. unnumbered, though in consecutive signatures); in the small octavo, a table of contents and a blank page (one leaf, unnumbered), pp. i–lv, one page unnumbered, pp. 1–253, two indexes and a page of errata (16 pp. unnumbered, but with consecutive signatures). The poem occupies pp. 65–299 of the large edition, and pp. 3–230 of the small one. The small octavo omits Warburton's notes to the following lines: I, 1, 7, 16, 23, 33, 37, 40, 45, 113, 178–79; II, 258, 405; III, 15; IV, 27, 39, 73, 86, 175, 214, 241–42, 255–71, 286, 288, 348, 465–68, 472, 517, 518, 544, 643. The two editions vary in their notes to these lines: I, 42; II, 286; III, 173; IV, 132, 198, 506, 647. The small octavo is the source for the 1753 edition in: I, 42; IV, 132 (almost). The large edition is followed by that of 1753 in: II, 286; III, 173; IV, 198, 506, 517, 647. In the large octavo the authorship of most of the notes is indicated; in the small edition that of very few.

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SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA* AND *THE TRYALL OF CHEVALRY*

Among the many plays drawing their plots in part at least from *Arcadia* I have not seen mentioned *The Tryall of Chevalry*, published in 1605. The play follows pretty closely two episodes of Sidney's romance, though in binding these episodes together the dramatist has made use of a setting and an enveloping action which have to a certain extent disguised the relation. In *The Tryall of Chevalry* Navarre and Lewis of France are met for battle. Each has in camp with him a son and a daughter, and the proposal of the young men that there be two marriages instead of a battle brings a truce. Hereafter we have the political intrigues of a rather weak Machiavellian, Rodorick, and for comic relief the rivalry of two clownish soldiers for the hand of a lady's maid, but the interest centers in the two royal love affairs—both drawn from *Arcadia*.

The story of Philip and Bellamira in *The Tryall of Chevalry* follows that of Argalus and Parthenia to the time of their marriage (*Arcadia*, ed. Baker, pp. 22–32, 35–37). The common details, reduced to their briefest terms, are these. The betrothal of a young girl to the lover of her choice rouses the bitter enmity of a former lover who feels that he has some claim to her. The rejected lover, contriving to gain access to the girl, takes his revenge by disfiguring her face with a poison which produces the effect of leprosy. Demagoras of *Arcadia*, banished from Lacedemon for his crime, becomes chief of the Helots in revolt against his country, while Bourbon in *The Tryall of Chevalry* deserts Navarre for the king of France and becomes the leading spirit in the renewal of hostilities. The romance and play then continue with the same details and in the same order —the meeting between the accepted lover and his disfigured mistress; his failure to recognize her; his momentary recoil as the truth is forced upon him; the triumph of his love, with his determination to marry the girl for her inward worth; her refusal and declaration of her unworthiness; her fleeing at night from her lover, who is delaying vengeance only to persuade her to an immediate marriage; the lover's penetration, alone and disguised, into the enemy's camp, where he

revenges himself on the poisoner in the man's own tent and with his followers at hand. The dramatist in dealing with these incidents often develops or expands but actually changes little.[1] In *Arcadia* Argalus is kept prisoner for some time, but finally is rescued; in *The Tryall of Chevalry* Philip is immediately succored by his friends. The battle in which the Arcadians rescue Argalus and his friend from the Helots, and the battle between France and Navarre, with the stress laid in each case on the few brilliant young warriors as the deciding factor in the struggle, show the same spirit and tone. Parthenia in her wanderings has meanwhile encountered Helen, Queen of Corinth, and is sent by her to a physician who effects a cure. In the play, Bellamira, who appears wandering in a forest, is led away by her lover's sister Katharine to a hermit skilled in physic, and he removes the leprous spots. The lovers in each case are of course happily united, and the marriage proceeds.

The entanglements in the second love affair of the play, that of Ferdinand and Katharine complicated by the girl's infatuation for Pembrooke, are largely drawn from *Arcadia*, pp. 49–54, where the story is told of Helen's love for Amphialus and her scorn of her lover Philoxenus. Here, as in the first episode cited, Katharine corresponds to Helen. In both accounts a noble youth, vowed to a romantic friendship with a youth of another kingdom, induces the friend to woo an indifferent mistress in his behalf. The girl conceives a violent passion for the emissary as he pours out his praise of the

[1] Though it has not seemed worth while to make an exhaustive list of verbal parallels, I may point out one or two of the most striking, which are to be found in the treatment of these details.

ARCADIA	TRYALL OF CHEVALRY
[*Argalus*] ". . . . her face, when it was fairest, had been but a marshal to lodge the love of her in his mind, which now was so well placed that it needed no further help of any outward harbinger; beseeching her, even with tears, to know that his love was not so superficial as to go no further than the skin" (p. 25).	[*Philip*] "Thy face to me was but a Mar-[e]s[c]hall To lodge thy sacred person in my mind, Which long agoe is surely chambred there. And now what needs an outward Harbinger? I doe affect, not superficially: My love extendeth further than the skin." (Act II)
[*Parthenia*] "If I were princess of the whole world, and had, withal, all the blessings that ever the world brought forth, I should not make delay to lay myself and them under your feet" (p. 26).	[*Bellamira*] "Though I were Empresse of the spacious world Ide lay my selfe and kingdome at thy feet." (Act II)

lover, but when she betrays the fact to him, he rebuffs her angrily and departs. The lover, impatient to know how his friend's suit has sped, seeks his mistress out, only to find her doting upon a picture of his friend but cold to him.[1] He concludes that his friend has played him false, and sets out to pay the score. The girl in alarm sends some one after him to watch his movements and bring her tidings. The lover challenges his friend but refuses to explain his action. The friend repeatedly declines to fight, and even when goaded by the names of coward and traitor, will not strike until he is forced to defend himself. It is only when the lover, overpowered, is at the point of death that he discloses to the friend his grievance. Here the two stories diverge. In *Arcadia*, the lover is actually slain, and Helen's unswerving love for the friend Amphialus proves fruitless. In the play, both men are apparently slain but both survive. Pembrooke, disguised by the armor which he wears, encounters Katharine lamenting his death, and is able by his eloquent praise of his friend to convert her from love for himself to love for the virtues of the supposedly dead Ferdinand, who returns in time for all to end happily.[2]

In connection with the relationship between Arcadia and *The Tryall of Chevalry*, some interest attaches to *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, supposedly written by Marston about 1600. The author of *Jack Drum* borrows loosely from these same episodes of the romance for two important parts of the action. The Parthenia story appears in the play[3] in Mammon's attempt to destroy Pasquil, the favored suitor of Katherine, his poisoning her face with oil of

[1] In this episode, also, there are a few verbal parallels. For example:

ARCADIA	TRYALL OF CHEVALRY
"I told him that I would hear him more willingly if he would speak for Amphialus as well as Amphialus had done for him" (p. 53).	"Speake then for *Pembrooke* as he did for you." (Act I)

[2] The scene in the play (Act IV) in which Pembrooke, having erected a shrine in honor of Ferdinand, with the prince's picture on it, forces all comers at the point of the lance to acknowledge Ferdinand the "faythfulst Lover and most valyant Knight" and to hang their shields as trophies on the shrine, may have been suggested by the story in *Arcadia* (pp. 75 ff.) of how Phalantus maintained the supremacy of Artesia's beauty by overcoming all who accepted his challenge and forcing them to surrender the pictures of their mistresses as trophies. Such a knightly custom, however, is usual enough in romance.

[3] Professor Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 413, traces the poison episode of *Jack Drum* to *The Tryall of Chevalry*.

toads, her flight, her final cure at the hands of one skilled in the use of herbs, and her reunion with Pasquil. The story of Helen seems to find an echo in the love affairs of Camelia of *Jack Drum*, though the treatment is very different. After spurning her old lover Brabant Junior, Camelia becomes infatuated with his friend Planet. Brabant believes Planet false to their friendship and orders a page to shoot him. He finds afterward that Planet has been entirely loyal. Planet, however, has not been slain. *The Tryall of Chevalry* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment* may be related. The two dramatists in using the same episodes from *Arcadia* have made somewhat the same changes by way of avoiding the tragic. In both plays the friend apparently slain by the jealous lover comes back to life, and the girl who corresponds to the steadfast Helen proves wavering in her love, the fickleness of Camelia in *Jack Drum* furnishing part of the comic interest.[1] Whatever the relationship of the plays, however, both dramatists certainly went directly to *Arcadia*, for while of the two plays *The Tryall of Chevalry* is much closer to the romance, there are details of the Parthenia story omitted in *The Tryall of Chevalry* which occur in *Jack Drum*. Thus Demagoras, the rejected suitor of *Arcadia*, is "a man mighty in riches and power, and proud thereof," who attempts to make away with his successful rival before poisoning the girl. These features are lacking in *The Tryall of Chevalry*, but they account for the portrayal of the unsuccessful suitor in *Jack Drum* as a wealthy usurer and for his attempt to have Pasquil slain before he takes vengeance on Katherine. Ordinarily, where two dramatists used the same borrowed incidents we should expect the one who handles them more loosely to be

[1] Besides the use of the same incidents from *Arcadia* and of rivalry for the hand of a lady's maid as the comic subplot, I have noted only one parallel between the two plays, and that may be the result of a similar situation that is conventional.

Tryall of Chevalry	Jack Drum
"This should be that unlucky fatall place	"Was this the place
Where causlesse hate drew bloud from Ferdinand.	Which the faire bodie of my *Pasquil* prest,
Behold the grasse: a purple register	When he lay murdred? See, the drooping grasse
Still blusheth in remembrance of our fight.	Hangs downe his mourning head, and seemes to say,
Why wither not these trees, those herbs and plants?	This was the fatall place, where *Pasquil* lay." (Act III)
And every neighbour branch droup out their grief?	
Poore soules, they do, and have wept out their sap." (Act III)	

attempting fresh variations on an old theme and so to be the later; but Marston handles all his material very loosely. There seems to be little in the plays to determine the question of priority.[1]

Koeppel has pointed out a connection between *The Tryall of Chevalry* and *The Gentleman Usher*. In Chapman's play the girl poisons her own face in order to avoid an unwelcome suitor. The lover declares that the loss of her beauty is no bar to his love, but the girl protests her unworthiness. She is cured by a skilful physician. The incident was almost certainly suggested by *Arcadia* or *The Tryall of Chevalry*. Thus we have a group of three plays belonging to the end of Elizabeth's reign that are to be added to the already extensive list of plays in which may be traced the influence on the drama of Sidney's popular romance. It was probably the anonymous author of *The Tryall of Chevalry*—apparently the first dramatist to follow Sidney closely—who attracted Marston and Chapman to the motive of poisoning a heroine's face to destroy her beauty.

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[1] *The Tryall of Chevalry* is thought to have been written before 1600, though on the title-page of 1605 it is declared to have been lately acted by the Earl of Darby's servants. Bullen suggests that the play may be the same as Chettle and Wentworth Smith's *Love Parts Friendship*, of 1602 (*Old Plays*, III, 263). More often its identity with the Henslowe play *Burbon*, 1597, has been suggested. Cf. Fleay, *Drama*, II, 318 f.; Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 187, 221, 231.

ON THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S *ASTROLABE*

The date named in the two examples quoted below from Part II of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, has generally been accepted as evidence that Chaucer wrote his treatise in 1391.[1] He says:

Ensample as thus; the yeer of oure lord 1391, the 12 day of March at midday, I wolde knowe the degree of the sonne. I soughte in the bak-half of myn Astrolabie, and fond the cercle of the dayes, etc.[2]

Ensample as thus: the yeer of oure lord 1391, the 12 day of March, I wold knowe the tyd of the day. I took the altitude of my sonne, and fond, etc.[3]

Chaucer's language, as Morley pointed out, obviously refers to a date in the past,[4] and proves that this portion of the *Astrolabe* was written after March 12, 1391. Unless some other motive can be pointed out for Chaucer's selection of this particular year, it seems legitimate to infer that the March 12 immediately preceding the date at which he was writing was March 12, 1391.[5] We must observe, however, that

[1] See, in addition to the references given by Miss Hammond, *Chaucer*, 360, the following: Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, xv; Pollard, *Chaucer Primer*, 59; Pollard, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11 ed.), VI, 16; Emerson, *Poems of Chaucer*, xxvii; Ward, *Chaucer*, 107; etc. The only variations I have found from the date 1391 are those of Liddell, who assigns the work to "a late period of Chaucer's life" (*Globe Chaucer*, liii) and Pollard, who says "in or soon after 1391" (*Enc. Brit., loc. cit.*). See, however, Wordsworth's remark quoted below, note 1, p. 204.

[2] Part II, sec. 1, ll. 4 ff.

[3] Part II, sec. 3, ll. 10 ff.

[4] Professor Skeat, after quoting Morley's observation that Chaucer's language precludes a date in the future, says: "Similarly, the expression 'I wolde knowe', in the former case, precludes a date in the *past;* and hence we are driven to conclude that the date refers to time present" (*Oxford Chaucer*, III, lxiv, n.). This argument I am unable to understand, especially as a few lines farther on Chaucer speaks of "the same night folwing." My attention was particularly drawn to this point by Professor Manly, who has also furnished me with other helpful suggestions in connection with this article.

[5] There is always the possibility in cases of this kind that a date may have been chosen, not from the calendar of the current year, but from that of some other year, in order to obtain an example free from complexities of calculation. In the case of the examples we are considering it is easy to see why Chaucer selected such dates as March 12 and December 13 (Part II, sec. 1, l. 12). On these days the sun was in the first degrees of Aries and Capricorn, respectively (see context, and Skeat's footnote). But there is no apparent reason why Chaucer need have assigned these dates to a particular year. In fact it seems clear from the example that follows directly after the first of the two quoted above, that any year would have served his purpose, for he says: "Another day, I wolde knowe the degree of my sonne, and this was at midday in the 13 day of Decembre; I fond," etc. Since he does not assign this day to a definite year it would appear that the year was not material to the calculation. And if the year is immaterial for this example

this date would be, according to our reckoning, March 12, 1392. If, therefore, we accept this allusion as evidence of the date of the treatise, we ought to assign it to the year 1392, not 1391.[1]

We are not justified, however, in assuming that Chaucer *began* his treatise in 1392, for it is by no means certain that he worked on it continuously. It is not without interest, therefore, to note that we have another piece of evidence which gives us a *terminus a quo* for the whole work. Chaucer says in his prologue that Part III of his treatise is to contain tables of longitudes and latitudes "and many another notable conclusioun, after the kalendres of the reverent clerkes, frere I. Somer and frere N. Lenne." Now Nicholas of Lynne's calendar, as he himself tells us in the preface to his work, was composed in 1386:

—ad peticionem et complacenciam illustrissimi principis domini Johannis, regis Castelle et Legionis, et ducis Lancastrie presens kalendarium Ego Frater Nicholaus de Leuca [sive Leuta], ord. B. M. Genitricis Dei de monte Carmeli, inter lectores sacre theologie minimus et indignus, composui anno

it is immaterial also for the example that precedes it, for both illustrate the same process. Professor Manly calls my attention to another example that Chaucer has evidently chosen for convenience of illustration. In his explanation of the hours of the planets Chaucer says: "Ensample as thus. The 13 day of March fil up-on a Saterday per aventure, and, at the arising of the sonne, I fond," etc. (Part II, sec. 12, ll. 5 ff.). Chaucer's motive for choosing a Saturday is clear from Skeat's note on the passage, but there is no apparent reason for his choice of the date March 13, since any Saturday would have served. I see no reason, however, for inferring that March 13 fell on Saturday in the year Chaucer was writing, for the expression "per aventure" used in stating the example distinctly suggests that it may be a hypothetical one. March 13 fell on Saturday in the years 1389 and 1395, but in view of the phraseology in which the example is stated I attach no significance to the date chosen.

[1] Objection may possibly be made to this argument on the ground that Nicholas of Lynne begins the year with January 1 (see passage quoted below), and that Chaucer may have reckoned in the same way. But the two cases are not identical. We are able to infer from the language of Nicholas of Lynne that he begins the year with January 1, so that there is no ambiguity in his date. And since his calendar was, in part, an ecclesiastical calendar, it is not surprising that he should have followed the Roman practice in this matter. But since Chaucer gives us no indication that he is not following the ordinary practice, we naturally assume that he is reckoning according to the legal year, which began March 25. If this was *not* what he intended the date he gave was ambiguous, if not misleading. We may note in this connection that when Osbern Bokenham gives a date according to the Roman calendar he tells us he is reckoning in that way:

> The yer of grace, pleynly to descryue,
> A thowsand fourhundryd fourty & fyue
> Aftyr þe cherche of Romys computacyoun,
> Wych wyth Jane chaungyth hyr calculacyoun.
> (*Legenden*, ed. Horstmann, p. 126, ll. 1–4.)

Finally, I ought to call attention to the remark of Wordsworth, in his *Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford*, p. 13, n.: "Chaucer gives two examples, calculated for March 12, 1391–2, which may therefore be reasonably taken as the date when he was writing his Treatise on the Astrolabie."

ejusdem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi 1386 pro quatuor ciclis decennovennalibus immediate sequentibus: et incipiet istud kalendarium terminato kalendario reverendi magistri Walteri Elwedene, videlicet anno Christi 1387 primo die mensis Januarii prima currente per unum.[1] Et durabit per 76 annos videlicet usque ad annum Domini 1463.[2]

The Prologue to the *Astrolabe*, therefore, cannot have been written before 1387. The fact that the treatise is incomplete, containing but two of the five parts promised in the Prologue, is evidence that this prologue was written before the work it introduces. We may therefore accept the year 1387 as a reliable *terminus a quo* for the Prologue and Part I of the *Astrolabe*.[3] It is highly probable, however, that Part II (or at least the former portion of it) was written in 1392.

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[1] MS Rawlinson C 895 (for reference see note 2) has "luna currente per I."

[2] *Catal. Codd. MSS Bib. Bodl.*, Pars II, fasc. 1, col. 480, *sub* Laud MS 662. For proof of the identity of Nicholas of Lynne and Nicholaus de Leuca see *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS*, col. 4, *sub* MS 5. This MS of the calendar, which begins with the preface from which I am here quoting, ends with: "Explicit Kalendarium [fratris] Nicholai de Linea." See also *sub* MS Rawlinson C 895, *Catal. Codd. MSS Bib. Bodl.*, Pars V, fasc. 2, coll. 467, 468. Since this calendar was made for the Duke of Lancaster, we may perhaps have in Chaucer's use of it another trace of his connection with John of Gaunt.

[3] Professor Skeat suggests, in connection with the Cecilia Chaumpaigne episode, the possibility that the "raptus" may be "connected with the fact that his 'little son Lowis' was ten years old in 1391, as we learn from the Prologue to the Treatise on the Astrolabe" (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, xxxiii). This hypothesis is not rendered untenable by the conclusions I have tried to establish in the present article. But these conclusions deprive Professor Skeat's hypothesis of whatever corroboration it derived from the correspondence of the dates 1380 and 1391 with the age of his "son." It is still a possibility that the Prologue was written in 1391, but this is an assumption, inasmuch as that date is no more probable than any other date between 1387 and 1392.

THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON CHIEMSEE IN *TEWTSCHE THEOLOGEY*

Introduction

§ 1. The basis of this investigation is the *Tewtsche Theologey* of Berthold,[1] bishop of Chiemsee. The title-page is a woodcut containing in the center the title *Tewtsche Theologey* in red ink. On the right and left are pictures of the apostles Paul and Peter, respectively. The four corners are occupied by symbolical figures and the bottom by the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child on her left arm and a scepter in her right hand. Below this is the date: 15 28.

The dedication ("*DEm Hochwirdigisten Fürsten vnd Herren herrñ Matheúsen der heyligen Rómischen kirch Cardinal vnd ertzbischof zů Saltzburg . . . .*") is placed on the last leaf of the book. The dedication closes with these words: "*Geben zů Rayttenhaslach am vierden tag des Monats Decembris. Anno dñi*.1.5.27." Below this is the colophon:

¶ *Gedruckht vnd volendet in der Fürstlichen Statt München durch Hansen Schobser puoechdrucker daselbs/am lessten tag des augstmonets. Als man zelt nach Christi gepurd* M.CCCCC. xxviij. *jar.*

The copy which I used was kindly lent to me by Professor Francis A. Wood. It bears the label: "Seminarij Clericorum S. Wolfgangi Ratisbonae."

The size of the book is 20×28 cm. It contains 501 pages with two columns to the page and 54 lines in each column. It is printed in Schwabach type and is in a fairly good state of preservation.

It contains relatively few printer's errors. They are, in order of frequency, (1) Omissions, (2) Substitutions, (3) Transpositions, (4) Insertions.

[1] Berthold Pirstinger, born in Salzburg in 1465, is mentioned as "Kammermeister" of the archbishop of Salzburg in 1495, and as "Vicarius perpetuus" in 1503; in 1508 he became bishop of the diocese Chiemsee with residence in Salzburg; in 1525 he resigned his office and retired to the monastery Raittenhaslach near Burghausen where he wrote *Tewtsche Theologey* in 1527. Thereupon he changed his residence to Saalfelden where he died in 1543.

1. Omissions: The omitted letters are put in brackets: *zeme[r]cken* 7, 5,[1] *widerwá[r]tig* 20, 3, *e[r]ste* 28, 3, *g[r]óssist* 78, 10, *f[r]ūmen* 83, 8; the past participles *verdulmatsch[t]* 15, 4, *verschmâhe[t]* 15, 10, *verworch[t]* 24, 3; *s[t]ritigen* 16, 1, *s[t]att* 27, 7, *ha[t]* 92, 7; *glaw[b]s* 16, 6; *fei[n]den* 20, 9, *vnders[ch]idlicher* 30, 1, *schó[p]ffer* 47, 8, *angezai[g]t* 59, 6, *naturl[i]ch* 20, 2; *vna[i]nikait* 24, 4.

2. Substitutions: *verfchmâhen* 15, 2, *sagan* 17, 7, *zůemhfahen* 43, 6, *nachdam* 25, 1, *juft* ('Luft') 25, 4, *gewgen* ('Zeugen') 39, 10, *nach leng* ('laut') *des Ewangelj Mathei* 52, 7, *gebeben* ('gegeben') 54, 3, *yedem menschem* 67, 6, *newem menschen* (a. sing.) 76, 2 *Baruth* ('Baruch') 78, 2, *ob gleib* ('gleich') 85, 10, *gemaltem* (='gemeldetem') 85, 10.

3. Transpositions: *ederreichs* ('Erdreichs') 9, 5, *hochts gůt* 22, 6, *dewflichser* 24, 1, *geergert* (2d ed. *geregert*='geregnet') 27, 3, *gepnuden* 28, 6, *beüdrffend* 78, 9.

4. Insertions: *nartürlicher* 7, 1, *festilklich* 12, 5, *wirt* ('wir') 40, 5, *des adams leibs* (a. sing.) 99, 5, *potschaftigen* 27, 7 (2d ed. *poszchaftigen*, = 'boszhaftigen').

§ 2. The second edition has as a rule corrected these errors. It appeared in 1852: *Bertholds Tewtsche Theologey.* Neu herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen, einem Wörterbuche und einer Biographie versehen von Dr. Wolfgang Reithmeier. München, Literarisch-artistische Anstalt, 1852.

This is a careless reprint of the first edition. It teems with typographical errors. The abbreviations of the first edition have all been expanded: e.g., *and'*, *jñ*, *seiñ*, *můeter*, *kómbt* are written *ander*, *jnn*, *seinn*, *muoeter*, *koembt*. Explanatory and controversial notes are added at the bottom of the page.

Occasionally the editor, unacquainted with the earlier language, makes changes, substituting the form or word familiar to him. So *jach* (3. p. sing. pret.) 11, 2, is replaced by *sagt; rûebig* (MHG. *ruowic*) is changed to *rûehig*, e.g., 48, 9; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; 25, 4 is changed to *vnnderlas*, etc.

The vocabulary is intended to explain antiquated and unusual words. Here many words have been misunderstood and falsely interpreted, e.g., *wechslpâlig* (='Wechselbälge'; cf. *plaspâlig in d'*

[1] The references are to chapter and paragraph.

smitten 75, 3) 29, 7 is considered an adjective and defined 'tierartig'; *zesmaicken* 14, 8, and elsewhere (=MHG. *smeichen*) is given= 'schmücken'; *menigklich* (=MHG. *mennegelīh*) is defined as 'hinlänglich.'

Part One: Sounds and Spellings

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

A. ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 3. *Tewtsche Theologey* presents the same orthographic inconsistencies to be found in all of the early sixteenth-century writings. On the same page the same word is often spelled in two or three different ways.

§ 4. The alphabet and the order of the letters as given in the index at the end of the book is the same as in modern German, except that *w* follows *b* and precedes *c; i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are each given under one head; *x* and *y* are missing. The index is headed: "¶ *Tafel vber tewtsche Theologey nach ordnung des Alphabeth.*"

B. USE OF CAPITALS

§ 5. Capital letters are used:

a) At the beginning of a sentence.

NOTE.—The chapters usually begin with a capital initial twice as tall as the ordinary letters. Exceptions to this are:

(1) The capital V at the beginning of the first chapter extends down eight lines and occupies about one-half of the column in width. It is a woodcut representing an angel holding the upper ends of a large V, with the lower end resting on the ground near his left foot.

(2) The preface (*Vorrede*) begins with a large A, seven lines high. It is decorated with many flourishes.

(3) The capital W is from three to four lines high. It is found at the beginning of the following chapters: 10, 28, 37, 38, 40, 44, 46, 52, 57, 61, 83.

(4) Z resembles our capital script *z* and belongs to the same font as the W; cf. the beginning of chapters 86, 88, and 90.

b) In the beginning of 80 per cent of the proper nouns.

c) In the second personal pronoun *Ew, Ewr, Ewrer, Ewr. F.* [*ürstlichen*] *gnad*, when referring to the deity, or some important person, or for emphasis. This use is not consistent.

d) Generally in the nouns *Got, Pabst, Kaiser, Kônig, Fürst, Herr, Bischof, Jhesus Christus* (frequently small initials), *Trinitat, Concilia,*

Obrikait, göttlicher Sun, Substantz, Ewangelj, Sacrament, Capitel; Prelat, Hertzog, Apostel, Propheten; Ambt der Preim 6, 3, *Junckfraw Maria* 28, 15, without being in any way consistent.

e) Sometimes the adjectives: *Christenlich, Pischoflich, Römisch, Trifaltig, Lutherische* (e.g., 30, 5).

f) Sometimes to call attention to, or to emphasize a word when it appears in a chapter for the first time, e.g., *die Triumphierund kirch* 6, 1, but just above: *streyttunde . . . . kirch. Erster staffel der lautern leiblichen creatur ist plos Elementlich wesen* 26, 1.

g) At times the capital is used quite arbitrarily without any apparent reason, e.g., "*Dañ das zil/Regel vnnd masz auch grund alles geschöpfs ist gotliche ordnung*" 39, 2.

NOTE.—Words are never written entirely with capitals as is frequently found in the seventeenth century. Berthold says: "*. . . . wie dise sylben GOT/wo sy mit klainem puoechstab geschribñ steet/so wol ewigē got bedeyt/ als so dieselb sylben mit grossen puoechstaben gesetzt ist*" 68, 6.

C. PUNCTUATION

§ 6. The punctuation marks used in *Tewtsche Theologey* are: the period, the virgule, the interrogation point, the hyphen, and the marks of parenthesis.

a) The period is used at the end of a sentence, but may also designate a rhetorical pause. That is, it often stands before a dependent clause, where modern usage requires a comma. In this case the clause frequently begins with a capital, e.g., "*der anfang Ewangelischer pûes . . . . sol sein. Daz d' mensch sich lerne jnwendig erkeñen*" 76, 2; "*Vermainstu nit. Ich möcht meiñ vater pitten . . . .*" 55, 4. But: "*Frag ist/Ob gottes geschöpff . . . .*" 21, 1. "*Dem Hochwirdigisten Fürsten vnd Herren herrñ Matheûsen . . . . meinem genedigisten herrñ. Embewt Ich Bertold Bischof etwan zû Kiembse. mein gehorsam dienst*" (Ded.).

The period is placed before and after numerals, and between the thousands and hundreds, and hundreds and tens, e.g., "*lenger dann .1.5.27. jar*" 8, 4.

b) The virgule is used much the same as our comma, e.g., "*Luter vñ Wiclef setzen/waren leib Christi daselb zesein/aber nit substantzlich/ sond' des prots substātz beleib. Karelstat/Zwingling vnd Ecolompadi machen aws der Mesz gar ain affenspil*" 16, 6.

c) The interrogation point has a peculiar form different from the modern (⸮). It is used after direct and indirect questions, e.g., *"Ain haubtstuck ist/wie zů gelauben sey?"* 2, 1. *"Drite frag ist. nach wew die weld formiert sey?"* 22, 3.

d) The hyphen is used at the end of a line to connect the parts of a divided word. The division may be made between almost any two letters. Even monosyllables are divided. E.g., *re-chtfertigūg* 4, 9; *beschi-cht* 4, 12; *menn-schlichñ* 13, 2; *vera-cht* 13, 5; *beste-rckt* 58, 7; *gesch-opf* 25, 1; *zeheyr-aten* 14, 14; *bi-stumb* ('Bistum') 13, 9; *zebesch-liessen* 4, 7; *sp-ruch* 6, 8; *sch-reibt* 4, 9; *pfli-gt* 8, 9; *si-ch* 10, 1; *ab-er* 10, 9; *ni-chts* 12, 9.

e) The marks of parenthesis are used: to inclose reference to an authority quoted, e.g. (*spricht Johēs*), (*wie geschriben stet*) 2, 1; (*als Paulus beschreibt*) 2, 6; (*als Pelagi*^{9} *vermaint hat*) 4, 4; comments by the author: e.g., *"Ob gleich Christenlicher glawb (das doch vnmǒglich ist) vnrecht vnd fál wâre . . . ."* 1, 7; *"Alsofft die kind von Israhel (dabey die Christen bedeyt seiñ) ausserhalb jres gots ainen andern angepett habē . . . ."* 1, 5.

f) The colon and semicolon are not found. Their places are taken by the period. E.g., *"Darauf wirt jnen der herr antwortten. Ich hab eüch nye erkennt."* 2, 5; *"Itē jm̄ Ewangelj steet. Ob jr nit vergebet den lewten/so wirt eüch Ewr vater die sünd auch nit vergeben . . . ."* 3, 8.

D. ABBREVIATIONS

§ 7. The following abbreviations are used:

(1) A wavy or a straight line over a vowel or consonant means a nasal, or a nasal and a vowel, e.g., *gůtē* (=*gůtem*) 3, 6; *ī* (=*in*) 46, 5; *vō* (=*von*) 8, 4; (=*vom*) 23, 1; *mēschen* 8, 2; *seinē, seiñ* (=*seinen*) 8, 3; *mūd* 11, 1; *cōcilj* 6, 4; *ēpfahen* 47, 7; *Johēs* (=*Johannes*) 2, 1; *deym* (=*deynem*) 51, 2; *seim̄* 18, 2, etc.

Here also belong the contracted forms consisting of a preposition and the enclitic article, e.g., *voñ* (=*von den*) 51, 4; *vō* (=*vom*) 23, 1; *zuñ* (=*zů den*) 39, 5; *ausñ* 98, 9; *aufñ* 24, 5; *añ* (=*an den*) 22, 5; *iñ* (=*in den*) 37, 2; or: *zunn* (*zu den*) 51, 15; *jnn* 20, 6; or without the line: *awsm* (=*aws dem*) 26, 4; *jñs* (=*in das*) 19, 1, *ins* (=*in des*) 39, 4; *beym* (=*bey dem*) 23, 5; *vnnderm* 25, 7; *gegem* (=*gegen dem*) 56, 2; *in tempel* (a. sing.) 43, 16; *zůr* 100, 8; *zům* 20, 8. Similarly two

pronouns: *jms* (='ihm es'); *euchs* (=*euch es*) 9, 1; *sys* (=*sy sy*= '*eī eās*') 89, 8. But this contraction is very rare.

The conjunction 'dasz' and the general relative 'was' are frequently written *dz* (e.g., 3, 10), *alles wz* (e.g., 7, 8).

(2) A sign resembling our apostrophe, placed after a *d* or over a *v*, denotes *er*, e.g., *d'* (=*der*) 4, 12; *od'* (=*oder*) 4, 12; *sond'* (=*sonder*) Vorr. 5; *and's* (=*anders*) 18, 8; *v̀nuft* (=*vernuft*) 2, 1; *v̀ándert* (=*verándert*) 6, 7.

(3) A symbol resembling a superior figure 9 (⁹) means *-us*, e.g., *constantin*⁹ (=*constantinus*) 6, 3; *salu*⁹ (=*salvus*) 6, 10; *Jacob*⁹ (=*Jacobus*), *Paul*⁹ 3, 2; *Crist*⁹ 4, 9.

(4) The abbreviation for 'and so forth' (German *u. s. w.*) is what corresponds in Schwabach type to *&C*, i.e., an abbreviation of *et* ('and') +*c* (=*cetera*).

CHAPTER 2. VOWELS

INTRODUCTION: VARIATION IN SPELLING

a:*o*

§ 8. Bavarian *o* was an open sound and this explains why it could, in some words, interchange with *a* (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, §§ 21, 22). *a* often becomes *o*, especially before liquids and nasals. Besides the words *sol, von, holen, gewon*, Berthold has the following words in *o: ermonen* 40, 5; *ermont* 1, 8, etc. (:*ermant*, once, Vorrede, 4); *ermonung* 4, 4; *bedorf* 6, 6 (18×) (:*bedarf*, once 19, 5); cf. § 30.

ā:*ō*

on (prep.) 4, 12; *argwon* 16, 1; *kot* 18, 5; 34, 3 (Weigand, D. W.,[5] I, 1129, gives *kat* as the South German form); *do* (conj. or adv. of time or place); *domit* 5, 7; *dorjnn* 6, 5; *dohin* 4, 4; *doher* 20, 4 (:*darumb* 4, 14; *darein* 6, 9; *darfür* 7, 2; *damit*, twice, 13, 1; 28, 15). All other compounds with *da-* have *a; wo* 5, 7; *anderswo* 9, 6; *etwo* 79, 3; *annderszwohin* 28, 12; *vnderlos* 7, 3; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; *mon* 21, 1; *monschein* 21, 1; *schof* 15, 8; *schofwoll* 30, 2. For *pólder* 'bälder' see § 105.

For *a* in unaccented syllables, see § 31.

á:e

§ 9. *á* is regularly used for the umlaut of West Germanic *ā* (cf. § 58). It also represents the secondary umlaut of *a*, e.g., *mánlich* 32, 2; *táglich* 4, 11; *váter* 5, 6; *tág*, pl. 44, 12; *allmáchtig* 7, 1; *wássert* 10, 6; *widerwártikait* 10, 13 (:*widerwertikait* 24, 9).

§ 10. *e* represents:

(1) Germanic *e:* e.g., *geben, nemen, hertz, mel* 'Mehl.'

(2) The umlaut of *a:* e.g., *ellter, leng* ('Länge'), *hellt* 'hält,' 8, 4: *fellt* 4, 11 (:*fált* 9, 8), *fert* 'fährt' 27, 10; *wechszt* 34, 7 (but more commonly *wáchst* 11×; *wáchszt*, once; *wachset* 5×; *wachst* 5×).

(3) *ē* (<*ai|h, w, r*), e.g., *ewig* 4, 11; *lere, sele, erbern* 15, 8; *gemeret* 6, 7; *schne* 29, 10. It is frequently doubled in *eere* 5, 6; *eerlich* 51, 15; always in *ee* 'Ehe' 13, 8; *eepruch* 14, 14; *ee* 'ehe' adv. and conj. 11, 6; 13, 11; *eemals, wee* 14, 14.

(4) The vowels in the unaccented syllables, so far as they have not been syncopated, or apocopated, or have retained their original sound; cf. §§ 115, 116, 117.

e is often dropped before *l*, and *r*, e.g., *wórtl* 7, 9; *kindl* 10, 3; *zweifl* 17, 3; *epistl* 12, 1; *mitl* 12, 5; *bibl* 17, 7; *himl* 30, 3; *apostl* 6, 5. *erweytrung* 12, 9; *lesstrung* 13, 7, etc. In all these words forms with *e* are also found. But *e* is retained in: *zehen* 17, 4; *gemahel* 17, 7; *anderer* 31, 1; *dewfelisch* 39, 16; *obuerschribener* 50, 12.

i:y:j

§ 11. *i* = Germanic i in accented syllables (cf. §§ 41, 44, 45). It is often written *y*, especially in the diphthong *ai*. *ai* and *ay* occur with about equal frequency; cf. *taig, tayg* 16, 6: *trayd* 11, 8: *traid* 43, 7. Likewise in *hie* 5, 1: *hye* 4, 12; *hieunden* 5, 4: *hyeunden* 5, 2. But *y* is always written in the adverbs and pronouns: *ye* 20, 9; 26, 5; *nye* 9, 3; 20, 3; *ytz* 9, 8:*yetz* 6, 4:*yez* 31, 8; *ymer* 67, 9:*yemer* 9, 6: *nym̄er* 4, 15; *nyemandts* 4, 15; *nymants* 11, 3; *yemants* 14, 7; and in the proper noun *Ysaac* 99, 16. In the loan words: *syrop* 59, 8; *zyrck* 26, 1.

The pronoun 'jeder' is ordinarily spelled *yeder; ain yder* (2×); *aim̄ yden* (4×); *ain yde* (2×); *ainer yden* (once):*ain yede* (6×): *ainer yden; yeglicher* (8×):*yglicher* (9×), of this pronoun the forms are about equally divided.

The pronunciation was evidently *ī*. Compare such forms as *yeben* 24, 9, the unrounded pronunciation of *üben*, and such rhymes in Hans Sachs and Waldis: *sie*:*ie; knie*:*je* (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 63).

y is always written in the prep. and prefix *bey* (e.g., 4, 14; 5, 4) *beyspil* 7, 5; *beysitzer* 6, 5; in the opt. of the verb *sein*, *y* predominates, e.g., *sey* 3. p. sing. (:*sej*, 3×); *seyst* (2×), *seyest* (once), *seyestu* (once): *seist* (5×), *seiest* (2×); 3. p. pl. *seyen* (once):*seiñ* (13×):*seind* (once); 2. p. pl. indic. *seyt* (13×); *seydt* (2×):*seit* (4×). But the infinitive is always *seiñ*, *sein*, *seī*, *gesein*. *y* is always written in the pers. pron. 3. p. sing. fem. and 3. p. pl. nom. and acc., *sy*.

In foreign words: *archetipus* 19, 1; *subdicon* 64, 3:*subdiacon* 94, 12. In the gen. sing. ending of proper nouns: e.g., *johānis* 23, 5, *herodis* 23, 5; *Pharaonis* 39, 2 (:*Salomons* 39, 6); *mayestat* 4, 14, *mayestet* 9, 1:*maiestat* 9, 3, *maiestet* 9, 6.

§ 12. *j* represents consonantal *i*, e.g., *junckfraw* 6, 10; *jach* (3. p. sing. pret.) 11, 2 (:*vergicht* 8, 9); it is written initially in:

(1) The adv. *ja*, e.g., 5, 7; 8, 3.

(2) The pronoun of the first person: *jch* (:*ich* 7×).

(3) The pronoun *jhener*. Exceptions: *ihen* (n. pl. masc.) 39, 4; *ihene* (n. pl. neut.) 40, 5.

(4) *jchts* 'etwas' 24, 5 (:*ichts* 3×; *an ichte anderm* 41, 6).

(5) *jm* (d. sing. masc.) (11×), *jme* (35×) (:*im*, once, 30, 6).
jn (a. sing. masc.) (3×), *jne* (23×) (:*in* 5×).
jn (d. pl.) (4×), *jne* (6×), *jnen* (28×) (:*in* 4×).

(6) Proper names: When they begin with a capital it is impossible to distinguish *i* and *j*. In the other cases *j* is regularly written initially, e.g., *jhesu* 10, 12; *juda* 9, 3; *jheronim*[9] 36, 14, *des jobs* 85, 11; *jheremiam* 91, 10, *jheremia* 21, 5 (:*hieremiam* 65, 7, *hieremias* 39, 6); *jouinianum* 76, 4; *joseph* 23, 5.

(7) In the final position in Latin loan words: *ewangelj* (n. sing.) 4, 13; *historj* 9, 7; *cerimonj* 6, 6 (:*concilium Nicenū* 6, 2, *concili* 6, 4); in proper names: *cornelj* (n. sing.) 77, 9; *gregorij* (g. sing.) 58, 13; *eluidij* 85, 9; *Nicolaj* (g. sing.) 82, 4; *gregorj* (n. sing.) 12, 8; *Diocleciánj* (g. sing.) 13, 12.

But: *pauli* 28, 15; *cristi* 28, 15; *augustini* 72, 3; *moysi* 51, 2; *Damasceni* 54, 5; *symoni* 92, 2; *macrocosmi* 41, 2; *uniuersi* 19, 6; *centuri* 84, 4.

u:*v*

§ 13. *v* is written for both vowel and consonant in the initial position, e.g., *vnd, vmb, vnnder, vns,* prefix *vn-; vater, voligen, viech, vischen, vierdt, vesstiklich, visier.*

NOTE.—The umlaut is written *ü*, e.g., *über* 4, 13; 5, 5, etc. (but occasionally *vber* 7, 1; 8, 7; 72, 3).

u is written medially for both vowel and consonant. E.g., *sun, frucht, purde, figur, wurden; eruodert* 13, 4 (:*erfordert* 10, 1), *Prouintz* 17, 6, *beuestigung* 11, 1; *eruodrung* 17, 11; *voruodern* 'Vorfahren' 89, 2, *zůuergeben* 6, 1, *obuerschribener* 50, 12, *zeuolbrigen, gotsuorcht* 29, 7 (:*gotsforcht* 32, 2); in the proper names *Jouiniani* 19, 9; *leui* 65, 8; *Heluidius* 15, 9.

i:*y*

§ 14. *i* and *y* interchange in the diphthongs *ei* (<$\bar{i}$) and *ai* (<*ai*) (cf. §§ 60, 71, 73) and in *ie* (<$\bar{e}_2$) (cf. § 59), and in most words containing *i*, e.g., *zyl* 31, 5:*zil* 46, 4; *gestyrn* 25, 8:*gestirns* 26, 3.

NOTE.—But always *vil, wieuil, souil, alsuil.*

u:*w*

§ 15. *u* and *w* interchange in the diphthong *au* (<$\bar{u}$; *au; aww*) (cf. §§ 80, 81); *ewch* 12, 9; *ew* 1, 6; *ewrnthalben* 78, 1; *euch* 1, 5; *eüch* 3, 7. *ew* always in the inst. sing. *wew*, e.g., 13, 13; 19, 5; 22, 3; 37, 11, etc.

NOTE.—*w* occasionally stands for Germ. $\bar{o}$, e.g., *zw* 24, 7; 25, 1 (:*zuo* 4, 12, etc.); *dw* Vorr. 3 (otherwise *du*).

§ 16.	*ůe*:*û*	(Cf. § 64.)
§ 17.	*úe*:*ú*	(Cf. § 65.)

ü, u:*ö, ó*:*o*

§ 18. These spellings are found side by side in the following words: *münich* 13, 5:*mónich* 11, 7:*monich* (n. sing.) 16, 6; *monich* (n. pl.) 39, 16; *münichen*, d. pl. 'Mönchen':*mónichen* 6, 4 (but the city always *München*); *befüdert* 11, 9:*eruodert* 13, 4; *eruordert* 51, 4; *vnkündig* 36, 1:*kóndig* 44, 6; *befüdern* 22, 8:*eruodern* 14, 12; *Künigen* Vorr. 6:*kónig* 13, 12; *luterischen* (usual form) 9, 5:*loterischen* 12, 1 (but always *Luther, Luter*); *müglich* 50, 1:*móglich* 51, 15; *mügen*:

mógen; künnen:*kónnen; künne*:*kónne* (opt.); *süllen*:*sóllen*:*sollen; süllt*:*sóllt*:*sollt* (see §§ 100, 101); *füllerey* 44, 8; 76, 5; *vólle*, 'Fülle' 21, 8:*volle* 91, 8.

§ 19. Only *úe, ü, ú, u* are found in *versúenet* 32, 1; *versúenen* 53, 11; *versúener* 54, 5; *frümet* 69, 3; *fürdrer* 76, 8; *würcher* 87, 4; *getrückent* 'getrocknet' 94, 12; *gelübt* 'gelobt, versprochen' 98, 3; *verlübt* 98, 3; *erbütig* 'erbötig' (dedication); *füllerey* 44, 8; *München* (city); *truckhen* 41, 5; *guldene* 30, 9; *gulden* 13, 8; *kupfrein* 20, 1; *kupffrene* 85, 2; *künftig* 40, 4; *dürstig* 4, 12. But always *o* in *forcht* 37, 3; *gotsuorcht* 29, 7; *holtzen* 39, 4; *volle* 91, 8 (:*vólle* 21, 8).

ie:*u*

§ 20. *ie* and *u* are found in words of the same type, e.g., *widerdriesz* 13, 3; *genies* 16, 1; 82, 1; 89, 7; *geltgenies* 89, 7:*verdrus* 13, 8; 46, 3; 50, 4; 75, 2.

ie:*e* (Cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 46.)

§ 21. *ie* and *e* interchange in the following: *diemůt* 3, 6, *diemůet* 10, 10; *diemůetiger* 3, 6; *gediemůetigt* 3, 6:*demůtig* 4, 14; *begier* 25, 7, *gier* 20, 4:*beger* 32, 2; *hiet* 'hätte' 1. and 3. p. sing. 87, 3; 38, 10; 39, 10:*het* (4×) 47, 11; 9, 1; *hietest* 50, 6, *hietestu* 30, 9:*hetest* 50, 6 (once); *hieten* (1. p. pl.) 39, 11 (3×):*hetten* 74, 8 (once); *hieten* (3. p. pl.) 9, 3 (8×):*heten* 17, 11 (2×), *hetten* 66, 4 (once).

i:*ie*

§ 22. *entschid* 6, 5; *abschid* 80, 5; *vnderschid* 7, 3; 17, 7:*vnnderschied* 7, 4 (:*vnderschaid* 70, 9, <MHG. *underscheit*); *dinst* 9, 4; *gotsdinst* 13, 5; *dinstbar* 23, 3:*dienst* 5, 4; *diennst* 13, 8; *gotszdienst* 88, 7; *dienen* 31, 9, always with *ie*. So also *gierig* 51, 5; *begierig* 24, 5; *wierser* 'schlimmer' 3, 5; *wird* 'Würde' 49, 3; *wirde* 20, 4; *wirdig* 3, 8:*wierd* 43, 17; *wierde* 31, 1; *wierden* 62, 6; *vihisch* 45, 9, *vihische* 25, 10:*viech* 20, 1, *viechs* 85, 4; 3. p. sing. of the V class of strong verbs: *sicht*, 'sieht' 40, 7 (4×); *sihet* 24, 3 (2×), *beschicht* 'geschieht' 4, 12 (33 per cent):*siecht* 19, 1 (13×), *siehet* 36, 13 (10×), *beschiecht* 4, 12 (67 per cent).

NOTE.—But always *i* in: *gibt; list; trit(t); pittet, pitt, pit; ligt; vergicht* 8, 9; in the p. p. of the I class of strong verbs: *geschriben, verlihen, abgestigen, beliben, eingespiben* 6, 8; *bewisen, vertzigen, geschichen*, 'gescheut' 10, 9;

erschinen, verschiner ('verschienener,' i.e., 'vergangener'), *abgeschiden, vermiten, gemiten, geschriren* 'geschrieen' 71,3; *getriben; gedigen* 'gediehen' 17, 8.

i before *t, tt: geliten* 6, 6:*gelitten* 8, 4; *gestriten* 54, 9:*gestritten* 9, 5; *geschniten* 79, 2, *gesniten* 30, 2:*abgeschnitten* 29, 3.

i before double consonants: *begriffen, beflissen, zerissen, zerpissen, geritten.*

Always *ie* in the verbs in *-ieren;* e.g., *hofieren, studieren, multiplicieren, appellieren, psallieren,* etc.

§ 23. *y*:*ye* (Cf. § 11.)

§ 24. *e*:*ó; i, ie*:*ü; ey, ei*:*eu, ew*
(See Rounding and Unrounding, §§ 105–12.)

ei:*ē*

§ 25. The loan word *pein* occurs with the spellings *pein* 4, 4; 10, 9 (14×); *pen* 3, 3; 4, 5 (11×); *peen* 20, 7 (once); *penen* (d. pl.) 89, 3 (once); *gepeynigt* 15, 8; *peinigen* 32, 3; *peinlichs* 54, 5.

ei, ey:*á*

§ 26. E.g., *zeteydingē* 74, 3:*tádingen* (d. pl.) 11, 7 (cf. § 75).

ew, eu, eü, eú:*ü, ú*

§ 27. E.g., *freúnd, freünd*:*frúnd, fründtschaft* (cf. §§ 93, 94).

A. VOWELS IN ROOT-SYLLABLES

a) *The individual vowels.*—

1) Short vowels:

a

§ 28. Germanic *a* appears as *a*, e.g., *daz, land, fal, vater;* presents of the IV class of strong verbs, e.g., *faren, slahen, wachsen, tragen;* preterites of Classes III–V, e.g., *ward, warf; sprach, nam; was, jach.*

§ 29. *a* is found in the proper names *Sampson* 99, 16; *bathsaba* 85, 9.

§ 30. In Bavarian *a* was early pronounced *å*. This is shown by such rhymes as: *dorf*:*bedarf; art*:*wort* (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*, § 111; Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 5). Our text shows *o* for *a* in certain words, especially before *n, n*+cons. and *r, l*+cons. E.g., *ermonen* 40, 5; *ermonungen* 5, 5; *ermont* 1, 8 (often) (:*ermant* Vorrede); *verwont* 54, 1; *mituerwonten* 14, 12. Proper names: *sebold* 98, 5; *dathon* 96, 6; *Booz* 'Boas' 82, 7; *abyron* 96, 6; *Labon* 37, 3; *nom, nome, nomen*

'Name'; *bedorf* 6, 6; 11, 6, etc. (:*bedarf* 19, 5, once): *fûestopffen* 71, 7 (:*fûesstaffen* 71, 6).

§ 31. *a* is weakened to *e* in *het* 'hat' 9, 1; 10, 5 (:*hat* 4, 12; 4, 15); the forms are about evenly divided; suffix, *-bar:* e.g., *vogtber* 41, 4 (:*vogbar* 32, 1); *nutzber* 76, 9; *erber* 13, 8; *kriegber* 17, 5 (:*kriegbaren* 24, 8); *fruchtber* 5, 7 (:*fruchtbar* 5, 7); *augstmonets* (Ded.) (:*monats*).

NOTE.—For *herschefft* (n. pl.) 9, 6 see § 32.

But *a* is retained in *harnasch* 48, 8; *faschang* 48, 6; *albar* 'albern' 41, 7.

§ 32. *a* was mutated by *i, j* of the following syllable. This palatalization began in the eighth century (cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.*, § 19; Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 26), and is quite consistently written *e;* e.g., *fellt* 4, 11; *geuellig* 4, 14; *gesellen* 1, 6; *krefft* (pl.) 2, 5; *herschefft* (n. pl.) 9, 6; *drey aigenscheft* (n. pl.) 7, 9 (:*drey aygenschafft* 7, 9); *brůderscheft* (n. pl.) 47, 5 (:*brůederschaft* [n. pl.] 47, 4); *ellter* (comp.) 6, 7; *kelt* (noun) 10, 13; *sterck* 21, 3; *gesst* (pl.) 21, 8; *wechszt* 34, 7 (:*wáchszt* 30, 5). But: *geschlácht* 54, 1; *pfárd* 42, 1; *hárber hund* 39, 2; *námlich* 15, 3; *gescháft* 12, 7; *kálbel* 13, 2.

§ 33. The secondary umlaut of *a* is usually written *á*, e.g., *mánlich* 32, 2; *táglich* 4, 11; *váter* 5, 6; *gedánckhen* (pl.) 5, 6; *tág* (pl.) 44, 12.

§ 34. The umlaut *e* was narrowed to *i* in *wirm* 'Wärme' 25, 4; *wyrm* 25, 1; *wyrme* 28, 5; *wirme* 63, 12.

e

§ 35. Germ. *e*>*i* | *i, ī, j* of the following syllables, e.g., *jrrdischen* 4, 11; *angesicht* 4, 14; *vihische* 25, 10; *gestirns* 26, 3; *lidrein* 'ledern' 88, 2 (:*erdene* 88, 5); *geswistriet* 'verschwistert' 67, 7; 2. and 3. p. sing. of strong verbs, e.g., *wirdestu* 5, 5; *hilft* 17, 5; *nymbst* 63, 10; *gibst* 45, 10. Loan words: *sicherer* 4, 1.

NOTE.—For *siecht*:*sicht; wierde*:*wirde*, see § 22.

§ 36. *e* is rounded to *ó;* e.g., *móre* (:*mere*). For other examples, see § 105.

§ 37. *e*>*a* in *bathsaba* 85, 9; *vil verwarrens* 38, 7 (cf. MHG. *verwerren*); *behamischen* (<MHG. *bēhemisch*) 'böhmisch' 47, 6; *sagan* 'sagen' 17, 7; *vrbaring* 41, 14 (:*vrbering* 34, 9); *nachdam* 25, 1; *gemaltem* 'gemeldetem' 85, 10; *caractarem* 59, 1 (:*caracter*).

§ 38. *e* is written *á* in *vbertráter* 32, 3.

§ 39. Germ. *e* regularly appears as *i* in the 1. p. sing. pres. indic. of Classes III–V of the strong verbs, e.g., *jch wird* 26, 1; *jch nym* 39, 10; *jch sprich* 75, 2; *jch lis* 7, 9; *jch gib* 14, 4 (:*vbersiech jch* 84, 6). This is a South German characteristic (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, p. 57).

§ 40. In unaccented syllables *e*>*i*, e.g., *cathecuminj* (n. pl.) 43, 2; *cathecumin*[9] (n. sing.) 43, 2; *prewtigan* 55, 6 (often) (:*preytgan* 81, 9); *senifkorn* 58, 11; *cerimonien* 78, 10. But *laberinthus* 91, 7.

i

§ 41. Germ. *i* appears as *i*, *y*, e.g., *fisch* 31, 1; *zil* 31, 5; *witz* 80, 10; *sig* 47, 10; *grysgramen* 72, 2; *hytz* 7, 7; *zewissen* 5, 3; *wissen* (1. p. pl.) 11, 1; *gewisst* 12, 1; the p. p. of the I class of strong verbs, e.g., *erschinen*, *geliten*, *gedigen*. (For other examples see § 22.)

i is found in the loan word *chrisma* 61, 3; *chrisem* 61, 2.

i is retained in unaccented syllable in *jubil jar* 89, 1.

§ 42. *i*>*e* in *schef* 'Schiff' 42, 1; 60, 14; *schefman* 42, 1; *schefmañen* 16, 1; *scheflewt* 16, 1 (:*schif* 16, 1; *schiffel* 16, 1; 91, 10; *schiffart* 16, 1; *schiffung* 16, 1); *scheffscheytrūg* 75, 5 (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 31); *beschermen* 48, 9. Other words (e.g., *leber* 83, 1; *lernen*, *leben*) agree with modern literary German; *laberinthus* 91, 7; *Helchie* 54, 8 (Luther: *Hilkia*, Isa. 22: 20).

e is found once in *gewest* 40, 9 (<*wissen*); *wesst* 28, 16 (3. p. sing. pret.<*wissen*). But *gewisst* 9×, *vnbewisst* 6×; *vnbewist* 2×; *bewisst* 7, 6; *bewist* 73, 11; *vorgewisst* 4×.

§ 43. *i* is rounded to *ü*, especially in the neighborhood of labials, e.g., *müscht* Vorr. 3; 18, 6. For other examples see § 107.

With loss of *w*: *erkückht* 'erquickt' 29, 9; *erkückung* 26, 1.

§ 44. *i* is retained in unaccented syllables in *kelich* 62, 2; *solich* 64, 4; *sollichen* 51, 8; *zwelif* 96, 4 (otherwise *zwelf*); *aindlif* 92, 3; *welliche* (n. sing. fem.) 6, 9 (once).

NOTE.—In some words *a*, *e*, *u*>*i* in unaccented syllables, e.g., *senifsam* 29, 10; *senifkorn* 58, 11; *senifkoerndel* 79, 1; *milich* 68, 9; 88, 2; *menig* 'Menge' 40, 4; *preütigan* 29, 4; *preytigan* 45, 11 (:*preytgam* 14, 9).

§ 45. *i* is developed as a glide vowel in *plaspálig* 'Blasbälge' 75, 3; *wechslpálig* 29, 7; *voligen* 78, 10; *voligt* 5, 3; *vertiligt* 9, 1.

u

§ 46. Germ. *u* either remained *u* or was later changed to *o* through *a, e, o* of the following syllable (Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 32).

§ 47. *u* remains *u* in *sun* 'Sohn' 5, 3; *wuñ* 83, 7; *volkūmene* 4, 15; *frūm* 5, 5; *pruñ* 7, 5; *verdrus* 13, 8; *beschlusz* 15, 2; *vrsprung* 22, 1; *betrug* 86, 2; *sūmer* 100, 14; *guldene* 30, 9; *truckhen* 41, 5.

NOTE.—It is written *w* in *dw* Vorr. 3 (:*du*, the common form): *zwcht* 17, 13; 25, 8 (:*zucht* 19, 11); *nwmals* 7, 6 (:*numals* usually).

§ 48. *u* is written in the foreign words: *pusawnen* 100, 13; *zedulmatschen* 15, 4.

§ 49. *u* is found in unaccented syllables, especially in the present participles, which have *u* in over half of the forms, e.g., *leydund* 7, 9; *fliessund* 28, 12; *pryñund* 12, 6; *betreffund* 95, 3; *obligund* 50, 6; *wachsund* 41, 8; *slaffunder* 30, 1; *würchund* 7, 8 (:*absteigend* 34, 4; *fliessend* 9, 6; *prinnend* 87, 3, etc.). Also in *angulñ* 44, 1 (:*angeltugenten* 44, 1); *nackund* 76, 1 (:*nackend* 30, 4, the usual form).

§ 50. *u*>*o*, e.g., *wort, wonen, volckh, joch, mord, forcht, son* 'Sonne' 29, 4; *woll* 30, 2; *schofwoll* 30, 2; *holtz, korn, gold; Sontag* 17, 6; 51, 2; *loterischen* 12, 1 (:*luterischen* 9, 5; 15, 3); *preytgon* 'Bräutigam' 76, 6 (:*preytigan* 45, 11), *smorotzer* 88, 8; *erdorrt* 78, 1 (:*erdarrt* 78, 1). But *nunnen* (d. pl.) 13, 5; 29, 2.

§ 51. In unaccented syllables *o* is retained in *coron* 84, 5 (:*kron* 85, 8); *Nabuchodonosor* 43, 17.

§ 52. The umlaut of *u* is written *ü*, rarely *û*. E.g., *khünfftigs* 4, 12; *erfüllt* 4, 15; *vnmüglich* (:*vnmóglikhait* 77, 12; *móglich* 51, 15); *erbütig* Ded.; *künne* (:*kónne*), *kürz* (noun), *slüssel, tûr* 42, 4; *sûnden* 42, 6 (:*sünd, sündig, sünder*); *gefûdert* 83, 11.

Loan words: *mülstein* 4, 4; *natürlich, jüdisch, frücht, münichen* (:*mónichen*). But the city is always written *München*.

The pronunciation of this *ü* was evidently *i*. As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was in Bavaria a tendency to unround *ü* and write it *i;* cf. Weinhold, *l.c.*, §§ 19, 32. The Bavarian dialect had a tendency to resist the umlaut. *u* was protected especially by liquids and gutterals, as is borne out by the modern dialect (Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 29). E.g., *burger* 99, 13; *lugner* 5, 1; *junger* 1, 7; *kunstliche* 7, 3; *vrsprunglich* 7, 7 (:*vrsprünglich* 11, 2); *jungstem* 7, 7

(:*jüngsten* 6, 2); *bedunckt* 84, 5; *ausgedruckt* 53, 1; *verzuckung* 18, 5; *vnuerruckt* 87, 3; *verkurtzen* 40, 4; *purde* 35, 6; *zů ruck* 11, 7; *kunst* (a. pl.) 12, 7; *stuckh* (pl.) 2, 5 (:*stück* 1, 4); *puckhen* 'bücken' 4, 15; 86, 5; *gesmuckt* 16, 4; *grundlichen* 5, 7; *gruntlichs* 15, 7; *gegrundt* 8, 2; 12, 4; *wurde* (opt.) 3, 2; 3, 12; *wurden* (opt.) 3, 5, etc. This word always has *u* in the optative; *guldene* 85, 2; *vbrigs* 4, 5; *vber* 7, 1; 8, 7 (:*über* 4, 13); *vbermůetiger* 6, 7; *vberwindet* 8, 1; *vberflüssig* 10, 5; *vbergiftigen* 20, 1; *vbertreter* 25, 9 (:*überflüssig* 4, 12; *übersteen* 13, 1).

§ 53. The umlaut of *o* is *ó*. E.g., *gótter* 5, 7; 7, 6; *wórtel* 7, 9; *óbrister* 11, 9; *vólle* 21, 8; *kónig* 5, 6; 9, 3; 10, 3; 10, 4; *mórder* 3, 4; 48, 11; *óffter* 70, 8; *völlige* 72, 7; *órtter* 4, 4; *pólder* 'bälder' 34, 4; loan words: *rómisch* 10, 4; *mónich* 11, 7 (:*münich* 13, 5), *gleichfórmig* 7, 4; *ól* 4, 5; *Górg von Saxen* 13, 4; and in: *sólher* 10, 2 (:*solher* 5, 5); *sólhem* 14, 13 (:*solhem* 15, 8), etc., *hónig* 10, 6; *óbrister* 11, 9; *óbrist* 19, 6; *pólster* (a. pl.) 14, 14.

§ 54. In the following there is fluctuation in spelling (*ó, ö*:*ů*): *kónnen*:*künnen; kónne* (opt.):*künne; móglich* 51, 15:*müglich* 50, 11; *móge*:*müge; sóllt* 53, 6:*süllt* 25, 10:*sollt* 14, 9; *sóllen, sollen* (usual forms):*süllen* 40, 10.

2) Long vowels:

ā

§ 55. In Bavarian West Germ. *ā* became a very open sound (*å*) as early as the thirteenth century. It differed from the old *ō* except before nasals (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 57).

§ 56. West Germ. *ā* appears as *a*, e.g., *ader* 63, 12; *jamer* 76, 1; *jamertal* 62, 6; *gůttat* 30, 2; *har* 17, 5; *gnad* 4, 15; 5, 2; *schlaffen* 14, 14; *slaff* 'Schlaf' 78, 7; *rat* 16, 1. In the pret. of classes IV and V, e.g. (1. p. pl), *waren* 32, 6; (3. p. pl.) 33, 9; *sprachen* 9, 3; 14, 3; *kamen* 55, 8; *gabñ* 21, 5; *ersahen* 90, 7; *than* (p. p.); 1, 6; *war* 'wahr' 51, 14; *nach, schacher* 'Schächer' 4, 1.

§ 57. *ā*>*o* in: *on* 'ohne,' *wo, etwo* 79, 3; *anderswo; do* (always); *domit* (always); *doher; dohin; dorjnn* (:*daher, darjnn, dadurch, darüber, darauf*, etc.; cf. § 8); *mon* 21, 1; *monschein* 21, 1; *mons* 'Mondes' 25, 4; *argwon* 16, 1; *schof* 15, 8; 76, 2; 90, 3; *schofwoll* 30, 2; *schofstal* 91, 6; 91, 17; *schofhawten* 15, 12; *korfreytags* 51, 2; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; *vnderlos* 37, 10.

NOTE.—The change *da-*>*do-* is probably not phonetic, but due to the analogy of *wa*>*wo* (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 225).

§ 58. The umlaut of *ā* is regularly written *á*, rarely *e*. E.g., *sálikait, wáre* (opt.) *fáhig, lár, tráger* 25, 9; *náterl* 20, 1; *járlich* 7, 2; *jámerlichen* 98, 6; *lásst; scháfel* 92, 3 (:*schóffel* 91, 17); *páten* 'bäten' (opt.) 77, 1; *argwánig* 51, 2; *kás* 63, 12. *andechtiger* 6, 7 (:*andáchtig* 8, 3); *gnediklich* 9, 3; 11, 9; 21, 4; *gnedigen* 10, 11; 28, 5; *gedechtnusz* 62, 3; 23, 8; 26, 6 (:*gedáchtnusz* 7, 8; 27, 5; 27, 8); *mittelmessigem* 30, 6; *geuerlich* 25, 9; *Egypten* 47, 11; *Egyptier* 44, 10; *Ethiopia* 14, 1; *Ecolompadi* 8, 2; 16, 6.

NOTE.—For *paem, zaem* (='Baum, Zaum'), see § 82.

$\bar{e}_2$

§ 59. Germ. $\bar{e}_2$ appears in the following as *ie, ye: hie, hieriñ, hierauff, hyerjnn* (:*hinach* 80, 10); *hier* (often); *krieg* 13, 5; *kryeg* 48, 9; *zier* 17, 3; *zyer* 15, 6; *miedt* 55, 3; the preterites of the so-called reduplicating verbs, e.g., *hiesz, lies, viel, empfieng, gieng, verriet.* The loan words: *brief* 17, 1; 59, 3; *priester* 13, 8; *spiegel* 21, 12; *fieber* 32, 5.

$\bar{\imath}$

§ 60. MHG. *ī* (<Germ. *ī* and other sources) is always diphthongized and written *ei, ey*, e.g., *weib, zeit, dein, geytz, eys* 'Eis' 26, 1; *eysnen joch* 'eisern' 37, 6; *eytl, weissagung, feind, wein, swein, sweinen, freythóf* 90, 5; *Cathrein* (name) 99, 17; *in latein* 42, 7; *drey, dreyzehend dreyerlay* 4, 11; *dreymal; kindlein* 58, 11; *schóflein* 95, 1; *lamblein* 100, 13.

NOTE.—*ei*:*e, ee* are found in the loan word *pein*, e.g., 4, 4; 10, 9; *peinigen* 32, 3; *peinlichs* 54, 15: *pen*, e.g., 3, 3; 4, 5; 4, 15, and once *peen* 20, 7. The spellings *e, ee* point to a narrowing of the diphthong similar to that treated in § 78.

§ 61. *ī* was retained in *drifaltig* 11, 1; *dryfacher* 4, 10; *trifach* 14, 1; *zwifach* 26, 5; *zwitracht* 48, 9; *zwifeltige* 36, 9 (cf. Braune, *P.B.B.*, 2, 133; *AHD. Gram.*, § 280; Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 50).

§ 62. *ī*>*ei in kunstreich* 5, 3; *kunstreicher* 7, 3; *freydenreich* 29, 9; *gnadenreiche* 53, 5. But *i* is found in the name *hainrich* 98, 5.

§ 63. *ī* was diphthongized in the suffixes *-īn* (denoting material) (§ 113, 1), *-ī* (§ 113, 3), *-līn* (§ 113, 4), *-wīs* (§ 113, 5); in the prefixes

īn- (§ 113, 8), *bī-* (§ 113, 7); likewise in the loan word *vermaledeyt, vermaladeyt* (p. p.) 20, 1.

ō

§ 64. Germ. *ō* is written *ûe, û,* and is, no doubt, still a diphthong (cf. Moser, *l.c.*, §§ 11, 62), e.g., *brûeder* 6, 2; *mûeter* 5, 7; *pûes* 10, 11; *pûech* 10, 3; *plûem* 10, 3; pret. of the VI class of strong verbs, e.g., *schûef* 81, 5; *fûer* 64, 7; *hueb* 67, 5. The spelling *û* is less common, e.g., *gût* 17, 5; *mûter* 85, 8; *verflûcht* 13, 4; *beschûf* 5, 3; *hûb an* 71, 3.

It is sometimes spelled *w;* see § 15, note.

§ 65. The umlaut is written *úe, ú,* less commonly *üe, ü;* or with loss of labialization: *ie, ye* (cf. § 111). E.g., *búecher* 7, 2; *sûesz* 4, 15; *ausfúerung* 7, 3; *prúefen* 7, 8; *húetten* 15, 2; *súsz* 4, 15; *púchern* 12, 2; *diemútig* 14, 6; *geúbt* 86, 1; *vngeübt* 85, 7; *güetigister* 32, 3; *püessender* 30, 1.

§ 66. This umlaut has been unrounded to *ye* (cf. § 111).

ū

§ 67. Germ. *ū* has been diphthongized and is written *aw, au,* rarely *aû,* e.g., *tawb* 'Taube' 6, 4; *prawt* 6, 6; *fawl* 13, 6; *gawl* 42, 1; *pawch* 15, 2; *aus* 3, 9; *hauswirts* 17, 7; *hausz* 3, 5; *haûs* 97, 4; *laût* 100, 7; *gepaûten* 91, 10.

§ 68. The umlaut is written *ew, eü;* or unrounded to *ei, ey.* E.g., *fewl* (noun) 74, 6; *gepew* 91, 2; *gebrewchen* 95, 10; *mewren,* 'Mauern' 97, 4; *gotszhewser* 9, 3; *springhewsern* 24, 5; *prewtigan* 55, 6; *heüser* 39, 8; 87, 9; *feül* 44, 3; *preütigan* 29, 4.

§ 69. In most cases, however, the diphthong has been unrounded, e.g., *preitgan* 98, 2; *preytigan* 45, 11; *vorheytel* 16, 4; *peytl* 21, 5; *leyttern* 'läutern' 36, 7; *geleyttert* 54, 3; *seyer* 'Säure' 63, 2; *seyr* 4, 15; *geleyt* 'Geläute' 63, 6; *preyt* 'Bräute' 98, 6; *saltz seyl* 98, 9 (cf. Schatz, *Imst,* §§ 50, 51).

3) Diphthongs:

ai

§ 70. Germ. *ai* became *ei* in the beginning of the ninth century, which in turn became *ai* in early Modern High German. The first element of the diphthong became more open. In Bavaria this change evidently took place in early MHG. times, and was completed in the classical period of MHG. (cf. Moser, *l.c.*, § 61; Schatz, *Bair.*

Gram., § 13). In the fifteenth century this diphthong became *åa*, although the spelling *ai* was retained.

§ 71. Berthold writes regularly *ai*, *ay*, and carefully distinguishes it from the new diphthong *ei* (<*ī*), except in the few instances mentioned below (§ 73). E.g., *hayl*, *prait*, *haimlich* 4, 13; *klainat* 1, 5; *ain*; *vnderainst* 17, 2; *ainfache* 6, 10; *ainfaltige* 6, 5; *aingeporē* 5, 4; *faisten* 10, 4; *taig*, *tayg* 16, 6; *pfaidē* 74, 8; *aindlif* 92, 3; *zway*, *zwaintzigist* 20, 1; *stain* 23, 5; *pain* 'Bein' 28, 5; *ayd* 14, 14; *laym* 'Lehm' 21, 5; *faym* 'Schaum' 35, 1; *sayl* 27, 10; *awflaynen* 'auflehnen' 39, 4; *abgelaint* 15, 9; 51, 18; *lainet ab* 46, 3; *hainrich* (name) 98, 5; *Kaiser* 48, 1; *kayser* 10, 4.

The suffix *-hait*, *-khait* regularly has *ai* (cf. § 114, 9).

§ 72. *-age-*, *-ege-* >*ai*, *ay* and fell together with Germ. *ai*, e.g., *trayd* 'Getreide' 11, 18; 25, 4; *traid* 43, 7; *gejaid* 'Jagd' 48, 6; *gemayd* 77, 11; *gehayt* 'gehegt' 99, 13; *maydlens* (g. sing.) 71, 3; *maister* 13, 8; 18, 18; 43, 9, *geschray* 76, 9, etc.

§ 73. Exceptions: A few words regularly have *ei*, *ey*, e.g., *fleysch*, *fleisch*; *geist*, *geyst*; *beyeinander* 38, 8; *miteinander* 54, 6; *beyeinand'* 7, 5 (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 52). The suffix *-hait* is spelled *ei* only twice: *falscheit* 16, 2; *ewikeit* 51, 16; these are probably printer's errors.

§ 74. Irregular are the following: *zeteydingē* 74, 3; *verteydingt* (p. p.) 74, 3; *spötlteyding* Vorr. 6.

§ 75. *ei*, *ey* >*á* in *tádingen* (d. pl.) 11, 7; *vnderthâding* 'Unterhandlung' 74, 4; *heirats tádingē* (d. pl.) 99, 17. In these words *g* was first palatalized and then dropped, causing umlaut of *a*. Weinhold (*Bair. Gram.*, §§ 43, 44) has found the spelling *æ* for *ē* before *r*, *l*, *h*, in the dialects of the Tirol and explains *á* as due to the influence of linguals.

NOTE.—*ae* is also found in the word *baebel* '*Weibel*' 59, 3. The initial *b* is due to assimilation (cf. § 123).

§ 76. The spelling *ue* occurs only once in *luembs* (g. sing.) 'Lehms' 37, 1 (:*laym* 21, 5), and is probably an attempt to represent the diphthong *åa*.

§ 77. *ai*>*ē* before *h*, *r*, *w* and in final positions (cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.*, § 11), e.g., *ewig* 4, 11; *lerer* 1, 6; *keren* 1, 6; *mer* 1, 7; *erste* 1, 8; *ee* (conj.) 13, 11 (adv.) 11, 6; *ee* 'Ehe' 13, 8; *eepruch* 14, 4;

ere 2, 4; *schne* 29, 10; *eere* 5, 6; *eerlich* 51, 15; *wee* (interj.) 14, 14; 15, 6; *o wee* 24, 8.

§ 78. *ai*>*ē* before the dentals *n, d,* e.g., *zwen* (masc.) and *bede, bed, wenigist.* This is unusual (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.,* § 43, *Anm.* 5; *P.B.B.,* 10, 495; 12, 551). Weigand, *D.W.*[5], I, 188, gives the Bavarian forms as m. *bēd,* f. *bōd,* n. *beid,* parallel with *zwen, zwo, zwai.* Schatz (*Imst,* § 52) explains *e* in *bede* as *i*-umlaut of *beidiu.* As in Old Bavarian (Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.,* § 13, *c*) Berthold uses the *ē*-forms of *bed* in all genders, whereas he carefully distinguishes the genders in *zwen, zwo, zway.*

§ 79. *ē* is found in *Behaim* 14, 14; 69, 10 (Kelt.-Lat. *Boiohemum*); *behamischen* 47, 6.

NOTE 1.—For *ē* in the loan word *pen, pein,* see § 60, note.

NOTE 2.—The numeral *zwelif, zwelf* has shortened the diphthong *ai.* But the full sound is retained in *aindlif* 92, 3; *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12; 51, 13, etc.

au

§ 80. Germ. *au* has fallen together with *au*<*ū* and is written *au, aw,* e.g., *tawf* 6, 6; *lauf* 11, 6; *zawbrer* 11, 6; *haubt* 13, 7; *haup* 14, 13; *glawb* Vorr. 3; *lawb* 19, 5; *awch* 20, 2; 60, 8; *stawb* 53, 2; *dawcht* 'verdaut' 68, 8; *pawm* 76, 9; *pawngarten; rawch* 88, 6; *rauch* 84, 7; *weichrawch* 84, 7; *weichrauchs* 84, 7; *hüttrawch* Vorr. 3; *rauchvas* 84, 7; 88, 6.

§ 81. This *au* and the *au*<Germ. *aww* soon fell together at least in spelling. As to the pronunciation, see Schatz, *Imst,* § 53. The dialect of Imst distinguishes the two sounds.

Here belong: *fraw* 2, 2; *schaw* 3, 6; *schawen* Vorr. 1; *abgehawt* (p. p.) 26, 3; *ausgehaut* 49, 11; *genaw* 27, 4; *hawn* 'Hacke' 72, 2.

§ 82. Before *m, au*>*a, á.* These sounds are also found in the language of the Habsburg chancery, and in Klara Hätzlerin. Cf. Moser, *l.c.,* § 61. E.g., *pám* 'Baum' always so written except twice (see above, § 80), e.g., 19, 10; 24, 8; 26, 2; 43, 1; *pámól* 93, 4; *feygenpám* 77, 4; *pámstocks* 24, 8; *zám* 'Zaum' 41, 2 (thus falling together, in spelling, with *zám* 'zahm,' e.g., 47, 7); *verdâung* 'Verdauung' 27, 5; *dâung* 41, 4; 64, 11; *verdâet* 28, 3; *vnuerdâts* 'Unverdautes' 73, 12.

Here also belong: *bestrâen* 'bestreuen' 72, 3; *zerstrâet* 47, 1; 68, 4; 80, 11; 91, 16; 92, 6; *awszgestrâet* 68, 4; *erstrâet* 'zerstreut' 91, 16; *zûerstrâet*, Vorrede.

§ 83. *weyrach* 'Weihrauch' (3×) 3, 5; 84, 2; 88, 6 (:*weichrawch* 84, 7, see above). In this word the diphthong was evidently shortened in the unaccented syllable. *a* is sometimes written in unstressed syllables as a kind of neutral vowel, e.g., *harnasch* 48, 8; *behamischen* 47, 6; *caractarem* 59, 1; 59, 2; *vrbaring* 43, 14 (:*vrbering* 34, 9).

§ 84. The vowel *o* in the past participles *vorgeloffen* 92, 2; *ausgeloffen* 13, 5; 15, 8; *entloffen* 15, 10 (:*auszgelauffen* 40, 8), is not to be explained as a phonetic development of *au*. They are analogical forms according to Class II (*saufen*:*gesoffen*::*laufen*:*geloffen*).

§ 85. Germ. *au* was umlauted to *öi* and is written *ew*, *âw*, e.g., *lewffen* (d. pl.); *glâwblich* 1, 4; cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 53.

NOTE.—Contrary to the modern literary language the following are unumlauted: *glawbig* 2, 1; *tauffer* 8, 3; *versaumen* 9, 1; *awssern* (compar.) 16, 3; *hawfft* 53, 3; *Rawber* 24, 4 (cf. § 103).

§ 86. The umlaut of Germ. *aww* is *öi*. It is written *ew*, *eü*. But in the majority of cases it has been unrounded. E.g., *rew* 52, 3; *vnberewt* 46, 3; *junckfreüliche* 10, 7.

§ 87. The unrounded forms are the usual thing, e.g., *freyd* 7, 5; *freyden* (d. pl.) 21, 5; *erfreyen* 7, 5; *hey* 'Heu' 78, 1; 82, 3; *heyplûem* (Isa. 40:6) 78, 1; *heyschrecken* 88, 2; *strey* 'Streu' 74, 5.

§ 88. Before *h* and dentals *au*>*ō*, e.g., *not* 6, 6; *gros* 6, 6; *grosz* 16, 1; *prot* 28, 3; *tod* (adj.) 52, 4; *trost* 11, 9; *plodern* 'plaudern' 13, 8; *oren* 14, 14; *lon* 39, 15; *schosz* 49, 7; *hoch* 19, 11.

§ 89. This *ō* weakened in unstressed syllables. It is written *a*, *e*, e.g., *anpas* 39, 4; *klainat* 15, 16; *monat* (a. pl.) 53, 3; *monats* (Index); *augstmonats* (Index); *augstmonets* (Index); cf. Weigand, *D.W.*[5], I, 1054.

NOTE.—But in *armuoet* 10, 13; *armuot* 10, 12; *diemuoet* and others in *-mod* the diphthong is retained (cf. § 113, 9).

§ 90. The umlaut of *ō* (<*au*) is frequently missing, e.g., *schon* 'schön' 14, 14; *nottigt* 16, 5 (:*nôttigt* 16, 5); cf. § 100.

eu, *ew*

Germ. *eu* appears in OHG. either as *io* or as *iu* (Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 47).

§ 91. OHG. *io* becomes *ie*. It is written *ie, ye* (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 54). E.g., *diemût* 3, 6; *diemûetiger* 3, 6; *gediemûetigt* 3, 6; *vier* 5, 3; *liecht* 6, 4; *liederlicher* 6, 4; *ryemen* 88, 2; *tyer* 11, 8; *widerdriesz* 'Verdrusz' 13, 3; *betrieglich* 13, 6; *tyef* 32, 4; *tyeffer* 24, 3 (:*tewffister*, superl. 11, 9); *diern* 23, 5; *zedienen* 31, 1; *dienst* 5, 5; *schieher gawl* 'scheuer' 42, 1; *ersprieslich* 42, 5; *siechtūb* 45, 7; verbs of the II class: *ziehen* 5, 4; *fliessen* 11, 7; *zepiegen* 13, 4; *liegen* 'lügen' 8, 6; *betriegen* 'betrügen' 8, 6; *zeuerliesen* 36, 10; *erkiesen* 98, 2.

§ 92. *i* for *ie* is found in *dinst* 12, 8; *dinstbar* 23, 3 (:*dienst, dienen*); *genissen* (1. p. pl.) 25, 4 (:*geniessen* 3. p. pl. 25, 4); *gelibt* 78, 3 (:*liebt*).

§ 93. OHG. *iu*>*öi*, written *ew, eü, eu, eú*. It is found in the singular of the II class of strong verbs, e.g., *jch gepewt* 3, 8; *jch lewg* 18, 8; *zewchstu* 28, 3; *flewsst* 4, 11; *fleust* 7, 8; *fleüsst* 7, 10; *verlewst* 19, 10; *rewcht* 'riecht' 60, 13; *schewbt* 'schiebt' 16, 1; *lewt, leüt* 5, 6, *leut* 14, 5, *leût* 66, 8; *tewr* 28, 2; *keüsch* 4, 14; *vnkewsch* (adj.) 36, 10; (noun) 31, 1; *tewffister*, phonetic form of the superlative 11, 9 (:*tyeffist* 80, 1); *neüwer* 6, 10, *newem* 6, 10; *neündt* 9, 1; *bedewt* (3. p. sing.) 7, 6; *erleücht* (p. p.) 10, 12; the instrumental singular masc. *nach wew die weld formiert sey?* 22, 3; neut. *vmb wew* 'wozu' 66, 7; the neut. numeral *drew* (nom. and acc.) 7, 7, etc. (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 54); *tewtsch* (the usual spelling) 8, 2; *teutsch* 14, 14; *teútsch* 16, 5; the loan words *dewfel* 7, 6; *deûfel* 85, 1; *deufel* 24, 5; *deüfel* 15, 2; *crewtz* 8, 6; *krewtz* 9, 6.

§ 94. The diphthong in the following words was early identified with Germ. *iu* (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 49, *Anm.* 3): *freünd* (n. sing.) 72, 9; *freúnd* (g. pl.) 46, 3; *freuntlich* 44, 3; *freündten* (d. pl.), *frewnds* 73, 13; *frewntschaft* 67, 7; *hewt* 6, 6; *fewr* 7, 7.

NOTE.—The spelling *ue, ü* is found several times: *fruend* (n. pl.) 77, 4; 82, 6 (n. sing.) 97, 2; *fruendtschafft* 36, 2; *fruendschaft* 52, 2; *fründtschaft* 47, 4; *fruendñ* 46, 3.

§ 95. *öi* (<Germ. *iu*) was unrounded to *ai*, written *ei, ey*. E.g., *bedeyt* 6, 1; *scheihñ* 'scheuen' 8, 2; *zescheihen* 28, 7; *vnkeysch* (noun) 13, 5; *keisch* 77, 15; *creytz* 5, 12; *kreytz* 65, 4; *kreitz* 56, 4; 72, 8.

NOTE.—This *ai* must have been identical in pronunciation with *ai* (spelled *ey, ei*) in the infinitive and present of I class verbs, for we find the

analogical strong p. p. *geschichen* 'gescheut' 10, 9; 80, 9 (*weichen*:*gewichen*:: *scheihen*:*geschichen*) (cf. § 41).

b) *Vowel changes.*—

1) Lengthening:

§ 96. It is difficult to tell to what extent vowels were lengthened in Berthold's dialect. In general we may assume the same conditions as in the other Bavarian dialects (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, §§ 32, 36, 43, 48, 51, 55, 61, 95, and the examples there given). We have evidence only for the following lengthenings:

a) Before *r:* e.g., *gier* 20, 4; *gieriger* 54, 2.

b) Before *r*+cons. This is characteristically Bavarian; cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 82; Moser, *l.c.*, § 45, 5, e g., *wierde* 'Würde' 85, 8; *wierd*, *gewierdigt* 29, 12 (:*wirde* 20, 4); *wierser* 3, 5.

c) Before *-h-*, *-ch*, *-cht*, e.g., *siehest* 40, 4; *siehestu* 29, 13; *viech* 20, 1 (:*vihisch* 45, 9); *vbersiech jch* 84, 6; *siecht* 'sieht' 19, 1; *beschiecht* 'geschieht' 4, 12.

d) Before *-d:* e.g., *vnnderschied* 7, 4 (:*vnderschid* 7, 3). With a different ablaut: *vnderschaid* 70, 9.

2) Umlaut:

§ 97. In the main the writing of the umlaut agrees with modern literary German. For the individual vowels, see §§ 32, 52, 53, 58, 65, 68, 85, 86, 89.

§ 98. In the Bavarian dialects the umlaut of *a* is often prevented by double consonants (cf. Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 5).

a for *e*, *å:* e.g., superlatives: *langst* 9, 1; *nagsten*, Vorrede 5; *nachsten* 2, 2; *zenagst* 23, 1; *nagster* (noun) 47, 4 (:*zenâgst* 11, 7; *negste* 34, 11; *nâgst* 47, 3; *negst* 47, 3—each once); *-lich*: *angstlich* 1, 3; *manlich* 2, 6; *falschlich* 16, 3 (:*fâlschlich* 3, 4); *anfanklich* 5, 2 (:*anfânklich* 9, 6); *-ig: ainfaltiger* 4, 14; *drifaltig* 11, 1; *bestandigem* 53, 4; *widerwartig* 31, 2 (:*vilfeltig* 7, 1; *beståndige* 53, 4; *widerwârtig* 6, 7—the usual form); *-er: trager* 3, 12; *schacher* 4, 10; *kramer* 94, 12; *haller* 'Heller' (coin) 79, 4. Other suffixes: *bekanntnus* 4, 10; *fancknusz* 37, 6 (:*fâncknusz* 4, 15); *Trinitat* 7, 2 (:*Trinitet* 6, 1); *bestandikait* 2, 6; *aintrachtiklich* 86, 2; *schanckung* 65, 5; *getranck* 74, 2; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *schamen* 'schämen' 73, 12; *wolgefarbt* 79, 2 (:*geferbte* 79, 7). 3. p. sing. of strong verbs: *wachst* 29, 13 (:*wâchst* 22, 5); *beschaft* 28, 1 (:*beschâft* 20, 3); *ratt* 'rät' 28, 7 (:*rât* 30, 8);

lasst 6, 6; *hanget* (intr.) 11, 7; *anhangt* 20, 5 (:*anhengt* 28, 16); *spate rew* 4, 1.

§ 99. *e, á* for *a*. Here belong many analogical plurals, e.g., *tágē* (d. pl.) Vorrede 5; *gedánckhen* 5, 6; *beståttung* 10, 13, etc.; *hárpf* 'Harfe' 77, 13; *kámelhar* 88, 2; *belegert* 89, 3; *erderret* 48, 4; *erderrt* 93, 3 (:*erdarrt* 90, 2); *verdámblichs* 35, 6 (:*verdamblichs* 35, 6).

NOTE.—The adjectives *senft* 32, 3 (*senftmueetikait* 14, 8; *senfftmueetikait* 33, 10) and *hertte* 71, 8, have the phonetic forms. But *zaem* 49, 7.

§ 100. *ó, ö*:*o*:*u*. E.g., *volkómen* 4, 13; *vnuolkómen* 4, 14; *kómen* (inf.) 9, 7:*komen* 24, 10:*kumen* 33, 5; *kómbt* 63, 12:*kombt* 10, 4: *kumbt* 5, 2; *sólher, sólhe; solher, solhe; absóndern* 13, 10; *abbesónderten* 13, 6; *nachgeuóligt* 24, 4 (:*nachgeuoligt* 4, 14, the usual form); *hónig* 'Honig' 4, 15.

The adjectives in *-lich* usually have no umlaut, e.g., *gottliche* 6, 4 (:*góttlichem* 10, 12); *loblich* 12, 1; *personlich* 19, 7; *todlichem* 20, 3 (:*tódlichem* 5, 6); *frolicher* (compar.) 68, 10; *destschoner* 87, 4; *schon* 'schön' 14, 14; *posem* 'bösem' 20, 4; *moglikait* 21, 6; *gespott* 14,8 (:*gespótt* 15, 5); *geschopf* 20, 3; *soldner* 87, 4; *troste* (opt.) 28, 14; *gehort* (p. p.) 40, 11; *frombdem* 45, 7 (:*frómbden* 1, 5: *frembden* 15, 4); *stosst* 25, 10:*stósst* 38, 7.

úe, û, ü:*ûe, û, u*

§ 101. E.g., *thût* 52, 5 (:*thûet* 7, 8; *thût* 4, 12, the usual forms); *rúeffen* has *úe* in all forms except two: *rûeffen* (3. p. pl.) 51, 17; *berûeft* (p. p.) 29, 13; *berúeffung* 39, 4 (cf. § 18).

ü for *u: tünckel* 'dunkel' 10, 12; *gerücht* (3. p. s.) 'geruht' 19, 8; *gefündē* (p. p.) 62, 6; *gemürmelt* 87, 7.

§ 102. *u* for *ü: burger* 99, 13; *burgerlichē* 4, 15; *lugner* 5, 1; *junger* 8, 7; *schûeler* 98, 2; *stuck* 5, 7; *zů ruck* 11, 7; *kunst* (a. pl.) 12, 7; *kunsten* (d. pl.) 73, 12; *vngefůr* 15, 5; *verzuckung* 18, 5; *purde* 20, 1; *gutbedunken* 6, 5; *kunstliche* 7, 3; *naturlichen* 12, 3; *vrsprunglich* 14, 10; *notdurftigen* 14, 10; *jungstem* 7, 7 (:*jüngstem* 6, 2); *schůelerisch* 7, 9; *guldene* 85, 2; *pucken* 'bücken' 86, 5; *vnderdrucken* 24, 6; *verkurtzen* 40, 4; *bekumerst* (2. p. sing.) 51, 13; *wurde* (opt.) 9, 4 (the opt. preterite of the III class is always without umlaut; other examples: *sturbe* 28, 14; *punde* 59, 2; *gewung* 15, 1; *vberwunnde* 48, 13); p. p. *gegrundt* 8, 2 (:*gegründt* 8, 5); *vnderdruckt* 9, 4;

ausgedruckht 53, 1; *gesmuckt* 16, 4; *vnuerruckt* 92, 3 (:*angezündt* 77, 4); *vberall* 9, 8 (:*überall* 21, 3); *vbung* 22, 9.

áw:*aw*, *au*

§ 103. Adj. in *-ig*, *-lich*, *-isch* usually have no umlaut, e.g., *glaubig* 2, 1; *glawblich* 1, 4 (:*gláwblich* 1, 4); *weytlauffiger* 7, 9; *junckfrawlichen* 10, 3; *rawberiſche* 20, 8.

Nouns in *-er*; *rawber* 3, 4; *tauffer* 8, 3; *vorlawffer* 9, 8; *zawbrer* 90, 2; *versaumbnusz* 53, 3; *versawmen* 3, 4; *awssern* (3. p. pl.) 20, 5; *zehauffen* 51, 13; *saubern* 34, 11; *versaumbten* 2, 5; *verlawgent* (p. p.) 13, 4; *hawfft* (3. p. sing.) 53, 3; *awssern* (compar.) 15, 6.

3) Rounding and Unrounding:

§ 104. The following vowels and diphthongs have been rounded through the influence of labials (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 26; Moser, *l.c.*, § 72).

§ 105. 1. *e:* *wóllen* 2, 7 (:*wellen* 3, 2, the common form); *erwólt* 14, 3; *die erwólten* Vorr. 3 (:*erwelten* 14, 1); *frómbd* 7, 2, *frómbden* 1, 5 (:*frembden* 15, 4:*frombden* 45, 7); *schópfen* 17, 4; *geschópft* 4, 3; *zeschópffen* 73, 15; *schóflen* 'Schäflein' (d. pl.), *schóffel* 45, 3, *schóffl* 80, 11 (:*scháfel* 92, 3; *scháflen* 83, 10); *mór* 16, 1, *móre* (a. sing.) 'Meer' 27, 10, *móres* 51, 15 (:*mere* 51, 14, *meres* 35, 4, *mersands* 40, 4); *hóre* 'Heer' 23, 7; *Feldhóre* 23, 7; *pólder* 'bälder' (compar.) 34, 4; *ópfel* 49, 11; *wóre vñ waffen* 58, 8; *zórpfenning* 66, 6; *schwóret* 51, 2 (:*sweret* 98, 7); *schóffen* 'schöpfen' 77, 1.

§ 106. The original vowel was retained in: *sweren* 51, 11; *sweret* 98, 7; *beswerer* 94, 9; *gewenen* 60, 3; *leben* (n. pl.) 'Löwen' 7, 1; *zwelf* 9, 2; *zwelif* 96, 4; *helle* 11, 5; *hellisch* 19, 10; *awsleschen* 57, 3; *leschen* 37, 11; *erderret* 'erdörret' 48, 4; *ergetzen* 48, 2; *ergetzlich* 45, 9; *ergetzlikait* 14, 9; *Fenix* 'Phönix' 16, 5; *behamischen* 'Böhmischen' 47, 6; *Behaim* 'Böhmen' 14, 14; 69, 10.

§ 107. 2. *i*, *ie*. E.g., *müschñ* 13, 6; *müscht* Vorrede 3, *vermüscht* 13, 6, *vermüschung* 51, 5 (:*vermischt* 1, 1); *erfündungen* 1, 6; *fünf* 5, 4, and all compounds; *schüfprüchig* 13, 6; *verspürtzt* 15, 7; *erkückt* (with loss of *w*) 11, 9; *erkückung* 26, 1; *spül* 'Spiel' 24, 3; *kützlig* 35, 1; *verrünet* 'verrinnt' 48, 4; *würdest* 'wirst' 43, 7 (:*wirdest* 8, 7); *würchlichñ* 52, 3; *würchung* 59, 10; *betrüegen* 53, 4; *betrüglich* (:*betrieglich* 13, 6); *lüfrung* 58, 8; 66, 5; *sprüchworts* 78, 4 (:*sprichwort* 79, 5); *verwürft* (3. p. sing.) 87, 11; *Kützpühel* (city) 13, 12.

§ 108. The original vowel was retained in: *wirde* 9, 6, *wirdige* 42, 6, *wierd* 22, 7; *hochwirdigist* 3, 1, *groswirdig* 22, 5; *hilf* 17, 12; *gegenwirtig* 8, 3 (:*gegenwürtige* 13, 10; see § 130); *sprichwort* 79, 5; *liegen* 13, 10; *betriegen* 13, 6; *betrieglich* 13, 6; *gewisst* 'gewusst' 12, 1, *vnbewist* 10, 17, etc.

The following vowels and diphthongs have lost their labialization:

§ 109. 1. *ö*>*e*. E.g., *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *beschenigen* 40, 8; *kernern* 'Körnern' 65, 5.

§ 110. 2. *û*>*i*, *y*. E.g., *finckel* 43, 1; *pixen* 'Büchse' 87, 7; *abtrynniger* 91, 14.

§ 111. 3. *üe*>*ye*. E.g., *yeben* 'üben' 13, 2; *yebung* 33, 5; *geyebt* 2, 1 (:*vben* 39, 11; *vbet* 20, 5; *geübte* 78, 5; *vngeübt* 85, 7).

§ 112. 4. *ew*, *eü* (umlaut of *ū*)>*ei*, *ey*. For examples, see § 69.

ew, *eü* (umlaut of *aww*)>*ey*. For examples, see § 87.

ew, *eü* (<W. Germ. *iu*)>*ei*, *ey*. For examples, see § 95.

B. VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

a) *Diphthongization.*—

§ 113. 1. The adjective suffix *-īn* has in many cases retained *ī*, which became *ei*. In other cases *ī*>*i*>*e* (cf. § 115, 7), e.g., *fewrein* 11, 6; *kupfrein* 20, 1; *wasrein* 25, 6; *lidrein ryemen* 88, 2; *silbrein* 42, 8; *aschrein prot* 63, 2.

2. Suffix *-rīch*>*-reich* in: *kunstreich* 5, 3; *freydenreich* 29, 9; *gnadenreiche* 53, 5. But *hainrich* (name) 98, 5.

3. The MHG. suffix *-īe*>*-ey*, e.g., *artzney* 4, 15; *fantasey* 7, 3; *abgôtterey* 9, 5; *jherarchey* 23, 2; *astronomey* 25, 1; *parthey* 38, 8; *policey* 40, 2; *cantzley* 41, 3; *füllerey* 44, 8; *simoney* 66, 5. But *geschray* 76, 9.

4. Suffix *-līn*>*-lein*, e.g., *hårlein* 29, 13; *füncklein* 38, 6; *Cellelein* 41, 7; *kindlein* 58, 11; *wortlein* 63, 5; *schóflein* 95, 1; *lamblein* 100, 13; *püchlein* 25, 1 (cf. § 115, 6).

5. MHG. *-wīs*>*-weis*, e.g., *vnwegweis* 16, 2; *strafweis* 57, 3; *pûesweis* 98, 7.

6. MHG. *-leie*>*-lay*, e.g., *manigerlay* 4, 15; *dreyerlay* 4, 11; *welherlay* 56, 1; *manigerlaj* 5, 3, once.

7. MHG. *bī-*>*bey-*, e.g., *beysitzer* 6, 5; *beyspil* 7, 5; *beywesens* 5, 6; *beystand* 14, 10; *beyståndig* 24, 4.

8. MHG. *īn-*>*ein-*, e.g., *eingeben* 5, 4; *eingeē* 4, 15; *einflüsz* 23, 4; *eingeistung* (=Lat. *inspiratio*) 5, 3. But *j* in: *jnwendig* 5, 1; *jmpersonale* 7, 9; *jnnhalt* 12, 3; *jngedenck* 64, 1; *jnwoner* 37, 2.

NOTE.—This is carefully distinguished from *ain-;* e.g., *ainfache* 6, 10; *aingeporē* 5, 4, etc.

9. MHG. *-muot*>*-mûet, -mût* in: *armûet* 1, 5; *diemût* 10, 13.

10. MHG. *-tuom*>*-thumb*, with a developed labial stop. E.g., *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *hertzogthūb* 10, 4; *priesterthûmbs* 13, 12; *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *bistumb* 13, 9.

b) *Retention of full vowels.*—

§ 114. 1. *-ist.* The suffix of the superlative is regularly *-ist*, e.g., *obrist* 31, 5; *elltisten* 12, 9; *tewffister* 11, 9; *verdambtist* 13, 5; *hinderist* 15, 8; *allerwenigist* 19, 5; *gróbist* 9, 7; *clarist* 24, 2; *schónist* 24, 2; *senftist* 32, 3; *parmhertzigist* 32, 3; *gelegenist* 34, 10; *herttist* 37, 6; *glimpflichist* 39, 9; *subtilist* 51, 18; *swáriste* 52, 5; *weysist* 55, 3; *vndrist* 24, 3.

NOTE 1.— *-est* occurs only once: *klainest* 4, 12 (:*klainistē* 84, 8; *klainist* 58, 11).

NOTE 2.—Syncopated forms are: *zuo lesst* 4, 15; *hoechst* 5, 2; *am besten* 6, 9; *pesst* 43, 17; *maist* 57, 4; *jungstñ* 21, 3; *langst* (adv.) 9, 1; *am ersten* 4, 12; *nagst* 77, 11; *naegst* 47, 3; *negst* 47, 3; *nachsten* 14, 8.

2. *-ig*, e.g., *fâhig, dürstig, trifaltig, ewig, allmâchtig, hâssig, wolkig.* So also the nouns: *hónig* 4, 15; *kónig* 13, 12. But *-ich* in: *billich* 4, 13; *vnzelich* 53, 9; *ayniche* 79, 7 (:*billikait* 33, 7; *ainikait* 6, 1, like *ewikait* 5, 7; *allmâchtikait* 4, 15).

3. Full vowels are retained in the words *solich, welich* only in the following cases: *solliche* (a. sing. fem.) 24, 2; *solich* (a. sing. fem.) 7, 3; *sólichs* (n. sing. neut.) 7, 8; (a. sing. neut.) 7, 2; 64, 4; *welliche* (n. sing. fem.) 6, 9; *kelich* (<Lat. *calix*) 62, 2 (:*kelch* 58, 11).

4. *-isch* retains *i* except when syncopated, e.g., *irdischen* 32, 1; *hellisch* 19, 10; *rawberische* 20, 8; *vihische* 25, 10; *metallischer* 26, 1; *pawrsiche* 27, 5; *Lutherische* 30, 5; *bayrisch* 63, 4; *sáxisch* 63, 4; *Hebreischer* 63, 4; *kriechischer* 63, 4; *lateinischer* 63, 4; *zánckisch* 14, 7; *gotzischen pild* 85, 3.

NOTE 3.— *-i-* is syncopated in *tewtsch* and the compounds (e.g., *tewtschland*), *hübschen* 14, 6; *laysch* 'laiisch' 95, 9; *artzneisch* 58, 5.

5. The suffix for forming the present participle is *-und, -end*, the former predominating. The same verb occurs now with this, now with that ending, e.g., *wachsund* 26, 3 (6×): *wachsend* 29, 11 (4×).

6. The ordinal numerals from 20–100 are formed by the suffix *-ist*.

7. The suffix *-nuss* always has *u*, e.g., *pildnusz* 4, 12; *fáncknusz* 4, 15; *fancknusz* 29, 4; *zewgknusz* 5, 4; *verdienstnusz* 33, 8; *gedechtnusz* 23, 8.

8 *-sal, -sam* always have the full vowel, e.g., *trůebsal* 14, 11; *jrrsal* 15, 2; *sawmsal* 52, 2 (*feindsálig* 52, 3, has secondary umlaut); *gehorsam* 6, 9; *grawssam* 15, 3; *seltzams* 15, 7; *růesam* 44, 3; *mitsamkait* 33, 7; *voligsam* 38, 5.

9. *-hait* always has the full diphthong, e.g., *warhait* 5, 1; *gůthait* 5, 2; *gothait* 5, 6; *roszhait* 30, 1; *rinderhait* 30, 1; *hundhait* 30, 1; *knechthait* 79, 7; *wesenhait* 40, 4.

h is sometimes dropped in the following: *hochait* 14, 7; *swachait* 93, 2; *gleichait* 7, 1; *kranckait* 24, 7; *keyschait* 25, 9.

10. Latin *-tas, -tatis* appears as *-tat*, which is sometimes weakened to *-tet*, e.g., *mayestat* 4, 14:*mayestet* 9, 1; *Trinitat* 7, 2:*Trinitet* 6, 1.

11. The original vowels are retained in the following words: *milich* 68, 9; *kelich* 66, 2 (but *kelch* 58, 11); *senifkorn* 58, 11; *senifkórndel* 79, 1; *preütigan* 29, 4 (but *preytgan* 14, 9); *zwelif* 96, 4 once (otherwise *zwelf, zwelffter*, etc.); *aindlif* 92, 3; *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12 (once *aindlefften* 92, 3); *menig* 'Menge' 40, 4.

u is found in *angulñ* 44, 1 (:*angeltugenten* 44, 1); *nackund* 76, 1 (:*nackenden* 87, 1; 43, 2).

coron 84, 5:*kron* 85, 8; *archa* 85, 2:*arch* 68, 3; *idea* 19, 1; *gehenna* 19, 10.

12. No feminine abstract nouns in *-īn* are retained. No diminutives in *-chin* occur.

c) Shortening and weakening.—

§ 115. 1. MHG. *bī-*>*be-, b-; pe-, p-*. The vowel *e* is usually retained, except in 'bleiben,' which regularly syncopates. The forms with *e* are: *zebeleiben* 27, 10 (:*bleiben* 15, 7); *beleibt* 21, 2 (:*bleibt* 5, 5); *belibñ* (p. p.) 10, 8; 15, 6, etc.; *beleibliche* 27, 6.

pe- in *zepeschliessen* 68, 3; *p-* in *parmhertzig* 7, 5; *parmhertzikait* 21, 4.

2. MHG. *zuo-*>*zû-*>*ze-* in the infinitive, e.g., *zeuolgen* 4, 13; *zelernen* 5, 4; *zûezescharren* 87, 1.

3. MHG. *-baere* >*-bar, -ber*. The form *-bar* predominates. E.g., *scheinberlich* 5, 4; *fruchtber* 5, 7: *fruchtbar* 5, 7.

4. The abstract suffix *-ī*, MHG. *-e* is *-e*, but in the majority of cases has been lost. It is retained in: *wyrme* 'Wärme' 28, 5; *wirme* 90, 1; *güette* 31, 6; *scherffe* 31, 8; *vólle* 21, 8; *volle* 91, 8; *weihe* 94, 1. But *weich* 'Weihe' 58, 2; *hytz* 10, 13; *gentz* 6, 4; *kelt* 100, 8; *swâr* 84, 1; *menig* 84, 1; *wirm* 'Wärme' 90, 2; *lâr* 30, 10; *eytel* 30, 10; *morgenrôt* 10, 7; *swech* 35, 3; *sterckh* 44, 1; *feül* 44, 3; *leng* 61, 1; *wûest* 66, 7; *fayst* 77, 10; *feycht* 100, 8; *schón* 21, 3; *gesund* 20, 6.

5. *-wīg* and *-rīch* have been shortened in the names *hainrich* 98, 5; *ludwig* 98, 5; *hedwigis* 98, 5. So also *fendrich* 59, 3, with analogic *-rich* and inserted *d*.

6. The diminutive suffixes *-le* and *-el* have fallen together in l̥-, written *-l*, or sometimes *-el;* e.g., *wórtl* 7, 9 (:*wórttel* 7, 9); *pfnástl* 'Dunst' 70, 8; *vorheytl* 36, 14; *zweyl* (=MHG. *zwīel*) 19, 11; the plurals *strichlen* 19, 8; *kórndlen* 63, 11 (cf. § 113, 4).

7. The adjective suffix *-īn*, denoting material, has in most cases been weakened to *-en*. (For Diphthongization, see § 113, 1.) E.g., *fewren* 75, 3; *guldē* 13, 8; *erdene ding* 27, 10; *stainē* 28, 3; *hârene* 74, 8; *seyden* 74, 8; *ein lynden holtz* 79, 2; *sweinen fleisch* 76, 5; *fleischene hilf* 51, 17; *holtzen* 39, 4; *silbrene* 39, 4; *kupfren* 85, 2.

NOTE.—But the feminine derivatives always have *-in*, e.g., *gepererin* 85, 8; *abgoettin* 86, 4; *eszliñ* 'Eselin' 87, 6; *koenigin* 98, 5; *eeprecherin* 99, 11; *pfaeffin* (d. pl.) 29, 2; *goettin* 33, 2; *zerütterin* 33, 9; *pawrin* 37, 9.

8. The strong adjective ending n. s. fem., n. a. pl. neut. *-iu*>*-eü* >*-e*. This *-e* is quite consistently retained. The few exceptions are: fem.: *gótlich trinitat* 7, 9; *ander hailsam lere* 11, 1; *gût gwonhait* 17, 5; neut.: *new gesetz* 6, 6; *all ander ding* (n. pl.) 7, 1; *durch leiblich geschópf* 5, 3; *in ferr land* (a. pl.) 19, 4; *sündig werch* 35, 6.

9. The comparative suffix is *-er*. E.g., *gerechter* 4, 12; *ferrer* 5, 4; *merer* 6, 2; *klainer* 6, 2; *pesser* 8, 5 (adv. *bas* 14, 13; 15, 4, etc.); *pólder* 'bälder' 34, 4.

10. The vowel of the suffix in the words *monat* 53, 3; *augstmonats*, Index; *klainat* 10, 12, has been shortened. It has been further weakened in *augstmonets* (Ded.).

NOTE.—For *armuoet*, see § 113, 9.

The words *anpas* 'Ambosz' 75, 3; *Paradis* 21, 3 likewise have short vowels in the suffix.

11. MHG. *-icht*>*-at.* E.g.. *pucklat* 40, 12; *narrat* 51, 10.

12. The weakened form of the suffix *-lein* has been confused with *-el, -le.* In the dative plural it is impossible to distinguish them. *-len* (weakened form of *-lein*) is found in *kórndlen* (d. sing.) 57, 1; *maydlens* (g. sing.) 71, 3; *púechlen* 20, 1; *lâmblen* (g. pl.) 89, 6.

13. MHG. *-ære* in nouns of agency>*-er*, e.g., *richter* 4, 12; *übeltâter* 4, 15; *lugner* 5, 1; *tróster* 6, 4; *geperer* 7, 4; *anhenger* 7, 6; *abgóttereyer* 8, 2; *partrager* 'Bahrträger' 71, 3; *Rawber* 24, 4.

NOTE.— *-er* also in other words, e.g., *adler* 24, 6; *ketzer* 6, 4; *Kaiser* 6, 3; *vater, etc.*

14. For *-tat*>*-tet*, cf. §§ 31; 114, 10.

15. The numerals *zway* and *drey* have been shortened in the following compounds: *zwifache* 6, 10; *zwispilig* 14, 7; *zwitracht* 24, 4; *zwifeltige* 39, 6; *zwier* 13, 5; *zwyer* 23, 5 (='zweimal'); *drifaltig* 11, 1; *trifaltigen* 7, 6; *trifach* 14, 1; *drifach* 20, 3; *drifeltikait* 37, 2; *drifeltiger* 51, 8; *drifaltikait* 99, 15.

d) Syncope.—

§ 116. In South Germany syncopation began as early as the OHG. period. By the end of the thirteenth century the process was fully developed in Bavaria. Berthold has many syncopated forms. The principal cases are:

1. The prefix *be-* loses its vowel only in the forms of *bleiben* and *parmhertzig;* cf. § 115.

2. The prefix *ge-* often loses its vowel before *l, m, n, r, s, w* in these words: *glawb* (common form) and the compounds and derivatives; *gleich* 6, 4; *glayts* 13, 9; *glencke* 91, 8; *glüb* 'Gelübde' 14, 14; *glück;* one word with *m: gmúets* 64, 11; *gnad* 4, 15; *gnedigen* 28, 5, etc.; *gnůg* 36, 12; *gnůgsam* 12, 3, etc.; *mitgnosz* 27, 7; *heyratgnosz* 99, 16; *grechter* 4, 14; *groblich* 6, 10; *gslos* 28, 3; *gschópfs* 5, 2; *lobgsang* 47, 2; *gwalt* 6, 5; *gwissen* 13, 10; *gwislich* 13, 1; *gwer* 29, 7; *gwonhait* 14, 9; *gwingt* 'gewinnt' 33, 3.

The past participle of *geen* is nearly always *gangen. gegangen* is found only three times: 19, 4; 23, 3; 23, 5. The compound forms never have *ge-;* e.g., *ausgangen* 21, 8; *abgangen* 11, 6; *entgegengangen* 65, 5. *komen* and *bleiben* never have *ge-* in the p. p. Other p. p.

that occasionally omit *ge-* are: *than*, e.g., 5, 3; *bracht* 6, 4; *geben* (usually), e.g., 6, 6; 6, 10; *anzaigt* 8, 3; *kert* 24, 1; *tawft* 37, 12.

NOTE 1.—*essen* always has *geessen* (e.g., 53, 3; 64, 10) in spite of the hiatus; *vngeessen* 76, 6. But the verb 'gönnen' always syncopates the *e:* e.g., *vergonnst, vergonst* (2. p. sing.) 47, 1; *vergoenn* (opt.) 85, 9; *vergonnen* (3. p. pl.) 96, 1; *vergoent* (p. p.) 92, 2.

NOTE 2.—Nearly all the nouns and adjectives given in this paragraph also occur with *e*, e.g., *genaden* 71, 5; *gelawbs* 77, 4 (also *zegelauben* 6, 3); *gewin* 77, 12; *genedigisten* (Ded.); *gerad* 20, 8; *gelid* 24, 6; *genaw* 27, 4; *geslos* 28, 3; *gemach* 6, 2; *dergeleichen* 34, 4.

NOTE 3.—*ge-* is found in the infinitives *gesegnen* 66, 8; *gehabñ* 67, 4; in the noun *gezewgnusz* 73, 1; in the p. p. *gefeiniert* 82, 3 (:*feiniert* [p. p.] 80, 8), and before vowels in: *geacht* 4, 14; *geoffenbart* 5, 3; *geordent* 6, 6; *geaigent* 9, 1; *geewigt* 10, 1; *geurtailt* 15, 9.

3. *e* is dropped in medial syllables, especially in the suffixes *-el, -er* when followed by an ending, e.g., *lestrer* 15, 4 (:*lessterer* 15, 3); *lesstrung* 13, 7; *mildrung* 43, 14; *erweytrung* 12, 9; *füdrung* 42, 5; *zawbrer* 11, 6; *martrer* 8, 3 (:*zawberey* 24, 7; *rawberey* 97, 9); *verwandlung* 11, 4; *himlisch* 19, 6; *englisch* (<*engel*) 19, 6; *cantzley* 41, 13; *artzney* 4, 3 (:*artzeney* 4, 3).

In final syllables: *engl* 21, 5; *bibl* 17, 7 (more commonly *Bibel*, e.g., 5, 3); *apostl* 6, 5; *capitl* 7, 1; *mitl* 12, 5; *zweifl* 12, 5; *kindl* 10, 3; *händl* 66, 5; *wörtl* 7, 9 (:*wörtel* 7, 9); *eytl* 36, 10.

4. Syncopation is very common in the inflection of the adjective and participle, e.g., *offem* (<*offemm <*offenm<offenem) 73, 2; *zerúttem* 59, 7; *aigen* (=*aigenen*) 21, 5; *obbeschribem* (='oben beschriebenem') 83, 11; *sawerr* 'saurer' 64, 13; *pitter* 'bitterer' 64, 13; *genöttem* 40, 12; *beschehem* 51, 6; *vngeborem* 9, 6; *angenomer* 'angenommener' 27, 7; *gefangen* 'Gefangener' 27, 7.

NOTE.—On the other hand vowels are retained, in writing at least, where modern German syncopates, e.g., *zehen* 'zehn' 17, 4; *gemahel* 17, 7; *moerderisch* 17, 9; *beschaffener* 18, 1; *himelisch* 27, 2; *anderer* 31, 1; *slaefferige* 64, 9; *hungerig* 79, 3; *verpotener* 34, 1.

5. In the possessive pronoun, e.g., *seim* 'seinem' 36, 12; *ewrm* 43, 6; *meim̄* 53, 3; *deym̄* 51, 2. Likewise the vowel in the enclitic article is syncopated, e.g., *beym* 36, 12; *gegem* 'gegen dem' 56, 2; *zun* 'zu den' 56, 8; *vndern lewten* 95, 3; *awsm̄* 71, 7; *vbern* 'über den' 63, 5; *in tempel* 'in den Tempel' 43, 16; *voñ toden* 78, 7; *vnnderm* 58, 11.

6. The combinations *-enet, -elet, -eren, -elen* become *-ent, -elt, -ern, -eln*, e.g., *verlawgent* 13, 4; *geöffent* 14, 11; *geuechsent* (<MHG. *vehsenen*) 78, 8; *bezeichent* 13, 3; *begegent* 13, 9; *verwandelt* 6, 6; *versamelt* 6, 5; *gehindert* 19, 2; *nidrern* 6, 8; *besondern* 7, 5; *lautern* 8, 3; *sichtbarn* 18, 1; *anderm* 8, 9; *himeln* 9, 1; *verwandeln* 11, 6.

-emet>*-ent* (by assimilation), or *-embt* (by developing a glide sound). E.g., *gewident* (p. p) 10, 2; *gewidentem* 100, 2; *gewidembt* 27, 9.

The analogical form *gewibembt* is also found a number of times (e.g., 31, 6), the first *b* being an assimilation of *d* to the second *b* (cf. § 123).

Forms like *geuestent* (<MHG. *vestenen*), *gewident, zůegeaichent* 37, 10, *geordent* 5, 2, have been the model for a large number of analogical forms, all past participles, e.g., *erherttent* 37, 12; 36, 13; 42, 11; *erherttend* (p. p.) 36, 12; *erkalltend* (p. p.) 36, 12; *behertzunde menschen* (a note says: *viri recordati*) 40, 11; *eraltent* 'altgeworden' 45, 7; *abgedrückhent* 61, 2; *belonent* 66, 5; *zůegenahendt* 67, 2; 75, 3.

NOTE.—The present participle in *-end, -und*, evidently also served as a model.

7. *vrbrigem* 15, 6: *vrbaring* 43, 14; *vrbering* 34, 9.

8. As a rule the *e* in the weak p. p. is syncopated, e.g., *gehórt* 4, 10; *gereckt* 4, 11; *geraicht* 4, 12; *gesündigt* 4, 14; *zertrennt* 5, 2; *gemacht* 5, 7; *gesagt* 5, 5; *getailt* 7, 7; *gesetzt* 8, 6.

Verb stems ending in the dentals *d, t,* may either syncopate retaining the two dentals, or simplify, or retain the vowel, e.g., *zerütt* 32, 3; *erstatt* 36, 4; *verzett* 31, 1; *volendt* 57, 4; *begnadt* 32, 6; *verplendt* 32, 1; *getódt* 33, 8; *gearbait* 42, 7; *erdicht* 38, 7; *vergift* 38, 4; *verheyrat* 99, 11; *gelait* 'geleitet' 37, 11; *zerüt* 92, 5; *verkünt* 54, 2; *verkünd* 63, 4; *beklait* 43, 2; *getróst* 44, 6; *vollend* 94, 12; *gemellt* 33, 4; *gemeldet* 30, 7; *beraittet* 32, 8; *gelayttet* 42, 1; *gewarnet* 34, 1; *gelernet* 35, 5.

9. The 3. p. sing. indicative syncopates in about 80 per cent of the forms. *e* is most often retained after the dentals *d, t;* e.g., Class I, *neydet* 20, 4; *scheinet* 29, 4; *schreyet* 71, 3; *greiffet* 38, 6. II, *kewet* 68, 8. III, *empfindet* 45, 9; *befindet* 10, 3; *vberwindet* 8, 1(: *empfindt* 36, 9; *empfind* 28, 17); *rynnet* 27, 10; *wirdet* 28, 3 (:*wirdt* 4, 12; *wird* 4, 11, the usual form). IV, All forms syncopate. V, All

syncopate except 'sitzen,' 'bitten,' and 'sehen,' e.g., *sitzet* 92, 1 once; *pitt* 14, 7 (10×); *pit* 37, 2 (3×):*pittet* 51, 17 (2×); *sicht* 40, 7 (4×), *siecht* 19, 1 (12×):*siehet* 36, 13 (10×), *sihet* 24, 3 (2×). VI, All syncopate except 'wachsen,' 'schwören,' 'laden.' E.g., *anwáchst* 18, 7:*wáchset* 22, 4; *wachset* 22, 4 (5×); *schwóret* 51, 2 (once); *sweret* 98, 7 (once); *aufladet* 71, 9 (once). Reduplicating verbs all syncopate except in these forms: *hanget* 11, 7 (2×); *schaidet* 21, 6 (7×); *abschaidet* 28, 8; (2×); *fahet* 35, 9 (2×); *empfahet* 37, 11 (4×) (:*empfâcht* 7, 8; [8×]). The weak verbs syncopate except in the following: After dentals: *schâtzet* 49, 4; *lawttet* 51, 10; *meldet* 54, 9; *fasset* 56, 7; *stoltzet* 87, 9; *rastet* 10, 3 (:*rasst* 10, 3); *laittet* 12, 3; *geistet* 14, 11; *redet* 12, 9. After liquids: *jrret* 16, 3; *meret* 42, 7; *keret* 42, 6; *eret* 84, 8; *spüret* 66, 2; *erwelet* 40, 6. After nasals: *lernet* 11, 1; *dienet* 13, 4; *warnet* 15, 2; *wonet* 21, 3; *lainet ab* 'lehnt ab' 46, 3. After labials: *liebet* 7, 8; *glawbet* 6, 5; *swebet* 8, 1; *vbet* 19, 8; *tobet* 42, 1; *erbet* 51, 3. After gutterals: *hacket* 39, 4; *wachet* 39, 8; *sorget* 47, 10; *fraget* 10, 5; *erweckhet* 24, 3.

The following 3. p. sing. forms syncopate like the p. p. (cf. above, 6): *ordent* 50, 1; *bezaichent* 59, 6; *verlaugent* 76, 2; *regent* 77, 7; *entlehent* 51, 4; *offent* 70, 6. Analogical forms: *nahend* (3. p. sing.) 48, 4; *erherttent* 36, 14.

The same word may occur with and without syncopation in the same sentence, e.g., *wer die kunst meret/der mert auch den schmertzen* 44, 6; *wer dieselb* (i.e., *schrift*) *verschmâhet/der versmâcht cristum* 95, 10.

10 In the 2. p. sing. ind. pres. *e* is syncopated in about half of the forms. E.g., Class I, *ausztreibst* 76, 9: *bleibestu* 43, 6; *leidest* 70, 3. II, *zewchstu* 28, 3; *entzewchstu* 43, 7:*zeuchest* 43, 7. III, *prichst* 76, 9:*wirdest* 8, 7 (13×), *wirdestu* 5, 5 (10×), *würdest* 43, 7 (once); *findestu* 38, 3 (4×); *empfindest* 51, 8. IV, All forms syncopated: *nymbst* 63, 10; *nymbstu* 77, 14; *vernymbst* 51, 11; *sprichst* 99, 17. V, *list* 7, 9; *isst* 28, 3; *gibst* 45, 10 (4×), *nachgibst* 84, 1; *frisst* 76, 7:*siehest* 40, 4; 87, 10; *siehestu* 29, 13; *ansiehest* 87, 10. VI, *slegst* 80, 7:*hebest* 5, 5; *awfhebest* 50, 9. Redupl.: *felst* 43, 6; *lâsst* 43, 6; 43, 7; *vnderlâsstu* 59, 5; *slâfst* 78, 7:*schaidest* 43, 7; *empfahestu* 59, 5; *schlaffest* 71, 8; *empfahest* 77, 7; 94, 7.

NOTE.—The above list contains all the 2. p. sing. pres. ind. forms of the strong verb.

Weak verbs: *hast, hastu, habst* 39, 9 (once). Of the other weak verbs 60 forms retain *e*, while 27 have syncope.

After *f, ff, t, tz, cht*, and vowels *e* is kept, e.g., *prúefestu* 7, 9; *hoffest* 77, 3; *stoltzest* 29, 11; *richtest* 39, 8; *sâest* 57, 2; *berewest* 78, 1.

After *l, n, ng, r, g, ch, b* there is fluctuation, e.g., *mittailest* 47, 1; *erfüllest* 50, 5: *verzweifelst* 81, 7; *nachhengest* 50, 6:*erlanngst* 77, 7; *nennest* 28, 3:*vermainstu* 51, 16; *verkerest* 40, 7:*verkerst* 40, 7; *sagest* 88, 1:*sagst* 54, 8; *deckest* 76, 9:*gedenckst* 68, 8; *glaubest* 64, 10: *glaubst* 77, 3.

11. The optatative of the 2. p. sing. and pl. quite regularly retains *e*. E. g., 2. p. sing. *esst* 76, 7; *lasst* 42, 4; 52, 6; *wanderst* 39, 10; *habstu* 40, 2; 43, 6; *habst* 50, 8; 79, 5; 2. p. pl. *wert* 15, 10; 37, 7 (:*werdet* 15, 2); *nachuoligt* 15, 10.

12. The gen. sing. of strong masc. and neut. nouns regularly syncopates.

E.g., masc.: *gots* 4, 11; *leibs* 4, 15; *suns* 5, 3; *gotszdinst* 29, 4; *leibskestigung* 51, 18; *Bapsts* 6, 9; *frids* 30, 9; *artzts* 73, 12; *aussatzs* 73, 4.

e is retained only in: *geistes* 6, 5 (:*geists* 6, 6); *gotes* 9, 2; *gottes* 4, 10 (common form); *standes* 17, 10; *frides* 28, 15 (once); *lufftes* 31, 1 (:*luffts* 23, 6); *todes* 31, 2; sames 35, 7; *gotszdinstes* 52, 4; *traumes* 53, 3; *sunes* 60, 11; *lones* 66, 5; *pámes* 72, 2 (:*páms* 88, 2).

Ex. for neut.: *volckhs* 6, 6; *ambts* 6, 7; *schifs* 16, 1; *geschópffs* 10, 13; *pferds* 24, 5; *weibs* 24, 6; *fleischs* 28, 3; *kinds* 29, 13; *lambs* 60, 11; *Landszfürsten* 8, 3; *weibszpild* 99, 15.

e is retained only in : *hóres* 'Heeres' 16, 3; *kindes* 17, 1; *gepetes* 22, 8; *meres* 40, 4, *mŏres* 51, 15; *enndes* 53, 9, *endes* 90, 6; *ŏles* 58, 6.

NOTE.—In many words, preceded by an article or possessive, the entire genitive ending is lost, e.g., *des nom* 6, 4; *ains Papst* 6, 5; *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; *aines hafner* 21, 5; *des zorn* 32, 1; *des wollust* 36, 9; *deines halls* 39, 5. *des verdienn* 6, 10; *gesetz* 7, 6; *fleysch* 6, 1 (:*fleischs* 12, 4); *des gestyrn* 25, 8; *des hyrn* 28, 13; *des kreytz* 40, 11; *lawt des herrn̄ wort* 51, 7; *des prot* 65, 7.

13. Compound words are frequently written without the connecting *e, i, en.* E.g., *preytgam* 14, 9; (:*preytigan* 45, 11); *múessgang* 48, 8; *taglon* 79, 1; *misstat* 80, 7 (:*missetat* 53, 3); *pószwicht* 50, 13, *poswicht* 19, 10; *gnadstûel* 85, 2; *kirchschrein* 88, 7; *kirchschatz* 84, 9; *freydgesang* 63, 6; *laystand* 64, 3; *sonschein* 78, 5 (:*sonnēschein* 77, 7;

feygenpâm 77, 4; *junckfrawnschaft* 85, 9; *junckfrawnlichen* 54, 5; *christenlichen* 95, 2, the common form).

NOTE.—On the other hand occur such hiatuses as: *ere erpiettung* 62, 5; 64, 8; *ere erbiettung* 88, 10; *geessen* (p. p.) 53, 3; *hieunden* 26, 1; *hieigen* 'hiesigen' 30, 1.

e) Apocope.—

§ 117. 1. The dative *-e* is always apocopated in masc. and neut. polysyllabic nouns. Likewise it is apocopated in the monosyllables, except in the following, where it has usually been extended analogically to the nominative and accusative.

MASCULINE

e in the dat.: *stande, dinste, leibe, bawche, drum̃e* 68, 7; *gotte* 73, 14; *sande.*

e in the nom.: *rate.*

e in the acc.: *rate,* 17, 5; *drame* 'Balken' 51, 12; *lone* 32, 1; *syge* 79, 5 (:*syg* 21, 3; 24, 3); *rûeme* 15, 5; *tenne,* 24, 5 (:*tenn* 82, 8).

The forms for the following three words are distributed as follows:

	Dat.	Nom.	Acc.
same	8×	5×	1×
sam	4×	8×	1×
samen	10×	1×	2×
nome	7×	4×	4×
nom	15×	5×	13×
nomen	3×	—	5×
wege	13×	6×	15×
weg	4×	2×	2×

NOTE.—The datives and accusatives *samen, nomen* are the regular weak forms. The other forms are analogical. So also the g. sing. *noms* 15, 8; *nomens* 15, 7; *sames* 35, 7.

NEUTER

e in the dat.: *pete* 5, 7 (:*gepet* 6, 1); *ende* 8, 1, *ennde* 10, 2; *lande* 8, 8 (:*land* 9, 5); *hôre* 'Heere' 23, 7; *môre* 'Meere' 28, 12; *hertze* 14, 11 (:*hertz* 13, 3:*hertzen* 11, 7); *awge* 51, 12 (:*awg* 51, 12); *ôle* 61, 2; *pilde* 86, 5.

-e in the nom.: *ennde* 7, 7.

-e in the acc.: *ende* 18, 3, *ennde* 7, 5; *Feldhôre* 23, 7; *môre* 27, 10; *pette* 'Bett' 74, 5; *mâre* 'Geschichte' 36, 6.

2. In the fem. sing. final *-e* is always apocopated except in the following:

Nom.: *lere* 5, 6; *ere* 9, 1; *vnere* 15, 9; *sele* 7, 7; *erde* 10, 6; *rede* 10, 7; *helle* 96, 6 (:*hell* 19, 10); *schande* 14, 5; *purde* 35, 6 (:*purd* 52, 5); *wirde* 20, 4, *wierde* 85, 8 (:*wierd* 22, 7); *vólle* 21, 8, *volle* 91, 8; *wyrme* 'Wärme' 28, 5; *weihe* 94, 1; *plûe* 'Blüte' 26, 1; *vnrûe* 23, 8; *hôhe* 60, 6; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *hacke* 39, 4; *pande* (=MHG. *bande*, wk. fem.) 69, 11; *ame* 'Amme' 24, 9.

Gen.: *erde* 10, 6; *ere* 5, 5; *freyde* 60, 1; *gnade* 64, 12; *helle* 11, 5 (:*hell* 'Hölle' 40, 6); *lere* 11, 5; *lüge* 15, 8; *sele* 13, 1 (*lüg* 15, 8; *sel* 10, 9); *sünde* 33, 3; *welde* 'Welt' 19, 11; *weihe* 94, 4.

Dat.: *erde* 24, 3 (*erd* 7, 1); *deckhe* 17, 5; *freyde* 30, 4; *giere* 85, 9; *hande* 20, 3; *helle* 16, 7 (:*vorhell* 80, 10); *lere* 8, 7; *mitte* 6, 1; *rede* 19, 7; *rûe* 9, 8; *sele* 10, 8 (:*sel* 10, 8); *schame* 73, 12 (:*scham* 73, 12); *vnrûe* 32, 3; *wierde* 22, 10; *ziere* 88, 3 (:*zier* 12, 8; *zung* 14, 8; :*weld* 7, 7; *welt* 12, 2).

Acc.: *erde* 24, 3; *ere; frawe* 86, 4; *gabe* 61, 2; *halfe* 'Hälfte' 49, 4; *sele; straffe* 25, 7; *styege* 58, 1 (:*styeg* 58, 1); *stymme* 85, 4; *vnrûe* 24, 9; *wirme* 'Wärme' 90, 1.

3. Nouns usually drop *-e* in the plural. In the following cases *-e* is retained:

Masc. nom.: *wege* 10, 11; *stânde* 24, 1 (:*stând* 30, 2); *deufle* 24, 7; *râte* (='Ratschläge') 41, 2 (='Ratgeber') Dedic.

Masc. gen.: *wege* 4, 15; *wurme* 85, 4.

Masc. acc.: *wege* 11, 1 (:*weg* 98, 3); *râte* 12, 4 (:*rât* 51, 6); *stânnde* 14, 14 (:*stând* 30, 1); *stâbe* 64, 13; *munde* 66, 7; *dienste* 76, 1.

Fem. nom.: *hende* 27, 5 (:*hend* 14, 3); *lüge* 51, 4; *Ewr lende sóllen gegürt sein* 51, 8 (:*lend* 51, 18); *zwo weihe* 94, 4.

Fem. gen.: *hende* 27, 2.

Fem. acc.: *hende* 9, 7; *hande* 58, 12 (:*hend* 17, 13, *hennd* 83, 1); *mâre* 15, 7; *lende* 64, 13.

Neut. nom.: *glide* 32, 1; *mitglide* 28, 6 (:*mitglid* 28, 6, *gelid* 32, 1); *knye* 84, 3; *kinde* 44, 9 (:*kind* 32, 1); *gepete* 84, 1; *pilde* 85, 6 (:*pild* 79, 2).

Neut. gen.: *glide* 28, 13 (:*glid* 17, 13); *lande* 15, 1; *pilde* 86, 1.

Neut. acc.: *glide* 24, 5 (:*glid* 91, 16); *gelide* 24, 6 (*gelid* 24, 6); *mitglide* 86, 6; *gepete* 47, 1; *pete* 14, 14; *glencke* 91, 8; *knye* 82, 5; *hertze* 5, 3.

4. The strong adjective ending *-e* (<OHG. *-iu*) is generally retained. But the following exceptions occur:

Fem. sing. nom.: *all ander aigen tugent* 4, 11 (or pl.?); *mündlich potschafft* 5, 6; *gótlich trinitat* 7, 9; *ander hailsam lere* 11, 1; *gůt gwonhait* 17, 5.

Neut. pl.: *new gesetz* 6, 6; *all ander ding* 7, 1; *leiblich geschópf* 5, 3; *auszwendig wort* 11, 1; *in ferr land* 19, 4; *sündig werch* 35, 6.

-e <OHG. *-a* is likewise regularly preserved. Exceptions are (mostly after *-ch*):

Fem. acc. sing.: *góttlich gnad* 4, 15; *gótlich tugent* 7, 10; *in mercklich ere* 9, 3; *gótlich haimlikait* 12, 1; *gebürlich ere* 15, 6; *zánckisch disputatio* 14, 7; *vnrechtmássig heyrat* 17, 9; *wider gemain kirch* 6, 4; *haylsam lere* 10, 10; *klain vnere* 12, 5; *in new schuld* 53, 1.

But *-e* (<OHG. *-o*) in the nom. acc. pl. fem. of the strong adjective is always apocopated, except in a few cases: *wider alle creatur* 9, 7; *bewárte schrift* 14, 14.

5. The possessive pronoun always apocopates the ending in the fem. nom. acc. sing., e.g., *vnser gerechtikait* 4, 12; *sein ewige gothait* 5, 6; *jr můeter* 5, 7; *dein rew* 14, 11; *ewr belonung* 39, 15.

Acc. sing.: *sein glorj* 5, 4; *sein styn̄* 6, 8; *jr pildnusz* 7, 3.

NOTE.—But the neut. pl. always retains *-e*.

Nom.: *jre kind* 5, 7; *seine wort* 11, 6; *meine wort* 11, 6; *ewre awgen* 33, 2; *anndere vnsere werch* 71, 9.

Acc.: *ewre hertze* 5, 3; *seine gepot* 8, 6, etc. But *seī gerecht werch* 4, 13; *ewr glüb* 15, 10.

6. The weak adjective apocopates in the nom. sing. in all genders, e.g., *der gerecht mennsch* 4, 14; *die annder gerechtikait* 4, 11; *das ander haubtstuckh* 5, 1.

7. The 1. p. sing. pres. ind. of the verb generally apocopates:

Class I.1 apocopates, 4 retain *-e*.
" II. All apocopate.
" III. " " , except *pinde* 90, 4; *wirde* 100, 12.
" IV. " "
" V. " "
" VI. " "
Redupl. " " except *vnderlasse* 11, 5; *wolgefalle* 60, 2.

Weak All apocopate, except *rede* 12, 9 (:*red jch* 38, 10); *setze* 12, 9; *erzaige* 39, 2; *anzaige* 42, 6; *schame jch* 64, 5; *melde* 82, 9; *raiche* 91, 9; *lebe jch* 96, 4.

8. The imperative singular has apocope except in the following cases: *wisse* 4, 11; *weiche* 78, 1; *nyme* 43, 13 (:*nymb* 51, 14); *sihe* 7, 6; *siehe an* 42, 7 (:*siech an* 85, 5); *yse* 'isz' 74, 2; *hebe* 10, 9 (:*heb* 80, 9); *trage* 24, 9; *halte* 4, 15 (:*halt* 39, 13); *lasse* 51, 10 (:*lasz* 51, 10); *merckhe* 84, 1; *fúere* 30, 9; *hoffe* 40, 10; *pette* 50, 8; *straffe* 51, 14; *wayde* 89, 6 (:*wayd* 91, 16); *vmbgürte* 94, 12; *diene* 94, 12.

9. In the opt. 1. and 3. p. sing. *-e* is retained in nearly two-thirds of the cases irrespective of whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant.

10. The 3. p. sing. pret. ind. of weak verbs apocopates in over half of the cases, e.g., *schickt* 10, 10; *erlőset* 10, 10; *straffet* 16, 4; *anrúert* 71, 3; *begert* 91, 9; *fragt* 92, 3 (:*fragte* 10, 5; 54, 8; *erlawbte* 6, 2; *hete* 'hatte' 31, 2; *gleichte* 58, 11).

f) Excrescent vowels.—

§ 118. *a*) *i* is developed as a glide between *l*, *n*, and a guttural, e.g., *plaspálig* 'Blasbälge' 75, 3; *wechslpálig* 29, 7; *voligen* 78, 10; *voligt* 5, 3; *voligsam* 38, 5 (:*volgt* 24, 10); *vertiligen* 12, 4; *monich* 41, 5; *milich* 68, 9. For *kelich*, *solich*, see § 44.

b) *e* is developed before *n*, *l*, *r*, e.g., *steren* 'Sterne' 14, 12; *zoren* 21, 5; *hyren* 27, 8 (:*hyrn* 22, 3); *geren* 'gern' 97, 9; *von ferren* 25, 1; *garenhaspel* 91, 7; *karels* (name) 85, 6; *Karelstat* (name) 8, 2; 16, 6; *sawer* 16, 4 (:*sawr* 16, 4); *pawer* 12, 9 (:*pawr* 41, 4, *pawrn* [d. sing.] 45, 11); *fewer* 19, 10 (:*fewr* 7, 7; *sawrm* 4, 15).

c) *-e* is analogically attached to the 3. p. sing. pret. ind. of strong verbs. There are but few cases: *gabe* 69, 6; *stůende* 84, 7; 88, 6; *gienge* 24, 6; 81, 4; 88, 6 (:*stuend* 5×; *gab* 14×; *gieng* 9×).

d) For the -e in *wege* (n. sing.) cf. § 117.

CHAPTER 3. CONSONANTS

A. VARIATION AND CHANGES

a) VARIATION IN SPELLING

§ 119. There is considerable fluctuation in the writing of the consonants. The same word is often spelled in two or three different

ways on the same page, or even in the same sentence. The principal cases are given below:

jh:*j*, e.g., *jhesus*:*jesus*.

th:*t*, e.g., *thůn, gethan, than* (usual forms):*getan* 81, 5; *tâten* (opt. 3. p. pl.) 77, 1; *tât* (opt.) 37, 9; *Elizabeth* 36, 7:*Elizabet* 35, 4; *pisthūb* 73, 9:*bistumb* 13, 9; *thür* 42, 10:*tür* 42, 10.

Ch:*c*, e.g., *christus*:*cristus*.

j:*g*, e.g., *jach* (pret.) 11, 2:*vergicht* 8, 9. This is merely graphic (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*, § 63).

kh:*ckh*:*ck*, e.g., *volkh* 6, 6:*volckh* 5, 4:*volck* 4, 14; *pankharten* 32, 3:*panckharden* 10, 11; 29, 7.

kh-:*k-*, e.g., *khrefft* 41, 7:*krefft* 41, 7.

ck:*k*, e.g., *wickel, wickels* 30, 2:*wikel, wikels* 30, 2; *artickel*: *artikel*.

gk, gkh for *ck* in: *egkstain* 79, 1; *mugk* 86, 9; *mugkh* 68, 6.

z:*tz*:*c*, e.g., *zeschâzen* 22, 6; *zymmermaister* 77, 3:*zeschâtzen* 11, 3; *tzymert* 77, 3:*cimern* (infin.) 77, 3.

-s:*-sz*, e.g., *pûes* 72, 7:*pûesz* 7, 7; *has* 48, 2:*hasz* 48, 2.

z for *s* is rare; e.g., *daz, dz* (conj.):*das* (dem. and art.); *Ozeam* 'Hosea' 91, 1:*Osea* 80, 11; *nichtz* 4, 12:*nichts* (usual form); *etwaz* 42, 3:*etwas*.

p:*b;* cf. §§ 127, 128.

pf:*f*. *pfligt* 'pflegt' 6, 2:*fligt* 12, 4; *pfützen* 15, 9:*putzen* 19, 3; *empfâcht* 7, 8:*emfâcht* 93, 3.

d:*t* in the pres. part., e.g., *sprechend* 8, 6 (usual form):*sprechent* 17, 7; 30, 9; 56, 4; *sprechendt* 58, 11.

h:*ch*. *ch* is written in final position and before *t*, e.g., *verschmâhen* 15, 5:*verschmâcht* 11, 7; *bezeihen* 22, 10:*bezeicht* 4, 12; *siehet* 36, 13: *siecht* 19, 1; *beschehen* 6, 9:*beschicht* 4, 12. Other 3. p. sing. *beuilht* 24, 7; *beuilcht* 17, 13; *gerücht* 'geruht' 14, 11; *gerûche* (opt.) 37, 2; *gedeicht* 33, 3; *erhôcht* 26, 1.

ch: *zâch* 'zähe' 20, 1; *viech* 20, 1; *weich* 58, 6 (:*weihe* 94, 1); *beuelh* 'Befehl' 17, 7, *beuelch* 41, 4; *Weichnachten* 17, 6; *weichprunn* (='Weihwasser') 36, 8; *zůnâchnen* 75, 3:*zůenâhnen* 77, 5.

i:*j*:*y;* cf. §§ 11, 12, 14.

v, u:*f;* cf. § 13.

Certain words are always written with *v-*: *vater, vier, vierdt*

(*vierzehen, viertzigist*), the prep. *von, vor;* prefixes *ver-, vol-, vor-; vil; vas; visch, vischen; voligen; vol, vólle.*

Others always have *f-: für* (prep. and prefix); *fünff* (*funfftzehen, funfftzig*); *freyd; frey; fáhig; frómbd.*

c:*k*. As a rule *c* is found only in *ck, ch, ckh* and in foreign words. E.g., *cellen* 27, 5; *clarhait* 29, 5; *córper* 31, 5; *cossten* 32, 5; *caracterem* 32, 6; *Jacob* 37, 3; *Decembris* (Ded.); *glorificiert* 37, 11; *jsaac* 77, 10.

In words that are felt as native there is fluctuation, e.g., *creytz* 51, 2; *crewtz* 8, 6:*krewtz* 9, 6; *coron* 39, 14; 84, 5:*kron* 85, 8; *closterlewt* 79, 3:*klósterlich* 79, 3.

c in *Cisco* (the Hussite *Ziska*) 47, 6; *Dioclecianj* (g. s.) 13, 12; *saduceyer* 16, 4.

x is found in *sex, sexten; Saxen* 13, 4; *sáxisch* 63, 4; *wax* 29, 9; *wexelpanck* 52, 1; *pixen* 'Büchse' 87, 7.

In foreign words: e.g., *Text* 15, 4; *exempel* 37, 9; *crucifix* 85, 6.

b) DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS

§ 120. The following consonants are doubled: *f, l, m, n, r, s, t* (*dt*); the most frequent of which being: *nn, ff.*

ff: e.g., *schrifft, potschafft, fünff, zweiffel, schópffer, behellffen, verworffen, schlaffen, vorlauffer, gestrafft* 'gestraft,' *rauffen, auff.*

ll: e.g., *gehallten, milldikait, allenthalben, kallt, sellen* 'Seelen' 27, 7 (:*selen* 27, 7, usual form), *halls, allmosen, hillff, hellm, ellennd* 67, 1.

mm: Few cases, e.g., *abnemmen* 14, 10; *zenemmen* 36, 9.

nn: e.g., *sonnder, mennsch, ganntze, offennlich, substanntz, anfanng, gepeinnigt, krannckhait, kunnst, dienner, waffenn, beschaffenn, erworbenn, denselbenn.*

NOTE 1.—*nn* is rarely found in the final position.

rr: herrschen 31, 1 (:*herschen* 31, 7, *herscht* 25, 7); *Sarracen* 'Sarazenen' 8, 2; *Marran* 8, 2.

ss: e.g., *fesster, fesstiklich, lesstrung* 'Lästerung' 13, 7; *gesst, besstem, fasstenn, dursst, pflasster* 70, 1; *Hanssen Schobsser* (a. sing.) (printer of *Tewtsche Theologey*).

tt: e.g., *ettwas, gott* 4, 14 (:*got*, usual form), *wortten, erherttend, ortten, lewtten, wórttel, laittet, gepotten, tótten, reytter, beraittung, erlóstt* (3. p. sing.) 68, 2; *lawttend.*

NOTE 2.—But: *weter, vngewiter, pleter* 'Blätter,' *nater, petler.*

dt is found very frequently. It represents either Germanic *d* or *þ*. E.g., *fründtlich, hanndthab, nodt, empfindtlich, jugendt, gewandt* 'Gewand,' *enndtlich, grundt, pfundt, pfundten, saydt* 'Saite' 77, 13; *gefüderdt* (p. p.) 83, 11; *erfreydt* (p. p.) 11, 9; *verkündt.*

c) LOSS OF CONSONANTS

§ 121. Labials.—

p is lost initially in *fligt* 'pflegt' 12, 4 (:*pfligt* 6, 2, the usual form).

NOTE 1.—*p* is retained in *krump* 87, 4; *lamp* 'Lamm' 43, 11.

b is lost in *zymeln* 14, 8; *hast, hat* (once *habst* 39, 9); *erdenscherm* 'Erdenscherben' 39, 4 (cf. Isa. 45:9); *vnrûeig* 9, 7 (:*rûebig* 48, 9; *vnrûbiger* 'unruhig' 67, 5).

NOTE 2.—*b* is retained in *vmb* and its compounds; *lambs* 45, 11; *osterlamb* 64, 1 (:*lamp* 43, 11).

w is lost in *erkückt* 'erquickt' 26, 1; *erkückung* 26, 1; *aberts* 'abwärts' 41, 6; *rûen* (<MHG. *ruowen*) 68, 1; *kot* 15, 8; 70, 1; *solher; sûesse* Vorr. 4; *sûessikait,* Vorr. 3; *komen, kómen.*

Gutturals.—

h is often dropped in the suffix *-hait* after a guttural, e.g., *menschait* 5, 4 (:*menschhait* 10, 10); *keyschait* 25, 9; *swachait* 40, 12; *hübschait* 56, 1; *hochait* 14, 7 (:*hochhait* 58, 12); *schalkait* 87, 11; *kranckait* 32, 2 (:*krannckhait* 10, 13).

h is lost initially before *w* in *wer, was, welher, weder, werben;* often in proper names: e.g., *Ozeam* 'Hosea' 91, 1; *Ezechiel* 75, 5, *Ezechielem* 91, 16; *Ebron* (II Sam., chap. 2) 93, 1; *Abacuc* 65, 8; *Oreb* 67, 4; *Armonia* (d. sing.) 100, 3; *Armoniam* 88, 3; *ludwig* 98, 5.

h is lost medially in *Neemie* 13, 12; *Bertold* (Dedication); *Rûdbertū* 91, 14; *Rupert,* Vorr.:*Rûdbrechts* 91, 5. In some words there is fluctuation, e.g., *jheremias* (with an inorganic *h;* cf. *jhener*) 21, 5: *hieremias* 39, 6; *Hieremia* 43, 7; *Eluidius* 6, 10:*Heluidius* 15, 9; *Bernardus* 68, 10:*Bernhardus* 45, 3. *h* is always retained in *hebreiern* 100, 9.

ch is lost medially in *weyrach* 84, 2 (commonly *weichrawch* 84, 7); *laster* 39, 14; *myst* 'Mist' 29, 11; *nit* 'nicht.'

NOTE 3.—*ch* is retained in *gleichsner* 3, 8; *gleichsnerey* 13, 10.

g is lost in *kriesleütñ* 24, 8 (:*kriegsman* 24, 8); prep. *gen.*, e.g., 6, 5; 12, 3.

k is lost in *sant* 'St.' 5, 4; but more commonly *sand*, e.g., 6, 1; *süllen* 40, 10, *sóllen* 5, 6, *sollen* 2, 7.

Dentals.—

t is lost in *nichs* 86, 2 (usually *nichts*); *nichding* 'nihil' (always without *t*); *teüsch* 'deutsch' 92, 3 (commonly *teütsch*, *tewtsch*); *hawp* 59, 2; *hawpsünd* 25, 9; *hawplewt* 59, 3 (:*haubt* 13, 7; *hawbts* 41, 5; *hawbtsünd* 84, 1; *hawbtfeind* 55, 8); *zů lesst* 4, 15 (regularly) (but *zů letz* 65, 1; *zu letze* 62, 7, 'zum Andenken, Gedächtnis'); *awfrech* 93, 3; *gespensz* 15, 10; *tinckhen* 'Tinte' 60, 14; *ambleüt* 94, 2; *tugenhaft* 52, 7.

Single *t* is written in *weter* 25, 6; *vngewiter* 24, 10; *kitel* 50, 12; *nater* 20, 1; *petler* 'Bettler' 87, 4; *pleter* 'Blätter' 40, 5; *fastag* 'Fasttag' 51, 2; *gůtat* 36, 7; *gwaltrager* 91, 17. *hüf* (a. pl.) 'Hüften 12, 6 occurs without *t* (cf. Goth. *hups*).

d is dropped in *glüb* 70, 7 (:*glübd* 70, 7); *tugenhaft* 52, 7.

NOTE 4.—*d* is retained in *zend* (g. pl.) 'Zähne' 72, 2.

ss is simplified in many compound words: *auslahen* 'ausschlagen' 25, 10 (:*awssprechen* 7, 2). For loss of *s* in the gen. sing. masc. and neut. cf. § 116, 12.

s is lost initially in *prosen* 'sprossen, spriessen' 16, 6; *prost* (3. p. sing.) 10, 6; *wie die wurtz, also sein die pros daraus wachsēd* 45, 6.

Liquids.—

r is lost in *weld* 7, 3; *welt* 12, 2; *eysnen joch* 37, 6; *befüdern* 32, 5; *eruodern* 14, 12; *zum vodristen* 86, 5 (:*eruordert* 51, 4; *vordert* 77, 6; *zum vordristen* 86, 7); *hie* 5, 1 (usual form); *hieher* 5, 6; *hiemit* 9, 1; *hieunden* 5, 4; *hinach* 'nach diesem Leben' 20, 3; *hiewider* 6, 8 (:*hierauff* 11, 3; *hyerjnn* 7, 3); *nüechte* (adj. =MHG. *nüehter*).

rr is often simplified, e.g., *zerissen* 38, 8; *zerütt* 'zerrüttet' 9, 4; *zerint* 56, 7; *dareckt* 'darreckt' 49, 1 (:*zerrissen* 95, 10).

Single *l* is written in *heler* (compar. adj.) 28, 7; *keler; fal* 56, 6; *vileicht* 33, 2; *haylos* 37, 9; *gefalner mensch* 62, 1; *zůgestelt* 52, 5; *elpogen* 5, 5.

Nasals.—

Single *m* is written in *hamer* 39, 4; *himel* 25, 2; *stym* 39, 6; *zimermans* 38, 8; *Ame* 'Amme' 24, 9; *komen* (:*kummen*, *kōmen*).

n is lost in *nu* 4, 12, the usual spelling (:*nun* 36, 5); *die gewapten* 'Bewaffneten' 59, 3, *von vngewapten* 59, 3; *nüchter* 63, 7; *brümbleter leo* 'brüllender Löwe' 24, 5.

Single *n* is written in: *doner* 25, 6; *zerint* 56, 7; *einemen* 66, 5; *sonschein* 25, 2; *getrent* 69, 4; *vnsiniger* 40, 8.

NOTE 5.—*n* is retained in *verteydingt* 74, 3; *verteydingē* 74, 3; *vnderthaedingen* 74, 4.

d) EXCRESCENT CONSONANTS

§ 122. *Labials.*—Frequently *b* develops after *m*, or as a glide between *m* and *s*, *d*, *t*, *k*, *l*, *n*. Ex. *jch kumb* 12, 4; *fromb* 'fremd' 33, 7; *nymb* 51, 14 (:*nym* 7, 5), *růemb* 77, 11; *vngestůemb* 25, 6 (:*vngestůem* 37, 11); in all words in *-tum*, e.g., *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *suchtsiechthumb* 58, 6; *plůemben* 25, 4 (:*plůem* 10, 3); *pisthumben* 17, 6.

priesterthůmbs 13, 12; *jrrthumbs* 35, 10; *růembs* 4, 13; *embsiklich* 18, 1; *embsigen* 31, 6; *Kiembse* (Ded.); *kumbst* (2. p. sing.) 42, 10; *sambsztags* 51, 2; *frómbd* 7, 2; *frembd* 33, 7; *gezymbt* 'geziemt' 14, 8; *verplůembten* 16, 4; *reymbt* 31, 6; *berůembt* 37, 3; *geprumbt* 'gebrummt' 53, 3; *swymbt* 61, 3; *kūmbt* 4, 12; *verdambt; verdambtist* 13, 5; *mitsambt* 12, 2; *thumbkirch* 'Domkirche' 98, 5 (:*mitsamkait* 33, 7; *gehorsamkeit* 33, 9); *verdamblichñ* 14, 13; *nemblich* 42, 4; *brumbleter leo* 'brüllender Löwe' 24, 5; *versawmbnusz* 53, 3; *verdambnus* 53, 10 (:*verdamnusz* 13, 8).

p is developed after *m*, and between *m* and *l*, *t*, *s*. E.g., *schimpel* 'Schimmel' 75, 3; *schimplig* 81, 10; *kompt* 6, 8; *sampson* 'Simson' 99, 16.

s is added in *nyemandts* (n. sing.) 4, 15; *yemants* (n. sing.) 40, 1. The forms without *s* are rare, e.g., *nyemandt* 6, 3; *nyemand* 13, 10; *nyemant* 50, 11.

Gutturals.—

An inorganic *h* is inserted in many words; after *t:thůn* and in all the other forms, except a few; *thür* 87, 5; generally in *-tum* (e.g., *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *weiszthumb* 5, 4); *sathan* 14, 5; *hanndthieren* 13, 8; *thyeren* 13, 2 (:*tyeren* 20, 1). Initially *h* is added in *helia* 88, 2, *Helie* 'Elias' 63, 2.

Between vowels: *Jhesus* (rarely *Jesus;* once *Jehsus* 56, 7); *jhener; jsrahel* 38, 10; *jheremias* 21, 5 (:*hieremias* 39, 6); *jherusalem* e.g., 6, 5; *Johel* 77, 6; 100, 9 (cf. § 121).

h is not yet inserted in *eraischt,* e.g., 10, 5; 31, 6.

Dentals.—

d is developed after *n,* or inserted as a glide between *n* and *l, r,* e.g., *jnndert* (MHG. *iener*) 8, 6; *nynndert* (MHG. *niener*) 14, 2; *jñdern* 'innern' 65, 3; *nyemand* 13, 10 (commoner spellings are nom. sing. *nyemandt* 10, 7; *nyemants* 8, 8; *nyemandts* 4, 15); *seind* (opt. 3. p. pl.) 2, 3; *nahend* 'nahe' 24, 10; *syndlich* 'sinnlich' 10, 9; *syndlikaiten* 41, 7; *persondlich* 37, 9; *gwonndlicher* 64, 4; *kórndlen* 'Körnlein' 63, 11; *hûendl* (MHG. *hüenel*) 43, 8; *aindlift* 'elft' 11, 1; *fendrich* 59, 3.

NOTE.—*d* has not yet been developed in *mon* 'Mond' 25, 4; *des mons* 25, 4; *monschein* 21, 1.

t is added in the following words: *sibt* 'Verwandtschaft' 48, 10; *sybtschafft* 54, 1; *Bapst, Papst, Pabst; obst* 25, 4; *palast* 37, 9; *vorlangst* (MHG. *langes*) 14, 14; *jndert* (MHG. *iener*) 8, 6; *nahet* 'nahe' 20, 4; *nyemant* (n. sing.) 34, 3; *nyemants* (n. sing.) 8, 8; *yemants* (n. sing.) 14, 7; *aigentlich* 10, 10; *tawgentlich* 64, 4; *allenthalben* 52, 5; *ewrnthalben* 78, 1; *irenthalben* 78, 5; *seinenthalben* 28, 7; 100, 4.

In the 2. p. sing. pres. ind. *-t<d* by assimilation, e.g., *findestu* 38, 3; *nymbstu* 77, 14; later also *findest, nymbst* by false abstraction.

r is added in *gereyttert* 'gereutet' 81, 6; 100, 12.

NOTE.—The following words have not yet added *t: gespensz* 15, 10; *ytz* 9, 8; *yetz* 11, 1; 89, 4; *predig* 62, 1; *verdieñ* 'Verdienst' 27, 6; *selbs* and compounds; *hoffenlich* 91, 10; *offenlich* 37, 12; *wissenlich* 8, 4; *vnwissenlich* 20, 5; *ordenlich* 13, 4; *wochennlichen* 51, 2; *aigenlich* 8, 9; *wesenlich* 18, 1; *sachenhalb* 29, 7; *prechenhalb* 53, 10; *von vnsern wegen* 33, 7; *von seinen wegen* 48, 11; *von deinen wegen* 49, 12; *von ewrn wegen* 97, 8, etc. (='unsertwegen, seinetwegen,' etc.).

Nasal.—

n is added in *nun* 36, 5 (usual form *nu,* e.g., 4, 12); in many past participles, e.g., *erherttent* 36, 13. For other examples, see § 116, 6.

NOTE.—*n* is not yet developed after *r* in *albar* 41, 7.

e) ASSIMILATION AND DISSIMILATION

Assimiliation.—

§ 123. *n* is assimilated to *r* in *geergert* 27, 3 by metathesis for *geregert* (so 2d ed.):*regent* 77, 7.

n is assimilated to *m: newem menschen anlegen* 76, 2.

Partial assimilation is found in *frünckait* 'Frömmigkeit' 59, 1; *n* is here a guttural nasal.

nm>**mm*>*m* in *offem* 'offnem' 59, 4.

inb and *entb*>*emp*. E.g., *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *emperen* 'entbehren' 29, 12; 80, 3; *empert* 'entbehrt' 64, 12; 80, 2,

entf>*empf*. E.g., *empfangen* 27, 9; *empfliehen* 27, 9; *empfancknusz* 43, 2; *empfrembd* 51, 4; *empfrömbdē* 51, 4; *empflohen* 98, 9; *empfindt* 36, 9; *emfächt* 98, 9.

d is assimilated to *t* in *notturft* 29, 6; 31, 9; *notturftig* 41, 2; *nottürfftig* 46, 1 (:*notdurfft* 7, 7; *notdurfftiger* 41, 5); *tewtsch, teütsch.*

rz>*rr* in *dürr* 79, 7; *erdarrt* 90, 2.

m>*n* in *gewident* 19, 7<**gewidem*(*e*)*t*. Or **gewidem*(*e*)*t*>*gewidembt*, e.g., 27, 9, where *m* is retained, and a glide developed between *m* and *t*.

gewidembt>*gewibembt*, e.g., 31, 6, in which *d* was assimilated to the following *b*.

NOTE 1.—From *gewibembt* was formed the analogical form *gewibent*, e.g., 19, 9; 32, 5; 56, 9; 58, 7; 85, 5; 87, 7 (see § 116, 6).

In *bábel* 'Weibel' 59, 3 *w*- was assimilated to *b*.

seydenmal 52, 1<**seyddemmal* <*seyt dem mal*. *t* is assimilated to *d;* and *m*>*n* by dissimilation.

hast (2. p. sing.) 21, 5<**hasst*<*habst* 39, 9.

ld>*ll*, e.g., *bemellt* (<*melden*) 48, 12; *gemellt* 5, 3; *yetzbemelte* 40, 10 (:*gemeldet* 30, 7; *gemelldet* 43, 17).

db>**pp*>*p* in *Rüprechts* 13, 5. For other forms of this name, see §§ 121, 125.

Partial assimilation is found in *sand* 'St.' 6, 1 (:*sant* 5, 4); *wolde* 'wollte' 19, 10; *panckharden* 10, 11; 29, 7 (:*pankharten* 32, 3); *das hinder* 'hintere' 31, 5; *vnder* 'unter'; *gebürd* 'gebührt' 24, 7.

gh>*kh* in the suffix *ikhait*, or more commonly *-ikait;* e.g., *ainikhait* 14, 7; *sälikhait* 10, 12; *gerechtikait* 4, 12; *ewikait* 5, 7; *rainikait* 8, 3; *nichtikait* 11, 9; *billikait* 33, 7 (always *billich*, e.g., 4, 13).

Unassimilated forms are very rare, e.g., *ainighait* 22, 1; *traghait* 25, 7.

Analogical forms are common, e.g., *nichtigkhait* 32, 7; *sâligkhait* 44, 6; *widerwârtigkait* 33, 10; *nichtigkait* 25, 10; *frâssigkait* 76, 7 (:*fraszhait* 36, 11); *trawrigkait* 53, 4; *ewigkait* 28, 7; *frünckait* 'Frömmigkeit' 59, 1.

NOTE 2.—Regular phonetic forms are *eytelhait* 'Eitelkeit' 37, 1; 85, 5, *eytlhait* 45, 5; *mitsamhait* 44, 3.

sd>*st*; *d* becoming voiceless in 2. p. sing. of verbs, e.g., *bleibstu* 43, 6; *zewchstu* 28, 3; *findestu* 38, 3; *nymbstu* 77, 14; *siehestu* 29, 13.

The following are not yet assimilated: *lamp* 'Lamm' 43, 11; 53, 3; *hochfart* 43, 14; *krump* 28, 6; *krumper* 50, 11; *krumpen* 92, 4; *lambs* 60, 11; *anpas* (MHG. *anebōz*) 75, 3; *ympen* (MHG. *imbe, impe*) 91, 7.

Voiced and voiceless consonants are frequently found together medially, e.g., *abprechung* 76, 5; *abpitten* 83, 1; *erdpodñ* 51, 16; *ôlperg* 64, 1; *wechselpanck* 77, 4; dentals+labials in *inprünstiklich* 56, 4; *todenpar* 'Totenbahre' 71, 3; *awgenplick* 79, 8; *anplick* 81, 10; *vnpündig* 98, 10; voiceless letters between vowels: *zepeschliessen* 68, 3; *grüpeln* 'grübeln' 68, 5.

Dissimilation.—

mm>*nm* in *seydenmal* 52, 1 (<**seyt dem mal.*)

r>*l* in *mürmeln* (Lat. *murmurāre*) 39, 4; *murmel* (opt.) 40, 1; *gemurmelt* 53, 2.

The plural *würmel* Vorr. 3 may be for **würmer*. But it probably is a diminutive, although the sense does not require a diminutive; for *geergert*<**geregert*<**geregent*, cf. § 125.

almosner 87, 5 (rather than **almosler*) cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*[3], § 240.

In the following words one of two similar consonants has been lost: *teüsch* 92, 3 (:*teütsch* 8, 8); *ch* is lost in *weyrach* 84, 2 (but commonly *weichrawch*, e.g., 84, 7. *r* is lost in *vodrist* 9, 3; *eruodern* 14, 12; *befüdert* 11, 9 (:*erfordert* 10, 1); *eruodrung* 17, 11; *der voder* 6, 8 (:*vorder* 6, 8). *n* is lost in *vernuft* 7, 1; *vernüfftigen* 10, 9 (:*vernunfft* 10, 9; *vernünfftigen* 11, 1); cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*[3], § 236.

NOTE 3.—The form *gewingt* (e.g., 22, 5) might also be explained as a dissimilation of the dental *t* and the dental nasal, the latter becoming a gutteral nasal. But we have *gewingen* 16, 1 (cf. § 142).

f) NASALIZATION

§ 124. *sonst* 18, 1<*vmbe sus.* (Cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*[3], § 163.) *heiling* 'Heiligen' 9, 3; 13, 5; *galing* 'Galgen' 2, 3; *gǻling* (n. pl.) 89, 3; *aiñ aussetzing* 'einen Aussätzigen' 53, 4; *aussetzing* (d. pl.) 73, 4; *gesengung* 'Segnung' 87, 5; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *vrbering* 34, 9 (MHG. *vrbarigen*).

g) METATHESIS

§ 125. *geergert* 'geregnet' 27, 3 for **geregert*<**geregent* by dissimilation (cf. § 123); *Birgitta* 91, 14:*Brigitta* 84, 6; *-berht*>*-brecht* in *sand Růdbrechts*, Vorr.; 91, 5:*Bertold* (Vorr. and Ded.)<*Berht-; *Růdbertū* 91, 14.

Cases of apparent metathesis are: *hieremias* 39, 6:*jheremias* 21, 5; *jherusalem* 6, 5 (<**hierusalem*); *jheronimo* 65, 10 (<**hieronimo*); *heiling* 'Heiligen'; *gesengung* 'Segnung.' For these cf. §§ 121, 122, above.

h) GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

§ 126. The following verbs exhibit grammatical change: *h*:*g*. *bezeihen* 22, 10:*bezigen* 15, 4, *vertzigen* 16, 3; *gedeihen* 12, 4:*gedigen* 17, 8; *ziehen* 5, 4:*gezogen* 6, 5; *slahen* (and compounds, e.g., *ratslahen* 41, 6):*ratslagñ* (inf.) 41, 6; *erslůeg* 64, 11; *geschlagen* 9, 1; *geslagen* 71, 1; *erschlagen* 17, 13; *empfahen* (regular form, e.g., 7, 8), *anzefahñ* 22, 8:*empfangen* (inf.) 6, 2; (p. p.) 5, 1; 6, 2; *empfieng* (3. p. sing.) 24, 2; 47, 9; 64, 7; *gefangen* 10, 12.

d:*t*. *meiden* 30, 3:*gemiten* 59, 5, *vermiten* 44, 8; *leiden* Vorr. 2; 3, 8:*geliten* 6, 6; *schneiden* 15, 6:*abgeschniten* 6, 4.

s:*r*. *zeuerliesen* 36, 10:*verlieren* 40, 6; *verlorñ* 9, 3; *erkiesen* 98, 2: *auserkoren* 99, 16; *wesen* 20, 2 (subst.), *was* (1. p. sing.) 34, 2; 85, 10; (3. p. sing.) always *s* except: *war* 2, 7; *waren wir* 32, 6; 33, 9.

B. THE WEST GERMANIC CONSONANTS

a) LABIALS

Germ. *b*

§ 127. Initially >*p*:*plôd* 4, 12; *pitten* 4, 12; *prot* 4, 15; *pachen* 'backen' 4, 15; *pewgt* 6, 8; *pild* 6, 10; *plůem* 10, 3; *pawer* 12, 9; *půech* 12, 2; *parmhertzikait* 21, 4 (:*barmhertzig* 32, 3, once); *pier* 'Bier' 63, 7; *prust* 72, 8; *panyr* 'Banner' 72, 8; *pusawn* 88, 5; *prand* 47, 6.

>*b* in *be-* (but *zepeschliessen* 68, 3); *bey* (prep. and prefix); *bin* (once, *pin* 2, 3), *bist, bis* (prep.), *bas, besser* (:*pesser* 29, 3); *bringen* (all forms); *brawch, brawchen; burgerlich; brief; Bibel.*

Fluctuation in *Bapst* 6, 7:*Papst* 6, 6, *Pabst* 17, 12; *botschaft* 5, 1: *potschafft* 5, 3; *bistumb* 13, 9:*pisthumben* 17, 6; *Bischof* 6, 3:*Pischof* 6, 6.

Medially>*p*, even between vowels and liquids, e.g., *verplendt* 4, 12; *verporgen* 4, 13; *gepunden* 5, 4; *elpogen* 5, 5; *abpet* 'Abbitte' 4, 15; *erdpoden* 100, 9; *herfürpricht* 15, 7 (:*fürbricht* 8, 8); *anpiettung* 13, 2; *eepruch* 13, 5; *verprennen* 13, 10; *zerpissen* 34, 7; *anplickh* 35, 7; *grüpeln* 'grübeln' 68, 5; *ölperg* 64, 1; *Regenspurg* 86, 4.

>*b* in *haben, heben, geben, ambt, leben, lebentig, sterben, werben, salbung, verbringen, bringen* (all forms); *gebür* 7, 8; *gebürt* 17, 7; *kálbel* 13, 2; *ain habern* 'Hafer' 34, 11; *hawbts* 41, 5 (:*hawps* 28, 6); *swebel* 'Schwefel' 44, 10; *nachbariñ* 40, 5.

Prefixes: *ab-, vmb-, vber-;* suffix, *-bar.*

Finally >*b:* e.g., *tawb* 'Taube' 6, 4; *weib* 7, 6; *leib* 11, 6; *pûchstab* 12, 2; *lawb* 19, 5; *kalb* 60, 14; *osterlamb* 64, 1; *grab* 92, 2.

>*p: lamp* 43, 11; *krump* 'krumm' 87, 4 (also *krumpen* 92, 4); *haup* 25, 9 (:*haupt* 83, 1; *haubt*).

enb->*emp-* in *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *entb-*> *emp-* in *empert* 'entbehrt' 80, 3, *emperen* 'entbehren' 35, 1.

Loss of *b*, cf. § 121.

Excrescent *b*, cf. § 122.

For *b*:*w*, cf. § 130.

Germ. *p*

§ 128. Initially *p*>*pf*, e.g., *pflicht* 46, 5; *pflichtig* 13, 1; *pfligt* 'pflegt' 6, 2; *pflûeg* 13, 6; *pferd* 42, 1; *pfund* 50, 13; *pfal ins fleisch* 51, 18; *pflantzen* 56, 3; *pfaff* 58, 13; *pfaffman* 13, 8; *pfenning* 13, 8; *pfister* 'Bäckerei' 63, 1; *pfaidē* (MHG. *pfeit*) 74, 8; *pfrûendt* 64, 5; *pflasster* 70, 1.

>*f* in *fligt* 'pflegt' 12, 4 (:*pfligt*).

Medially *p*>*ff:* Ex. *schlaffen* 'schlafen' 14, 14; *begriffen* 9, 2; *tauffer* 8, 3; *scherffe* 31, 7; *sawffen* 36, 11.

pp>*pf.* Ex. *schôpfer* 5, 4; *tempfen* 9, 4; *apfel* Vorr. 3; *tropfen* 40, 4; *opfern* 50, 11; *kupfer* 26, 1, *kupfrein* 20, 1; *scherpffisten* 55, 8; *gestumpfft* Vorr. 3.

Fluctuation between *ff* and *pf* in *klopfen* 36, 8:*ankloffen* 77, 5; *fûestopffen* 71, 7:*fûesstaffen* 53, 4; 71, 6; 73, 7; *schópfen* 17, 4; 54, 9; *zeschópffen* 73, 15:*schóffen* 77, 1.

Finally *p*>*pf*, *pff*, e.g., *geschópf* 5, 1; *geschópff* 7, 1; *kopfs* 14, 9; *kopff* 15, 1; *tâmpf* 25, 6; *tempft* 36, 1; *kampf* 35, 1; *plûetstropf* 54, 3; *hârpf* 'Harfe' 77, 13.

>*f*, *ff*. *lauf* 11, 6; *scharf* 15, 3, *scharff* 11, 2; *tawf* 15, 10; *pischof* 17, 12; *dorf* 37, 9; *scherff* 58, 13.

p>*b* in *brûefen* 30, 5 (:*prûefen* 7, 8); *gebrûeft* 27, 10 (:*geprûefft* 32, 7).

ps>*bs* in *lebsen* 'Lefsen' 4, 14; 5, 6.

p remains unshifted in *porten* 11, 5; *putzen* 'Pfütze' (a. sing.) 19, 3 (:*pfützen* 15, 9) (Hirt in Weigand, *D.W.*[5], II, 419, gives *putze* as Middle German); *geplündert* Vorr. 2.

sp remains in *spera* 'Sphäre' 25, 1.

pt>*ft* in *geschôft* 'geschöpft' 17, 10.

For excrescent *p*, see § 122.

Germ. *f*

§ 129. Germ. *f* generally remains (for *f*:*v*, see §§ 13, 119). E.g., *für*, *fallen*, *fünft*, *faren*; *festen*, *feder* 12, 2; *fûessen* 13, 6; *vierd* 5, 4; *vas* 7, 5; *vater* 7, 8; *volgen* 13, 10; *viech* 20, 1; *vesstiklich* 24, 3; *vischen* 26, 3; *gefunden* 12, 9; *fürfallen* 6, 5; *beuestigung* 11, 1; *zûeruodern* 6, 5.

For doubling of *f*, see § 120.

andf->*empf*-: *empfahen* 36, 12; *empflohen* 98, 9; *empfindt* 36, 9; *zûempfliehen* 35, 7; *empfancknusz* 43, 2; *empfrembd* 51, 4; *empfrômbdē* 51, 4.

>*emf*- in *emfâcht* 'empfängt' 93, 3.

f>*p* in *Luciper* 9, 7; 20, 1 (:*Lucifer* 19, 10).

NOTE.—Greek φ is often represented by *f*, *ff*. E.g., *fantasey* 7, 3; 19, 1; *Fenix* 16, 5; 26, 2; *Flegmaticus* 25, 7; *Steffanus* 62, 1; 84, 2. But: *Philippus* 6, 2; *philotes* 15, 10; *Caiphas* 6, 7; *Joseph* 85, 9; *Phinees* (Numbers, chap. 7) 79, 8.

Germ. *w*

§ 130. Germ. *w* remains, e.g., *wir*, *wellen*, *werfen*, *werden*, *hedwigis* 98, 5; *ludwig* 98, 5; *zwo*, *zweifel*, *swert* 11, 2; *swanger* 10, 7; *schwais* 53, 2.

It has become part of a diphthong in *fraw* 2, 2; *schaw* 3, 6 (cf. §§ 80, 81).

For loss of *w*, see § 121.

w>*b* in many words, e.g., *leben* 'Löwen' (n. pl.) 7, 1; (g. pl.) 23, 5; *milben* (MHG. *milwe*) n. sing. 68, 6; *bâbel* 'Weibel, Webel' 59, 3 (for the first *b*, see § 123); *rûebig* (MHG. *ruowic*) 48, 9; *vnrûebiger* 67, 5; *berûblich* 68, 1; 93, 1; *einspeiben* (MHG. *spīwen*) 74, 2; *eingespiben* 6, 8; 13, 10; *ausgespiben* 73, 5; *speibt* 28, 7; *albar* (MHG. *alwār*) 41, 7; *witib* 79, 4; 87, 11; *witiben* 85, 11; *hârber hund* 39, 2; *farb* 79, 7; *salb* 87, 7; *Balachey* Vorr.

w:*b*. Many words have fluctuation, the spellings being about equally distributed unless otherwise indicated. Both spellings may occur in the same sentence, e.g., *Die schuld bleibt albeg vnd zalung mûes alweg beschehen* 49, 2; *synawaffen* (subst.='cloth in which Joseph wrapped the body of Jesus') 87, 1:*synabaffen tûech* 64, 2; *gegenwurff* 8, 5, *gegenwürffenn* 7, 3:*gegenbürf* 25, 2; *gegenbürffen* 25, 6; (=Lat. *objectum*); *zůerwegen* 50, 11:*verbegen* 45, 11; *hohenawen* 'gegen den Strom':*nawberts* 'abwärts' 77, 13 (MHG. *nouwart*<*enouwe vart; ouwe, in ouwe, enouwe*); *gegenwürtig* 38, 1 (rounded<*gegenwirtig*, e.g., 8, 3, which is a narrowing of *-wertig*):*gegenbürtig* 63, 5; *glawbürdigen* 14, 8 (<**glawbbürdigen*); *haylwartig* 84, 1; *haylwârtig* 40, 3; *widerwârtig*:*hailbartig* 5, 5 (the *b*-forms are less frequent). Other words with *w*: *pueswârtige* 'buszfertige' 71, 1; *wandelwârtig* 18, 3 (=*wandelbar*, which is used synonymously in the same sentence).

b) GUTTURALS

Germ. *g*

§ 131. Germ. *g* generally remains in all positions.

Initially: e.g., *got* 4, 11; *gras* 19, 5; *gûte* 4, 15; *geist*.

Medially: *wege, legen, tragen, sagen, ainige* 12, 3, *flewgt* 'fliegt' 21, 8; *zewgt* 9, 1; *betreugt* 20, 5.

>*ch*: *aynicherlay* 10, 11; *flewcht* 'fliegt' 14, 3.

ng>*nk, nck, nckh, ngk*. E.g., *zergânklich* 11, 6; *junkfraw* 27, 7; *lønckweil* 75, 2; *gemainklich* 18, 6; *zergenckhlichen* 80, 10; *anfângklich* 13, 1; *zergengklich* 18, 3.

gn>*ckn*. E.g., *zewcknusz* 18, 8.

rg>*rck*. E.g., *perckwerchen* 13, 9.

gt>*cht*. E.g., *slecht* 'schlägt' 25, 10; *nachschlecht* 27, 2. But always *ligt* 4, 12; *erwigt* 'erwägt' 64, 9; *pfligt* 'pflegt' 6, 2.

gh>*ckh* in *Burckhawsen* (Index).

Finally *g*=*g*, e.g., *hertzog* 13, 4; *pflůeg* 13, 6; *taig* 16, 6; *sag* 17, 1; *anfang* 18, 3; *weg* 30, 6; *naig* (imper.) 11, 2; *volig* 40, 11; *betrieg* (opt.) 47, 7; *dring* 35, 3; *trag* 52, 3.

>*ch* in *ainich* 13, 11; *schlach* (opt.) 21, 7; (imper.) 51, 8; *billich*, *billicher* 39, 15 (always *-ch*). *g* is palatalized and becomes part of a diphthong (§ 72). For loss of *g*, see § 121.

g:*j*. *vergicht* 8, 3; *ausgeten* 86, 2: *jach* (3. p. sing.) 11, 12.

g>*k* in *kriechen* 9, 5; 15, 4; *kriechisch* 15, 3, *-gen.* >*-ing;* see §§ 124, 125.

Germ. *k*

§ 132. Initially *k*>*kχ*, written *k*, *kh* (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 75), e.g., *kǒnigen* 5, 4; *knecht* 27, 6; *kranckh* 35, 3; *kan* 39, 55; *kytz* 100, 13 'Kitze'; *khrafft* 7, 8; *khlain kindel* 24, 9; *khünfftige* 27, 6; *kherest* 28, 16; *kheren* 39, 15; *khind* 60, 12; *du khanst* 97, 8.

In foreign words: *k*, *c*, *ch*, e.g., *kårcher* 'Kerker' 10, 12; *kurtzer* Vorr. 4; *kicher* (Lat. *cicer*) 16, 5; *kaiser* Vorr. 3; *korherr* 79, 2; *kelch* 58, 11; *Kiembse* 'Chiemsee' (Ded.).

Clarhait 25, 9 (:*klerlich* 31, 6); *cǒrper* 31, 5; *caracterem* 32, 6; *coron* 'Krone' 39, 14; *cellen* 27, 5; *camer* 56, 7; *closterlewt* 79, 3 (:*klǒsterlich* 79, 3); *Jacob* 37, 3; *Cain* 30, 9; *glorificiert* 37, 11; *circkel* 38, 1 (:*zelebriert* 65, 8).

Chorinther 53, 4 (:*Corinthier* 90, 4); *Chanaā* 87, 1; *Chore* 96, 6 (gen. sing. 'Korah,' Num., chap. 16); *Christus* (:*Cristus*).

Medially *k*>*χ*, written *ch*, e.g., *sprechen* 12, 4; *rechen* 'rächen' 36, 11; *wůecher* 77, 12; *sachen* (d. pl.) 11, 7; *zaichen* 60, 12; *bůecher* 7, 2; *půecher* 12, 2; *marcheysen* (='Eisen zum Brandmarken,' I Tim. 4:2) 13, 10; *würchung* 20, 8; *würchlich* 22, 10; *gepachen* 'gebacken' 63, 2; *pachofen* 87, 4; *kårcher* 10, 12; *kicher* (Lat. *cicer*) 16, 5; *Machabeier* 12, 7; *Malachiam* 12, 7; *Ezechiel* 11, 2; *Manicheus* 15, 6; *Zacharias* 35, 4; *Nabuchodonosor* 43, 17; *Ewstachio* 43, 2; *Melchisedech* 65, 3.

ch>*th* in *Baruth* 30, 9; 78, 2, or scribal error?

Medially *kk*>*kχ*, written *ckh*, *kh*, *ck;* rarely *k*, *gk*. E.g., *ckh:*

merckhen 12, 1; *bedenckhen* 5, 4; *erkückhen* 9, 2; *schickhen* 11, 6; *wolckhen* 13, 6; *erstockht* 15, 2; *ackher* 43, 7.

kh: schikhē 12, 4; *schikhung* 14, 13; *verkhert* 12, 8; *geschikht* 19, 2; *erkhennt* 25, 6; *verkhünden* 62, 3; *türkhen* 91, 4.

ck: erkückūg 9, 2; *bedencken; hecken* (MHG. *hecken, hechen*) 20, 1; *zedancken* 20, 3; *drackñ* 'Drache' 23, 3; *lincker* 63, 3.

k: verkerten 20, 5.

gk: egkstain 79, 1.

c in foreign names, e.g., *Nicodemus* 87, 1; *Nicolaj* 13, 13; *Ecolompadi* 8, 2; *Eutices* 15, 9.

Finally *k*>*χ*, e.g., *spruch* 6, 8; *mach* (1. p. sing.) 7, 2; *půech* 12, 2; *joch* 13, 6; *pawch* 15, 2; *tůech* 30, 2; *gesmach* 'Geschmack' (here='Geruch') 39, 8; 66, 3; *wolgesmachs* 26, 1; *werch* 51, 11; *Baruch* 68, 6; *Amalech* 20, 9; *Melchisedech* 65, 3.

kk>*kχ*, written *ckh, gkh, gk, ck, kh.* Ex. *volckh* 5, 4; *stuckh* 6, 2; *erkückh* 'erquicke' 9, 2; *auszgedruckht* 13, 11; *glückh* 37, 10; *rânckh* 40, 4; *gedenckh zedel* 62, 3; *mugkh* 'Mücke' 68, 6 (once); *rugk* 'Rücken' 86, 9; *volck* 4, 14; *glück* 36, 11; *awgenplick* 38, 4; *drack* 'Drache' 24, 6; *volkh* 6, 6; *rokh* 51, 10.

sk>*sch: schaiden* 21, 2; *scherff* 58, 13; *erloschen* Vorr. 1; *schreiben* Vorr. 2; *schůeler* 7, 9; *schuld* Vorr. 6; *fisch* 31, 1; *fleisch* 10, 1.

sk>*s* (with loss of *k*) in *sôllen, süllen,* 5, 6; 40, 10.

k>*g* in *Gabala* 'Kabbala' 12, 1.

nk>*ng* in *gezâng* 'Gezänk' 16, 1.

Loss of *k*, § 121.

Germ. *h*

§ 133. Initially it was merely a breath, written *h*, e.g., *hertzen* 4, 14; *hanget* 11, 7; *hoch* 12, 5; *hart* 13, 6; *haubt* 14, 7; *holtz* 30, 3; *helm* 61, 3.

Medially *h* was a breath before vowels, e.g., *sehen, beschehen* 6, 9; *ziehen* 5, 4; *schieher gawl* (MHG. *schiech*)41, 2.

Before consonants it was a spirant, e.g., *liecht* 6, 4; *bracht* 6, 4; *nachsten* 14, 8; *siecht* 'sieht' 19, 1 (:*sihet* 24, 3); *beschiecht* 'geschieht' 4, 12; *zewcht* 11, 9; *viechs* 85, 4; *weichprunn* 'Weihwasser' 36, 8; *Weichnachten* 17, 6; *weichnachtig* 10, 7; *nâchner* 'näher' 50, 10; *gedeicht* 33, 3; *erhôcht* 30, 10; *gesmâcht* 'geschmäht' 15, 4; *solher, solhes, solichs* 7, 2; 64, 4 (3×).

NOTE.—The spelling *-g-* is found before *st.* Ex. *nagsten* 'nächsten' 7, 8; *zenaegst* 11, 7.

Finally *h*>*χ*. Ex. *jach* (='sagte') 11, 2; *sach* 'sah' 60, 14; *beschach* 65, 6; *beschech* (opt.) 7, 9 (:*beschehe* 4, 11); *hoch* 12, 5; *zâch* 'zähe' 36, 7; *viech* 20, 1; *weich* 'Weihe' 42, 9; *beuelch* 'Befehl' 41, 4; *beuilh* (imper.) 17, 1; *schûech* 39, 13; *essich* 'Essig' 63, 8.

Loss of *h, ch,* § 121.

Inorganic *h,* § 122.

chs is often written *x*. Ex. *Saxen* 13, 4; *sâxisch* 63, 4; *sex* 12, 7; *sexsten* 6, 1; *sexten* 6, 2; *wexelpanck* 52, 1 (:*wechslpâlig* 29, 7); *wax* 29, 9; 36, 13; *pixen* (n. sing.) 'Büchse' 87, 7.

x is found in many Latin words, e.g., *Text, exempel, crucifix* 85, 6

igh>*ikh, ik,* see § 123.

§ 134. For *j* see §§ 11, 12, 14.

c) DENTALS

Germ. *d*

§ 135. *d*>*t*, written *t, tt, th.*

Initially: e.g., *taig* 4, 15; *tayl* 6, 1; *tag* 6, 2; *tempfen* 'dämpfen' 9, 4; *tünckel* 'dunkel' 10, 12; *tochter* 2, 7; *türnitz* (MHG. *dürnitze*) 94, 13; *tron* 94, 10; *tât* (opt.) 37, 9; *th: thyeren* 13, 2; *thûn* (regular spelling); *thât* (opt.) 8, 9; *thûelich* 2, 2; *thür* 42, 10; *thûmbkirch* 'Domkirche' 98, 5; *th* in proper names: *Thimotheo* 14, 10; *Therentius* 51, 18; *Thobia* 74, 9.

Medially: *vrtail* 4, 15; *lawttet* 5, 4; *vatter* 5, 4; *betriegen* 8, 6; *gürten* 12, 6; *getan* 81, 5 (usually *than* p. p.); *weingartten* 14, 12; *vertunckelt* 14, 1; *lebentigen* 14, 5; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *bistumb* 89, 8; *stâten* 15, 1; *elter* 12, 1; *abentmal* 62, 1; *abentessen* 62, 1; *wort, frewntschaft* 67, 7 (otherwise with *d*); *t* in foreign words: *apoteker* 26, 4; *betlehem* 74, 8.

vnderthans 6, 9; *wolthat* 16, 1; *vnderthâdingen* 74, 4; *bisthumben* 88, 2; *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *th* in foreign words: *parthey* 38, 8; *methaphysica* 12, 3; *Barthine*[9] 'Bartimäus' 87, 5; *Cathecuminj* 43, 2.

NOTE.—The present participle regularly ends in *-end, -und.* A few words have *-ent,* namely *sprechent* 17, 7 (3×); *erherttent* 28, 14; *nachuolgenten* 43, 1; the adj. *lebentig* is regularly written with *t.*

Finally *d*>*t*, e.g., *not* 6, 4; *plûet* 6, 10; *gemûet* 7, 4; *zeyt* 7, 6; *tausent* 12, 1; *wort* 5, 1; *leüt* 5, 6; *prawt* 17, 7; *tritt* 13, 6; *schilt*

'Schild' 64, 14; *gegent* 'Gegend' 30, 9; *gesunt* 28, 13; *jugent* 25, 10; *Karelstat* 16, 6.

th is found once in *eingedruckth* 59, 3 (may be a misspelling); in the names *Nazareth* 54, 8; *Elizabeth* 36, 7 (:*Elizabet* 35, 4).

tadel 11, 1 has *t-*, although Kluge and Hirt (Weigand, *D.W.*[5] II, 1018) give the HG. form as *zādal*.

d remains unshifted in *drincken* 78, 1; *drinck* 64, 8 (:*trinckt* 64, 8); *deüfel* 15, 2, usually *dewfel*, e.g., 13, 2; *tod* (adj.) 52, 4; *med* 'Met' 63, 7; *pred* 79, 2; *schnid* 'Ernte' 100, 14; *schaidel* 'Scheitel' 91, 8; *Karelstad* 16, 2; *dôten* (OHG. *toto* 'Pate') 59, 9.

In *nt* *t* became voiced through the influence of *n*. E.g., *vnd, vnder, sibend, hinder* 'hinter,' *wenden, hundert, hinden, hindan* 'hintan' 6, 3; *grundlichen, sand* 'Sankt' (less commonly *sant*, e.g., 5, 4); *feind* 20, 5; *freund* 46, 3; *hand* 20, 9; *pfund* 50, 13; *frewndlich* 72, 9; *frûndschaft* 72, 9; *plinden* 10, 5; *stannd* 6, 7.

After *l* we find fluctuation: *weld:welt; gelt* 52, 1:*gnadengeld* 89, 11; *wolt* 4, 12; 8, 9:*wolde* 19, 10.

d is found in the loan word *zedel* 'Zettel' 62, 3.

For loss of *d*, see § 121.

For excrescent *d*, § 122.

sd>st in the 2. p. sing. of the verb, e.g., *findestu* 38, 3 (cf. § 123).

Germ. *t*

§ 136. *t>ts*, written *z, tz*, rarely *c*.

Initially: *ziehen* 5, 4; *zwo* 4, 14; *zung* 11, 2; *zal* 7, 1; *zyl* 31, 5; *zymermaister* 77, 3; *zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2; *tz* in *tzymert* (3. p. sing.) 77, 3; *c* in *cimern* (subst. infin.) 77, 3.

z is found in the loan words: *zucker* 13, 6; *zyfer* 17, 11; *zerimonien* 33, 1; *zelebriert* 65, 8; *zinsz* 52, 2; *zinszman* 79, 7; *zedel* 'Zettel' 78, 2.

Medially *t>ss, s*, e.g., *wasser* 7, 1; *lassen* 6, 9; *essen* 2, 5; *wissen* 1, 1; *besser* 6, 5; *hasse* 7, 8; *nesseln* 34, 5; *fúessen* 13, 6; *hasser* 48, 3; *salsen* (d. sing. fem.) 'Salz' 64, 13; *hasst* 7, 8; *vergisst* 3, 9; *weiszhait* 5, 5; *vnderlâst* 52, 2; *ersprieslich* 39, 5; *gemâsen* 'gemäszen' 4, 15.

After *n, r, t>tz*, e.g., *gantzem* 4, 14; *hertzen* 4, 14; *zeuerkürtzen* 10, 5; *smertzlich* 32, 7; *Hertzog* 13, 4.

tt>tz. E.g., *setzen* 6, 5; *raitzt* 15, 5; *nutzung* 15, 6; *awfsatzung* 17, 2; *putzen* (OHG. *puzzi*) 68, 3.

z in *zeschâzen* 22, 6.

Finally *t*>*s*, written *s or sz*. E.g., *s: beslus* 6, 6; *gros* 6, 6; *vas* 7, 5; *das, has* 48, 2; *schwais* 53, 2; *pûes* 72, 7; *einflus* 14, 10. *sz: pûesz* 7, 7; *hasz* 48, 2; *swaisz* 33, 2; *daz* (conj.) 42, 4. After *l, n,* and *r*, *t*>*tz*, e.g., *gantz* 10, 10; *holtz* 30, 3; *swartz* 16, 2.

tt>*ts*, written *tz: witz* 80, 10; *nutz* 6, 7; *geytz* 36, 10; *kürtz* 82, 9.

tz in loan words: *pestilentz* 48, 11; *substantz* 7, 4; *experientz* 7, 9; *malefitz* 4, 15.

tz sometimes stands for *ts* in the nom. sing. neut., e.g., *gůtz* 'Gutes' 23, 6.

th for *t* is found in *sathan* 14, 5; *prophethen* 14, 5 (but usually *propheten*).

t is not shifted in the following combinations:

tr: trewlich Vorr. 4; *treten, vbertretung* Vorr. 4; *vertrawen, lawtter* 1, 2; *trost* 2, 2; *pitter* 49, 11; *zyttern* 43, 2.

ft: luft 7, 1; *krefftig* 9, 8.

st: stain, steen 'stehen,' *stůel, besster, obrist* 24, 2.

t: tz in geitikait 25, 9: *geytz* 36, 10.

For *t*:*d* see grammatical change, § 126.

For loss of *t*, § 121.

For excrescent *t*, § 122.

rt>*rd* in *gebürd* (3. p. sing.) 'gebührt' 24, 7; cf. also *nahend* 'nahet' 48, 4 (with inserted *n*); cf. § 123.

Germ. *þ*

§ 137. Germanic *þ* regularly becomes *d* in all positions. E.g., *das* 5, 4; *durst* 10, 12; *dorf* 37, 9; *drūme* 68, 7 pl. *drümer* 'Trümmer' 13, 7; *drey, drew* 'drei,' *reden* 5, 4; *brůeder* 6, 2; *tådingen* 11, 7; *feder* 12, 2; *nadel* 44, 11; *meldung* 12, 2; *notdurfft* 6, 6; *erdpoden* 100, 9.

Before and after *r* there is fluctuation between *d* and *t*, e.g., *drifaltig* 11, 1: *trifaltigen* 7, 6; *drifach* 20, 3:*trifach* 14, 1; *werd* 'wert' 51, 7:*wert* 55, 6; *gedroet* 72, 2:*getroet* 12, 4; *werden*:*wirt jch* 19, 9; *gerad* 20, 8:*gerat* 'gerade' 20, 4.

Always *t* in *fürter*, Vorr. 1; 9, 3; 11, 7; *tausent* 12, 1; *toner* 'Donner' 25, 6; *jugent, tugent, tugenten*, e.g., 22, 10; *troung* 12, 3; *troet* 39, 4; *betroung* 13, 9; always *tewtsch, teutsch;* cf. § 123.

plód 4, 12; *glid* 6, 4; *ayd* 14, 14; *mord* 15, 4; *klaid* 15, 7; *hayd* 17, 7; *smid* 39, 4; *zend* (g. pl.) 'Zähne' 72, 2.

dd in *widder* 31, 2 (OHG. *widar*).

Germ. *s*

§ 138. Germanic *s* is generally retained. It occurs frequently, e.g., *sun* 5, 3; *sam* 29, 2; *sehen* 5, 6; *wesen* (subst.) 4, 12; *vmbplasen* 44, 1; *haylos* 37, 9; *ros* 66, 2. In combinations: *wierser* 9, 7; 63, 7; *wachsen* 58, 5; *gaisel* 39, 6; *hals* 27, 7.

s>*sch* in: *falsch* 24, 2; *falsche* 13, 6; *gefelschten* 8, 2; *felscher* 9, 4; *fálschlich* 13, 4; *felschung* 13, 10; *falscheit* 16, 2; *herrschen* 31, 1; *herscht* 25, 7; *herrsch* (opt.) 33, 9; *erknüscht* 36, 14; *grosch* 40, 5; *harnasch* 48, 8; *faschang* (MHG. *vasenaht*) 48, 6.

NOTE.—Spellings with *s* occur sporadically, e.g., *fals* 'falsch' 13, 9; *falsen* 6, 4; *falses* 6, 4; *fellser* 9, 4; *faelslich* 13, 13; *falszhait* 14, 4; once *herst* 'herrscht' 22, 6.

The combinations *sl, sm, sn, sw* have become *schl, schm, schn, schw*, although the spellings with *s* predominate. In the case of *sl, sm*, and *sw* two-thirds of the words have *s*. E.g., *verschlossen* 6, 2: *verslossen* 19, 8; *beslus* 6, 6:*beschlusz* 15, 2; *slang* 20, 1:*schlang* 31, 2; *verschmåhen* 15, 2:*zeuersmåhen* 16, 2; *schmertz* 35, 1:*smertz* 32, 2; *beschneidūg* 16, 4:*besneidung* 6, 6; *schne* 29, 10:*sne* 26, 1; *schwår* 35, 5:*swår* 5, 7; *schwach* 28, 13:*swach* 21, 1; *schwester* 49, 13:*swester* 10, 6; *schwebet* 14, 1:*swebet* 8, 1.

For *s*:*r*, see § 126.

d) LIQUIDS

Germ. *r*

§ 139. OHG. *r* is generally retained, e.g., *reich* 50, 10; *werch* 29, 13; *werden, war* 'wahr,' *hertt* 'hart' 74, 2; *pitter* 'bitter' 49, 11; *mer* 4, 12.

rr occurs frequently. It may be either Germ. *rr* (*verwarrens* 'Verwirrens' 38, 7; *ferrer* 9, 2) or later assimilation or doubling (*dürr* 79, 7; *narr* 15, 7; *herrschen* 31, 1 (:*herschen* 31, 7); *herr* 26, 5; *des herren* 4, 13).

NOTE.—Many *rr* occur in the inflection of adjectives and pronouns as the results of syncope, e.g., *vnserr* 'unserer' g. sing. fem. 16, 1; *vnserr werch* (g. pl.) 19, 5; *sawerr* (d. sing. fem.) 64, 13; *besserr* (d. sing. fem.) 4, 11; *sonderr* (d. sing. fem.) 14, 13; *anderr* (d. sing. fem.) 19, 6; *anderr schrifften* (g. pl.) 13, 10.

This *rr* is rarely simplified. I have noted one case: *mit pitter rew* 64, 13.

For loss of *r*, see § 121.

For inorganic *r*, § 122.

For metathesis of *r*, § 125.

Germ. *l*

§ 140. Germanic *l* remains, e.g., *lerer* 1, 6; *halten* 17, 2; *vil, tayl* 6, 1.

l is frequently doubled, e.g., *behellt* 'behält' 7, 1; *gellten* 12, 4; *sellten* 16, 2; *gespallten* 28, 6 (:*gespaltñ* 14, 2); *gestallt* 63, 11; *betzallung* 49, 1; *pollicey* 40, 11 (:*policey* 40, 2); *gwallt* 8, 9; *alls* 'als' 11, 3; *allmosen* 36, 8. For other examples, see § 120.

r>*l* in *mürmeln* 39, 4; *murmel* (opt. 3. p. sing.) 40, 1; *gemurmelt* 53, 2; cf. Dissimilation, § 123.

l for *ll*, § 121.

e) NASALS

Germ. *m*

§ 141. Germanic *m* generally remains initially and medially, e.g., *mich, mer, nemen* 38, 5; *kómen* 9, 7; *vmb* 4, 15; *lambs* 60, 11; *rûem* 22, 5; *plůem* 10, 3; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *prosem* 'Brosam' 63, 3.

m is rarely doubled. Ex. *abnemmen* 14, 10; *zenemmen* 36, 9.

m for modern *mm: hamer* 39, 4; *himel* 25, 2; *semel* 79, 1. For other examples, see § 121.

m>*n*, finally, e.g., *preytgon* 'Bräutigam' 76, 6; *preytigan* 81, 9; *pawngarten* 60, 8; *hainrich* 98, 7; *Absolon* 74, 4; *Balaan* 38, 10; *Abyron* (Numbers, chap. 16) 96, 6; *Barthine*[9] (Mark 10:46) 87, 5; *cherubin* 85, 2.

m>*n* by assimilation: see § 123.

n is retained in *turn* 'Turm' 1, 6; 68, 8.

Germ. *n*

§ 142. Germ. *n* generally remains. E.g., *nemen, stain, zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2; *zung* 11, 2; *zepinden* 8, 7.

n>*m* in *Corozaim* (Luke 10:13) 43, 8.

n>*m* by assimilation, see § 123.

Doubling of *n*, § 120.

Loss of *n*, § 121.

Inorganic *n*, § 122.

n>*ng*. Bavarian *n* had a nasal quality medially and finally. This accounts for the change of *n* to *ng*.

igen>*igeñ*>*ing* (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 170). E.g., *heiling* 'Heiligen' (subst.) 9, 3; 13, 5; 63, 6; *galing* 'Galgen' 2, 3; *gâling* (n. pl.) 89, 3; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *vrbering* 34, 9 (MHG. *urbarigen*); *gesengung* 'Segnung' 87, 5; *aussetzing* 'Aussätzigen' (a. sing.) 53, 4; (d. pl.) 73, 4.

nn>*ng* in *gewingen* 'gewinnen' 16, 1; *gewingt* 22, 5; 28, 3; 32, 4; *gwingt* 33, 3; *gewinge* (opt. 3. p. sing.) 37, 6; *gewung* (opt. pret.) 15, 1.

But: *gewinnem* 33, 2; 81, 7; *besynnen* 15, 10; *zeprinnen* 97, 4; *zespinnen* 30, 2.

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ROUSSEAU DEVANT L'ÉRUDITION MODERNE

Ceci est un fragment d'une *Introduction* à un ouvrage sur Rousseau. Le problème qui se pose est celui-ci: Tandis qu'on se délecte de Voltaire, qu'on admire Buffon, qu'on plaint Lamartine, qu'on adore Musset, qu'on s'étonne de Vigny, qu'on s'amuse ou s'enivre de Hugo,—on discute toujours Rousseau. Pourquoi? L'auteur passe en revue les principales théories explicatives proposées jusqu'ici: celle qui ramène tout à l'art de Rousseau, celle qui s'arrête principalement à la personnalité du Génevois, et surtout celle qui fait de Rousseau un semeur d'idées nouvelles. Cette troisième théorie nous permet de bien juger ce que l'érudition moderne a fait pour éclairer le problème, et il nous a paru intéressant de détacher cette étude de notre travail final à l'occasion du bi-centenaire de Rousseau.

L'explication la plus persistante est celle qui montre en Rousseau un grand novateur; pas simple iconoclaste comme ses émules du XVIII[e] siècle, il aurait semé quantité d'idées neuves, dont le monde s'est emparé. C'est aussi l'explication la plus facilement vérifiable. On peut toujours épiloguer à propos des théories du génie, ou des diverses formes de la personnalité, tandis qu'il est aisé de contrôler si telle ou telle idée défendue par Rousseau a été vraiment formulée par lui d'abord; or, cet examen a été fait; et de cet argument, le plus rebattu, et le plus solide semblait-il, celui sur lequel repose vraiment encore cette critique la plus moderne disant avec Lasserre, "Rien dans le romantisme qui ne soit du Rousseau, et rien dans Rousseau qui ne soit romantisme," l'érudition n'a rien laissé debout.

I

Dans son *Roman personnel depuis J.-J. Rousseau* (1905) Merlant au I[er] chapitre, nous montre le roman personnel droit avant Rousseau, et tout comme dans Rousseau, chez Mme. Riccoboni (*Lettres de Mylady Catesby*, et *Histoire du Marquis de Cressy*, 1756) et chez Mme. de Beaumont (*Lettres du Marquis de Roselle*) et chez l'abbé Prévost qui se délivre indirectement des tourments de son *moi*, déviant sa passion en l'écrivant; et chez Lesage . . . . et à travers les *Mémoires* il remonte jusqu'à Courtilz de Sandras—pourquoi pas jusqu'à Mendoza?

Dans le genre "Confessions" n'a-t-il pas comme précurseurs illustres St.-Augustin, Agrippa de Nettesheim, Pétrarque, et Montaigne lui-même?

Le sentimentalisme était-il une nouveauté chez Rousseau écrivant entouré des auteurs de la "Comédie larmoyante," ayant lu Marivaux, Madame de Sévigné, l'*Astrée?*

Quel ravage dans la théorie du Rousseau novateur n'a pas fait à lui seul le livre de Texte, *J.-J. Rousseau et le cosmopolitisme littéraire* (1895)! Les œuvres de sentimentalisme du suisse Gessner pénétraient en France à l'heure même où Rousseau se révélait; celui-ci s'en inspirait dans le *Lévite d'Ephraïm* et déclarait Gessner "un homme selon son cœur." Et cette même voix du sentimentalisme, plus tard appelé romantique, avait retenti en Angleterre avec plus de force et depuis plus longtemps encore. La mélancolie de St.-Preux, on l'avait entendue chez Milton, l'auteur du *Penseroso*, chez Thomson (*Saisons*, 1730), chez Young (*Les nuits*, 1742), dans les odes de Collins, (1747), et dans l'*Élégie sur un cimetière de campagne* de Gray, (1751); les premiers fragments d'Ossian sont d'un an antérieurs à la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, et de plusieurs années aux *Rêveries*. Et quant aux romans anglais de Richardson adaptés et imités par Prévost, non seulement ils étaient là avant Rousseau, mais Rousseau en approuve l'esprit. Il n'est pas le premier non plus à admirer l'Angleterre (du moins avant de l'avoir visitée); ses interminables lettres, dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, sur l'esprit sensé et pratique ont suivi et non précédé les panégyriques de Prévost et de Diderot, les *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* de Muralt (1725–28), les *Lettres anglaises* de Voltaire (1734), et toute la littérature de vulgarisation des Huguenots réfugiés à Londres et en Hollande, et qui commença dès 1685, date de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. En 1742, presque dix ans avant que Rousseau n'entrât en scène comme écrivain, son homonyme Jean-Baptiste Rousseau constatait avec regrets les progrès de "ce malheureux esprit anglais qui s'est glissé parmi nous depuis vingt ans."

Et cet "esprit anglais" comprenait non seulement le sentimentalisme et le moralisme pratique, mais ce qui semble à première vue en être l'opposé, le rationalisme. On l'appelait au XVI^e^ siècle le "libertinisme" qui s'affirma au XVII^e^ chez les "déistes," Toland,

Collins, Tindal, Locke. Rousseau lui-même s'appuie sur "l'illustre Clarke" dans la *Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard*, et sur le "vertueux Shaftesbury" dans ses *Lettres sur la vertu et le bonheur*.

Tous ces Anglais du reste, se rattachaient directement ou indirectement au mouvement créé en France par Bayle—mouvement qui revenait renforcé par le prestige de tout ce qui était anglais, mais que les auteurs français n'avaient pas oublié. La raison, dirigée contre le miracle, avait été employée par Voltaire dans ses *Lettres anglaises* (1734), par Lamettrie dans son *Histoire naturelle de l'âme* (1745), et par cet abbé de Pradès (successeur de Lamettrie comme lecteur chez Frédéric II) qui déchaîna l'orage contre les Encyclopédistes en 1751, dix ans avant l'*Émile*.[1]

II

De nouveaux livres nous apprennent tous les jours combien le XVIII[e] siècle méritait son épithète "philosophique," indépendamment et bien avant Rousseau (Roustan, *Les philosophes et la Société française au XVIII[e]*, 1906; Tornezy, *La légende des philosophes*, 1911, etc.), et Brunetière retrouve même dans le *M. Cleveland* de Prévost, comme une édition avancée de la *Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard*.[2] D'autre part, dans la patrie de Rousseau, le théologien Turretini publiait de 1729–37 une série de dissertations latines sur la théologie naturelle, et en 1736 Jacob Vernet, élève de Turretini, traduisait son *Traité sur la vérité de la religion chrétienne* et des *Pensées* sur la religion, où l'on trouve ébauchées quelques-unes des plus importantes idées de Rousseau dans l'*Émile* (M. Ritter et d'autres supposent même que Rousseau a dû entendre prêcher Turretini). Quant aux idées de tolérance invoquées au nom de la raison contre les doctrines chrétiennes

[1] Il présenta en 1751, à la Sorbonne, une thèse, qui parut d'abord insignifiante; ce fut le public qui en découvrit les hérésies et s'alarma; deux volumes avaient déjà paru; on demanda rétractation. Pradès était collaborateur de *l'Encyclopédie*.

[2] L'expression même de "religion naturelle" se rencontre pour la première fois dans les écrits d'un français, Jean Bodin; la conclusion de son livre écrit en 1588 est la suivante: "N'est-il pas avantageux d'embrasser la plus simple, la plus ancienne et la plus vraie des religions, la religion naturelle (*naturae religionem*)?" Quant au nom de "déiste" nous le rencontrons pour la première fois, en France encore, et bien avant le *Livre d'Herbert*, dans *l'Instruction chrétienne* de Viret, écrit en 1559: "Ceux qui se qualifient du nouveau nom de '*déistes*,' reconnaissent un Dieu, mais ne rendent aucun honneur à Jésus-Christ. Ils traitent de fables la Doctrine des Évangélistes; quelques-uns prétendent croire à l'immortalité de l'âme, d'autres sont de la secte d'Épicure" (cité par Ducros, *Les Encyclopédistes*, pp. 39–40).

(catholiques ou protestantes) on les retrouve avant Jean-Jacques, chez les plus grands écrivains, Montesquieu, par exemple, et Voltaire, dont la *Henriade* est de 1723, l'*Alzire* de 1736, le *Mahomet* de 1741.

III

S'il est une théorie chère encore à des masses de gens, c'est que Rousseau révèle la nature à l'humanité. Mornet l'a écrasée enfin sous un formidable volume: *Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de St.-Pierre* (Hachette, 1907), et il n'en fallait pas moins pour mettre fin à cette absurdité que Rousseau avait inventé la nature. Théocrite chez les Grecs, Virgile chez les Latins étaient des chefs de files. Et les Italiens de la Renaissance, comment peut-on les oublier? Et Ronsard et la Pléïade, l'*Astrée*, les Bergeries, Viaud, Saint-Amant, La Fontaine, Madame de Sévigné? Vraiment, il serait plus juste de dire que le XVII[e] n'a été qu'un temps d'interruption dans le développement du sentiment de la nature étouffé par le Christianisme. Et Rousseau n'a pas même eu l'honneur de reprendre la tradition interrompue, puisque vers 1750, comme le démontre Mornet, le goût de la nature avait entièrement repris déjà, "le flot coule abondamment" (p. 19). Avant la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, les *Géorgiques* de Delille sont commencées, et Lambert a entrepris les *Saisons*, Rosset son *Agriculture*, et Lebrun un poème sur les *Avantages de la Campagne*.

Bien plus, ce fameux sentiment de la nature qu'on veut faire remonter à Rousseau, Rousseau ne le possède même pas. C'est ce que Mornet démontre fort bien (Livre III, chap. iv): "Il a vécu au milieu de tout ce qui pourrait ravir un peintre, et malgré tout, il n'a été qu'un peintre médiocre" (p. 419); son pittoresque est "presque toujours banal et terne"; du reste, Rousseau ayant fort mauvaise vue, il n'en pouvait guère être autrement. Et à ce propos, Mornet indique une distinction qu'on aurait dû faire depuis longtemps, et qu'il faudrait pousser très vigoureusement entre le sentiment de la nature pittoresque et le sentiment de la nature morale, les émotions spontanées de l'homme en tant qu'être moral et social. Nous ne disons pas qu'il n'y ait pas de rapport entre les deux, mais qu'on peut avoir l'un sans avoir l'autre, ou du moins développer l'un sans développer l'autre. Rousseau a connu et

développé le second très fort, il n'a que vaguement éprouvé, ou du moins exprimé, le premier, le sentiment pittoresque. Les auteurs anglais, Milton, Thomson, Gray, Collins, Young, Chatterton, etc., ont mille fois surpassé Rousseau pittoresque avant même que Rousseau parût.[1]

Mais alors si le Rousseau de la nature "pour les yeux" n'existe pas, le Rousseau "pour l'âme," le Rousseau des sentiments naturels dans l'ordre moral n'a-t-il pas été novateur? La science impitoyable répond encore "non."

Dès 1895 Lichtenberger publiait son *Socialisme au XVIII^e^ siècle*, un ouvrage bourré de renseignements, montrant combien les idées sur la bonté de l'homme de la nature, et sur la corruption de la civilisation étaient répandues au XVIII^e^ siècle bien avant Rousseau. Il y avait toute une "littérature sauvage" ou "littérature taïtienne," dont le plus brillant spécimen, le *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*, ne devait paraître qu'assez tard, mais qui avait été précédé de toute une série d'ouvrages analogues. *L'Histoire et description de la nouvelle France* du Père Charlevoix était de 1744.[2] Beaucoup, il est vrai, décrivaient des voyages purement imaginaires, et dans des pays imaginaires, et cela dès le XVII^e^ siècle—l'*Histoire des Scravambas* (1677), *Les Aventures de Jacques Sadeur* (1676), l'*Histoire de l'île de Calejava ou l'île des hommes raisonnables* (1700) de Claude Gilbert—mais ils partent des thèses que Rousseau n'a fait que reprendre, d'un âge d'or perdu avec l'innocence de l'humanité. Tout ce groupe de théories "rousseauistes" se trouve avec une précision frappante entre autres dans le *Télémaque*, si goûté du reste par Rousseau. Et c'est le *Télémaque* qui mit à la mode ce genre de fictions qu'on retrouve entre autres dans le roman de Sethos, *Histoire ou vie tirée des monuments anecdotiques de l'ancienne Égypte* (1731), citée parmi les lectures de jeunesse de Rousseau (*Verger des Charmettes*).

[1] On notera que depuis qu'on étudie Rousseau d'une façon objective et érudite, tout naturellement il est peu question du Rousseau inspirateur des poètes de la nature. M. Faguet, dans sa toute récente biographie de Rousseau, relevait lui aussi le fait que dans les *Confessions*, Rousseau tout en parlant du sentiment de liberté qu'il éprouve au milieu de la nature, ne "voit" cependant pas la nature. Il passe les Alpes à maintes reprises sans avoir jamais un mot à dire de leur beauté. Les îles Borromées, Venise, l'enchantent peut-être, mais ne lui inspirent aucune belle page.

[2] Pour d'autres ouvrages de ce genre, antérieurs même, voir Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1911).

Aucun ouvrage peut-être ne montre mieux comme les idées "rousseauistes" étaient dans l'air que la *Basiliade* de l'abbé Morelly, parue l'année même où Rousseau publiait son *second Discours*. L'auteur y attaque la grande erreur des philosophes que "l'homme naît vicieux et méchant" et soutient que tout, à l'origine, était calculé en vue du bien général; le "partage monstrueux" des biens de la terre est le point de départ de toutes les misères, et Morelly y propose le retour à l'état de nature *dont Rousseau n'a jamais voulu*. Les mêmes idées sont reprises dans le *Code des Mœurs*, du même auteur, sous une forme plus systématique. Turgot constamment exprimait des idées que celles de son ami Rousseau rappellent singulièrement.[1]

Avant lui, Prévost dans son *Monsieur Cleveland* (1732) brisait une fameuse lance en faveur de la thèse de la sensibilité des sauvages. Avant lui, Montesquieu avait fait une place de choix aux Troglodytes dans les *Lettres Persanes* (1721).[2] Avant lui, et dès 1704, Gueudeville, dans un ouvrage qui lui valut comme à ceux que nous venons de citer, la célébrité, *Dialogues ou Entretiens entre un sauvage et le baron de la Hontan*, s'efforçait à mettre en lumière les vertus de l'homme primitif. Il basait sa démonstration sur les affirmations du voyageur qui avait visité les sauvages "n'ayant ni tien, ni mien, ni supériorité, ni subordination, et vivant dans une espèce d'égalité conforme aux sentiments de la nature."[3]

Nous avons mentionné le roman comme s'étant emparé de la thèse du bonheur des innocents, et de la littérature sauvage. Le Théâtre en avait fait autant; la *Coquette du village* de Dufresny (1715), l'*Arlequin sauvage* (1721), et *Timon le misanthrope* (1722) de Delisle,[4] l'*Île des esclaves* (1725) de Marivaux, que Lenient caractérise "un chapitre sur l'inégalité des conditions avant Rousseau,"

[1] Par exemple, ces mots écrits à Mme. de Graffigny: "Dans tous les genres, nous avons étouffé l'instinct, et le sauvage le suit sans le connaître; il n'a pas assez d'esprit pour s'en écarter" (cité par Sorel, l'*Illusion du Progrès*, 1908, p. 182). Tout Rousseau, apôtre de la nature, n'est-il pas dans cette phrase: "La nature a mis au cœur de l'homme la semence de toutes les vertus; il n'y a qu'à les laisser éclore"?

[2] *Lettres* 12–14 et *Esprit des Lois*, V, chap. 5.

[3] Voir A. Lichtenberger "Un précurseur de J.-J. Rousseau, Nicolas Gueudeville," paru dans la *Révolution française*, 1894, Tome 26, p. 97.

[4] C'est là qu'on trouve les vers:

Tout le cœur des mortels lorsque rien ne l'altère
Porte de la bonté le Divin caractère

(cité par L. Fontaine, *le Théâtre et la philosophie au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, s.d., p. 129).

précèdent d'un bon quart de siècle le *Devin du Village* (1752). Il ne manque pas de voix, même au XVII^e^ siècle, pour prêcher dans le même sens; aux noms de Fénelon et Racan, ajoutons les noms de St.-Évremont et de La Fontaine. Quant au XVI^e^ on a trop souvent souligné la dette—on aurait peut-être fait tout aussi bien de se contenter de dire "parenté d'idées"—de Rousseau vis-à-vis de Montaigne pour que nous y insistions.

En dehors de France, et plus peut-être qu'en France, les rêves d'utopie sociales se multipliaient, depuis les XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles. En Angleterre, l'*Océana* de James Harrington parut en 1656, la *Nouvelle Atlantide* de Bacon en 1629, l'*Utopie* de Thomas Morus en 1515–16. Campanella publiait à Francfort en 1623 sa *Civitas Solis*. Enfin dans un admirable petit livre (*Gli influssi italiani nell' opera de Gian-Giacomo Rousseau*, 1907) Culcasi vient de tracer savamment et élégamment les liens qui rattachent le Rousseau sentimental rêveur d'âge d'or, du *second Discours* et de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, aux romans pastoraux italiens, et surtout aux Arcadiens de Venise, à Métastase, au Tasse, à Pétrarque.

IV

Quant à l'*Illusion de Progrès*, la vanité des sciences qui inspirent ces rêveries, elle a été proclamée cent fois, à l'aube des temps modernes, deux siècles avant le Discours de Rousseau *Sur les sciences et les arts*. Voici le *Progymnasma adversus litteras et litteratos* de Lylio Gyraldi, écrit en 1538; voici le *De Doctâ ignoratione* de Nicolas de Cusa (Bâle, 1565); voici le fameux *De vanitate scientiarum* de Agrippa de Nettesheim, de la même époque (1530). Et mentionnons encore pour mémoire l'épisode du réformateur Carlostadt, persuadant aux étudiants de Wittenberg de brûler leurs livres et d'apprendre quelque métier manuel, lui-même abandonnant le professorat pour la charrue. C'est le point de vue repris sans préoccupation religieuse par Montaigne, et continué par Bossuet, Fénelon, La Bruyère, Fontenelle (*Dialogue des Morts*), Mably (*Entretiens de Phocion*), et le Père Buffier (*Cours des sciences*).

Reculant encore de quelques siècles, nous retrouvons chez les anciens les même problèmes discutés que ceux qu'agitait Rousseau, et souvent discutés dans le même esprit que lui. Nous avons déjà

assez abusé des noms; mais pour qui douterait que l'esprit du Rousseau ennemi de la civilisation ait déjà passé dans le monde, il lui suffira de lire un tout petit écrit de Sénèque, l'*Épître* XC à Lucilius.[1]

On sait par Rousseau même, combien il admirait Plutarque (surtout le *Lycurgue*). Et oublierons-nous que les premiers sages de l'espèce humaine mettaient l'innocence de nos premiers parents au Paradis, en garde contre l'arbre de la connaissance du bien et du mal? Rousseau ne peut donc devoir son influence à ce qu'il est novateur en ces matières, puisque ces théories sont aussi anciennes à peu près que la pensée même.

V

Passons aux idées politiques. La situation est la même, sinon pire. Les travaux des savants sont fort nombreux. Depuis relativement longtemps Morley, Ritchie, Landmann, Liepmann, Faguet, Champion, et cent autres ont réduit à néant l'idée d'un Rousseau original en politique. À grand peine, l'un des derniers venus, Rodet (*Le contrat social et les idées politiques de J.-J. Rousseau*, 1909) sauve-t-il du désastre la théorie de la guerre, laquelle avait été conçue avant Rousseau comme un rapport d'État à particulier, et, depuis lui seulement, comme un rapport d'État à État—encore ces vues "nouvelles" sur la guerre étaient-elles contenues implicitement dans les théories générales du droit qui se répandaient au XVIII[e] siècle. Pour le reste, Rodet est d'accord avec les commentateurs antérieurs de Rousseau. Partout l'idée du *Contrat social* était discutée—et du reste pour le savoir il fallait seulement lire l'œuvre de Rousseau

[1] On y lit par exemple: "Les premiers hommes et ceux de quelques races après eux, non encore souillés de corruptions qui se sont introduites depuis, se conformaient entièrement à la nature, la prenaient pour guide, se conformaient à ses lois. . . . . La liberté les accompagnait sous le chaume; c'est dans les murailles de marbre et sous les planchers dorés qu'habite la servitude." "Nos délices ne nous coûtent que peu de choses, c'est aux délices que nous sommes empêchés." "Nous ne sommes travaillés que par notre luxe qui se révolte contre le devoir, s'irrite soi-même et d'un siècle à l'autre trouve toujours quelque folie nouvelle pour faire emporter aux débordements de son siècle le prix sur les vices des siècles passés. Nous avons commencé notre débauche par le désir des choses superflues; des superflues, nous sommes venus aux pernicieuses et finalement nous avons rendu le corps maître de l'âme et au lieu qu'on l'avait accoutumé de le traiter comme esclave, nous le faisons aujourd'hui servir comme seigneur." "Comment serait-il possible de vivre plus heureusement? Toutes choses leur étaient communes. La nature comme mère tenait tout en sa protection et le moyen de ne rien garder en crainte était de ne rien posséder en propriété. Pourquoi n'avouerons-nous point que c'était un siècle très riche, et vraiment un siècle d'or puisqu'il ne s'y pouvait trouver un qui fût pauvre" (Traduction Malherbe).

lui-même (*Contrat* ou *Lettres de la Montagne*) qui mentionne les principaux juristes aux vues desquels il se rapporte. Et chacun connaissait déjà la *République* de Jean Bodin (1577), la *Politica methodice digesta* d'Althusius (1603), le *De Jure belli et pacis* de Grotius (1625), le *Leviathan* de Hobbes (1851, 1668), le *Tractatus Politicus* de Spinoza (1670), le *De Jure naturae et gentium* de Pufendorf (1672), les *Discourses concerning Government* d'Algernon Sidney (1698), et les *Two Treatises on Government* de Locke (1689). Sous une autre forme, on discutait déjà le "Contrat" au Moyen-Age en commentant la distinction d'Aristote entre le *δίκαιον φύσει*, et le *δίκαιον νόμῳ*.

Et partout cette idée de "Contrat social"—revêtant du reste des formes diverses—était invoquée pour résoudre le problème du siège de la souveraineté, remis à l'ordre du jour lorsqu'on secoua la philosophie scolastique. C'est assez dire que cette question, qui est celle même de la Révolution française, était posée bien avant Rousseau. Le *Omnis Potestas a Deo*, que la Révolution ne renia point, avait été interprété au bénéfice des rois: *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*, disait le *Digeste*, et le légiste du XIVe siècle, traduisait: *Si veut le Roi, si veut la Loi.* La question se résumait en ceci: la *Potestas* a-t-elle été donnée au roi souverain directement, ou indirectement par le peuple en qui Dieu l'avait d'abord déposée? Dans ce dernier cas, il devait exister entre le roi et son peuple un "contrat" et il importait d'en définir la nature. Or cette idée que la puissance des rois dépend au moins temporellement du bon vouloir des nations, les théologiens s'en servirent. Auprès du peuple auquel ils prêchaient la soumission ils appuyaient sur l'idée que le monarque était le représentant de Dieu; auprès du monarque, au contraire, puisqu'il s'agissait là de faire employer le pouvoir au bien de tous, les mêmes théologiens ne craignaient pas de rappeler ce qui était un fait: le pouvoir d'un roi dépend du bon vouloir de ses sujets. Thomas d'Aquin lui-même au XIIIe siècle (*Summa*, xc–cviii) déclare déjà que le pouvoir politique concret vient du peuple.[1]

Au XVIe siècle, les Jésuites reprennent avec décision ce principe; Bellarmin déclare que le pouvoir politique est de droit divin; mais

[1] E. Champion, *J.-J. Rousseau et la Rév. franç.* (1909), cite aussi (pp. 12–13) la *Chronique de St.-Denis:* "Etsi centies negant reges, reges regnant suffragio populorum." D'autres remontent jusqu'à Grégoire de Tours.

Dieu n'a donné ce pouvoir "à aucun homme en particulier, il l'a donné à la multitude," et Suarez répète que "le Pouvoir vient médiatement de Dieu, mais immédiatement du peuple" (cité, Rodet, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85): de sorte que c'est la doctrine de Rousseau et la doctrine de la Révolution française qui servit au XVI^e^ siècle à justifier Clément et Ravaillac, assassins de Henri III et Henry IV.

Mais, fait bien intéressant à noter, pendant que les théologiens catholiques invoquaient le principe de la souveraineté populaire contre les monarques protestants, les protestants invoquaient ce même principe contre les monarques catholiques. Et comme au XVI^e^ siècle les monarques catholiques étaient la règle, c'est chez les protestants que ce dogme politique s'établit le plus fortement, il devint le principe politique caractéristique du protestantisme. Le fait a été mille fois constaté bien qu'on n'ait jamais dûment insisté sur les circonstances qui l'expliquent. C'est une des idées chères à Faguet "que le *Contrat social* n'est que le dernier et le plus brillant de ces ouvrages théologico-politiques des calvinistes qui vont de Jurieu à Burlamaqui et qui tous renferment le dogme de l'absolutisme de la souveraineté du peuple" (*XVIII^e^ siècle, J.-J. Rousseau*).[1] Ce dogme de "l'absolutisme de la souveraineté du peuple" n'était qu'une expression postérieure du dogme exprimé par exemple à la "Dispute de Lausanne" en 1536 par les calvinistes, le devoir "d'obéir au magistrat ordonné de Dieu *en tant qu'il ne commandera rien contre Dieu.*"[2]

En Angleterre, le passage de la doctrine religieuse à la doctrine politique se fit plus rapidement, de là le fait que les juristes anglais ont inspiré si abondamment les théoriciens de la future Révolution; cependant l'origine est la même. Ritchie (*Natural Rights*, 1895) montre très joliment comment le fanatisme protestant aboutit au protestantisme social: Rousseau et Locke tous deux, dans leur politique "résultent directement de la révolte protestante contre l'auto-

[1] Il l'a reprise dans la *Politique comparée* (1902), puis encore dans sa *Préface* à l'ouvrage de Rodet (1909). On la trouve de plus en plus souvent depuis quelques temps, chez les écrivains neutres comme Champion, Rodet, Gierke (*J. Althusius*, Breslau, 1902), et chez des écrivains protestants comme Choisy (*La théocratie à Genève*, 1897, 2. vols.), ou Vallette (*J.-J. Rousseau*, 1910).

[2] Jurieu dans ses *Lettres pastorales* (1586–89), "Le peuple donne la souveraineté, donc il la possède"; et dans ses *Lettres contre l'Histoire des Variations*, "Le peuple est cette puissance qui seule n'a pas besoin d'avoir raison pour valider ses actes." On surprend ici le théologien qui favorise le passage du terrain religieux au terrain politique.

rité de la tradition et de la réclamation de jugement personnel, c'est-à-dire de l'appel à la raison et conscience de l'individu."[1] Mais le peuple avait été logique avant eux. Wyclif prêchait que le juste est maître de toutes choses, "que quiconque est en état de grâce a véritablement seigneurie sur l'univers entier"; le peuple remplaça "le juste" par "l'homme" s'appuyant sur la bible comme le fougueux réformateur; ainsi dans ce chant réclamant les droits égaux de tous les fils d'Adam, et qui commence:

When Adam dalf and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?

Il était difficile en effet d'admettre le droit, voire le devoir, des peuples de ne pas se soumettre aveuglément à un roi en réservant ce droit pour les cas d'oppression religieuse seulement. Et en France particulièrement où l'esprit de logique n'a jamais manqué, on ne devait pas tarder à en voir l'application pratique générale. Dès le XII[e] siècle, le poète de ce qu'on a appelé "La Marseillaise du Moyen-Age," Wace, dans son *Roman de Brut*, formulait ainsi les aspirations des serfs écrasés par les barons:

Pourquoi nous laissons-nous dommager?
Mettons-nous hors de leur danger!
Nous sommes hommes comme ils sont:
Tels membres avons comme ils ont
Et d'aussi grands corps avons
Et tout autant souffrir pouvons.

On ne saurait dire exactement l'époque où pour la première fois la souveraineté populaire fut proclamée comme dogme laïque. Champion cite un orateur de la Révolution qui en appelait à un discours de 1483 dans lequel un Philippe Pot démontrait que c'était le peuple qui avait d'abord élu les rois, le peuple qui leur avait confié l'autorité dont ils étaient revêtus, et "que dans le peuple réside la souveraine puissance, car un État ou un Gouvernement quelconque est la chose publique, et la chose publique est la chose du peuple, et de la totalité des citoyens."[2]

[1] Morley considère le *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book I, de Hooker (1594) comme l'ouvrage qui servit de fondement aux *Essays on Civil Government* de Locke.

Morley, *Rousseau* (II, III), rappelle que, hors de France, Marsile de Padoue demandait que les lois fussent faites par la *universitas civium* (*Defensor Pacis*, I, XII).

Au XVI^e siècle étaient écrits le *Discours de la servitude volontaire* ou le *Contre un* de La Boétie, le *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* commenté par Bayle, et surtout la *République* de Bodin, ce "Novum Organum" du droit qui partait de cette thèse: "Nous appelons liberté de n'estre subiect après Dieu à homme vivant et ne souffrir autres commandement que de soi meme—c'est à dire de la raison qui est toujours conforme à la volontè de Dieu." Au XVII^e siècle les droits primordiaux du peuple sont directement ou indirectement reconnus par tous les grands juristes, sauf Hobbes; en France, il est vrai l'autocratisme de Louis XIV empêcha qu'on exprimât la doctrine ouvertement; mais déjà elle était irrésistiblement appelée à triompher et les théologiens orthodoxes même, à l'occasion en reconnaissent le bien fondé, Fénelon et Massillon par exemple. Il n'est pas jusqu'à Bossuet qui n'ait été forcé de faire une certaine part à l'idée de la souveraineté populaire. Il admet, dit Rodet, que le "consentement des peuples" peut légitimer après coup les usurpations des rois, ce qui prouve bien que les peuples possèdent une souveraineté légitime en soi. Bien peu de chose restait donc à faire quand le XVIII^e siècle avec Bayle d'abord, puis Mably, Morelly et les autres "socialistes" et finalement Rousseau, reprenaient la doctrine de la souveraineté populaire. On ne saurait même prétendre que le langage de Rousseau parût plus convainquant ou plus fort que celui de ses prédécesseurs; en juin 1791, dans *le Manifeste au Peuple français*, c'est un long passage de La Boétie que Chaumette emprunte; Voltaire disait et répétait, que celui qui avait rappelé aux hommes qu'ils étaient libres, c'était Montesquieu, dans l'*Esprit des Lois;* Champion écrit: "Je ne vois dans le *Contrat social* rien de plus hardi, de plus propre à porter atteinte au prestige de la royauté que le 'Chapitre des Troglodytes'" dans les *Lettres Persanes* (p. 26). Et, quant aux juristes, des auteurs comme Althusius et Sidney, écrivant en 1603 et 1698, avaient moins pesé leurs termes que Rousseau en 1762; le droit de la rebellion que Rousseau n'ose exprimer sans mille réticences, eux le proclament avec la dernière franchise; *Cujus est instituere, ejus est abrogare,* avec toutes ses conséquences, est leur devise.

Il faut donc conclure avec Champion: "Il n'y a là [dans le *Contrat Social*] rien de neuf: Rousseau ne dit que ce que l'on avait dit

et répété avant lui. Il dit même beaucoup moins" (pp. 59–60). Nous savons qu'on a voulu sauver l'originalité de Rousseau, en distinguant entre les deux théories de pacte social: celle de Locke, où le pacte intervient entre le peuple déjà constitué et le prince qu'il institue; et celle de Rousseau qui, avant ce pacte-là, en admet un autre qui serait l'acte constitutif même de ce peuple. Mais d'abord ce pacte "fondamental" n'a qu'une valeur toute théorique, personne ne peut contester et discuter l'existence de la société politique; le siège de l'autorité et la forme de gouvernement sont seuls des questions pratiques, dont, par conséquent, la discussion importe quand il s'agit de l'influence de Rousseau. Ensuite par son chapitre final du *Contrat Social*, établissant la nécessité d'une religion civile pour assurer la stabilité de l'État, il annule implicitement la théorie du pacte fondamental, base de l'état même, et il n'a pas été tout à fait inconscient de cette contradiction.[1] Enfin ce pacte fondamental ne diffère en rien du *pactum unionis* (précédant le *pactum subjectionis*) que Pufendorf avait proposé d'admettre en 1672, près d'un siècle avant l'apparition du *Contrat Social* en 1762.

Dira-t-on encore que c'étaient là discussions entre savants? Qu'on lise le petit ouvrage de L. Fontaine: *Le Théâtre et la Philosophie au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, s. d.), on y verra le peuple applaudir aux théories les plus révolutionnaires. Avant même que Louis XIV eût fermé les yeux, on insulte les rois. "Depuis l'*Œdipe* de Voltaire (1718) la tragédie," dit Fontaine, "ne cessa de s'attaquer aux rois, de discuter l'étendue et l'origine de leur pouvoir" (p. 22). C'était en 1734, que Le Franc de Pompignan, dans sa *Didon*, lança son vers:

Et le premier des rois fut un usurpateur.

La Chaussée en 1744, dans *l'École des mères*, disait: "L'égalité, Madame, est la loi de nature"; deux ans après, Marivaux donnait son *Préjugé vaincu*—préjugé de classe, et Voltaire allait faire écho avec *Nanine*.

Devons-nous rappeler que dès 1291 les vallées suisses *appliquaient* le principe de la souveraineté populaire; qu'en 1581 était rédigée *la Déclaration d'indépendance de la Hollande;* et que le

[1] Voir notre travail sur *Le manuscrit de Genève du Contrat social* qui paraîtra prochainement.

cardinal de Retz entendait en 1649, dans les rues de Paris, le cri de *République.*[1]

Pour prouver qu'on discutait un bon demi-siècle avant Rousseau, et fort consciemment le principe de la souveraineté populaire lorsque les destinées des états étaient réellement en cause, nous citerons un petit exemple caractéristique. En 1699, à la mort de la Duchesse de Nemours, il était question de réunir le pays de Neuchâtel à la Suisse comme canton; mais il y avait des prétendants au trône, surtout le prince de Conti et le roi de Prusse; alors parut un écrit intitulé: *Le tombeau des prétendants à la souveraineté de Neuchâtel et Valangin ou Mémoire par lequel on prouve que la dite souveraineté est dévolue aux peuples après la mort de S.A.S. Madame la Duchesse de Nemours.* L'auteur anonyme de ce mémoire prétendait montrer que le Contrat qui liait le prince de Neuchâtel et ses sujects, était libre, renouvelable et résiliable, et il revendiquait pour la nation le droit de choisir ses souverains et de les déposer. Le Mémoire fut du reste jugé dangereux par les magistrats et brûlé publiquement par la main du bourreau; et le pays de Neuchâtel devint principauté prussienne.

Nous n'avons parlé que de la doctrine politique fondamentale de Rousseau, il en serait de même si nous voulions prendre les doctrines particulières.

Ainsi Rodet écrit: "À considérer dans son ensemble la thèse de Rousseau touchant la propriété et ses rapports avec l'État, on est bien forcé de convenir qu'elle n'était pas une nouveauté au XVIII^e^ siècle. Sous des traits plus accusés et plus violents c'est au fond la théorie même de Montesquieu: la propriété est une concession des lois civiles et elle est utile et respectable dans l'état de société" (p. 202). L'idéal serait le communisme; cette théorie avait été vulgarisée par Grotius; Dieu avait donné la terre, source de toute richesse, à tous; mais la société s'étant organisée civilement, la

[1] On a voulu voir un précurseur de Rousseau chez Adhémar Fabri, prince-évêque de Genève, lequel en 1387 promulgua à Genève des "Franchises nationales" (J. Vuy, *Origine des idées politiques de Rousseau*, Genève, 1889). C'est une de ces illusions dont l'érudition moderne est fréquemment la victime. Il s'agit évidemment là d'un fait fort banal; de ces "franchises," étaient accordées tous les jours par les princes laïques ou ecclésiastiques du temps, à leur corps défendant du reste, pour conserver ou assurer l'obéissance de leurs sujets. Si Calvin a aboli ces franchises, ce ne fut pas par haine de la liberté, mais des conséquences funestes pour la moralité, et dès lors, la sécurité politique de Genève. La question est de savoir quand on a cessé de considérer ces "franchises" comme une *grâce* du souverain, pour y voir un *droit* du peuple.

propriété était inévitable, et sa garantie constitue le principal devoir d'un bon gouvernement; quant à la théorie féodale de la terre appartenant de droit divin au souverain, et concédée "par pure grâce royale" toujours révocable, elle avait perdu déjà tout credit sauf chez les intéressés. La théorie si chère à Rousseau des avantages politiques et moraux des petits états sur les grands, avait été formulée presque dans les mêmes termes que les siens par Aristote (*Politique*, vii, chap. 4) et avec non moins de netteté par Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, VIII, chap. 16) qui y ajoutait encore une démonstration de la supériorité de principe des états fédératifs (*ibid.*, IX, chap. 1).

Quant à sa conception d'une "religion civile" il est à peine besoin de rappeler que, outre qu'elle fut défendue par des philosophes laïques depuis Platon et Aristote, à Spinoza et Hobbes, elle fut à proprement parler celle de la cité antique où l'outrage aux dieux de l'État—témoins lesmartyrs chrétiens—où la simple incrédulité—témoin Socrate—étaient des crimes publics; elle fut adoptée par Constantin; elle guida les Arabes dans leurs conquêtes; elle inspire les Croisés; elle fut encore une des idées directrices de la politique de Louis XIV conseillé par Bossuet, après avoir présidé à la fondation de la Rome protestante. On a souvent reproché à Rousseau cette théorie despotique, mais sans s'apercevoir toujours que Rousseau quand il était en désaccord avec ses contemporains, ne l'était pas toujours parce qu'il devançait son temps.

VI

Nulle part, on a tant insisté sur les doctrines "nouvelles" de Rousseau qu'en pédagogie. Il n'est cependant pas plus "neuf" dans ce domaine qu'ailleurs, et le secret de l'influence qu'il exerça avec son *Émile*, ne saurait être cherché là. Ce serait pédant de remonter jusqu'au monde antique pour y trouver des précurseurs; cependant, devant la persistance de l'argument que nous combattons, il ne sera pas déplacé de rappeler au moins Platon défendant avec feu des thèses considérées généralement comme strictement rousseauistes; telles l'instruction par le jeu, et le bannissement, dans les méthodes d'enseignement, de tout ce qui pourrait sentir la contrainte; de pratiquer avec zèle les exercices du corps; et de ne point offrir de nourriture trop forte à des esprits trop jeunes; si

Rousseau attend qu'Émile ait vingt ans, pour lui parler de religion, Platon renvoie après la trentième année l'étude de la dialectique. Après Platon, les Stoïciens insistèrent sur l'éducation selon la nature. Les Plutarque, les Cicéron et les Sénèque défendirent sous une autre forme, ou seulement moins systématiquement, les mêmes idées. Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de mentionner aussi ce Père Maphée Vegge, que l'abbé Cajot, dans son zèle à trouver Rousseau coupable de plagiats, déterra dans la *Bib. SS.P.P.*, Tome XV (1622); entre autres points discutés dans le traité *De liberorum educatione* nous trouvons, 1er Livre: prescription aux femmes grosses d'un régime nutritif convenable; demande qu'elles allaitent leurs enfants; endurcir les petits au grand air; les pleurs ont leur raison d'être; tenir compte de l'âge des enfants, et éviter autant les bontés mal entendues que les excès de sévérité. 2e Livre: Ne rien hâter en éducation; ne pas commencer la lecture avant sept ans; moyens d'alléger les dégoûts de l'étude en rendant le travail intéressant; bien étudier le caractère de chaque enfant et se diriger d'après cela pour le conduire et choisir sa profession. 3e Livre: Les exercices manuels sont excellents, maintenir une atmosphère gaie au travail, préparer peu à peu aux études philosophiques; rendre la vertu attrayante; cultiver la frugalité.

Les analogies sont frappantes, on l'avouera. On dira peut-être aussi que ce sont là des vérités de sens commun; nous ne le contestons pas; mais si ces vues sont originales chez Rousseau au XVIIIe siècle, à plus forte raison le sont-elles chez un Père de l'Église. Et ce livre n'était probablement pas isolé même alors; Amiel (*J.-J. Rousseau jugé par les Génevois d'aujourd'hui*, p. 454) parle d'*Émile*, ouvrage hardi et neuf "moins radical cependant que son prototype du XIIIe siècle, demeuré inconnu à Rousseau, je veux parler du roman philosophique intitulé *L'Homme de la nature* qui a pour auteur Tophaïl, un des philosophes arabes de l'Espagne." À la Renaissance on discute avec passion l'éducation, et,—ce qui nous intéresse—les plus grands, Erasme, Rabelais, Montaigne, le font dans l'esprit de Rousseau. "Je trouve," remarque Montaigne, "que nos plus grands vices prennent leur pli dès notre plus tendre enfance, et que notre principal gouvernement est entre les mains de nos nourrices." En même temps, on faisait revivre pour

les commenter les éducateurs de l'antiquité, Platon, Plutarque, Sénèque, etc. Au XVII^e siècle les Jésuites continuent à remuer la question d'éducation et au temps de Rousseau la discussion était générale. Rousseau lui-même cite parmi ses prédécesseurs, et pour en approuver les principes, Locke (son *Livre de l'Éducation des enfants* [1793] avait été traduit en français par Coste et publié à Amsterdam, 5^e ed. 1843), Buffon, Crousaz, Duclos, l'abbé de St.-Pierre, Fleury, Rollin, Turgot. Rousseau en outre, avait "devoré," dit Compayré, les livres de Port Royal qui s'élevaient contre les Jésuites, représentants de la tradition catholique en éducation; chez Pascal même, il pouvait trouver son grand principe d'*Émile*. "Il faut donc qu'on ne puisse dire, ni il est mathématicien, ni prédicateur, ni éloquent. Cette qualité universelle (être né homme), me plaît." Dans la *Logique*, les solitaires s'étaient donné pour but aussi de formuler "non le grammairien, le savant en aucune science . . . . mais l'homme"; ailleurs, ce qu'ils voulaient avant tout apprendre à leurs élèves, c'était: "la science de bien vivre" (Ste.-Beuve, *Port Royal*, III, p. 544).

Si nous entrions dans le détail des thèses diverses de Rousseau, il n'en resterait guère parmi celles mêmes qu'on cite comme révolutionnaires à cette époque, qui n'ait été proposée, généralement mainte fois, avant l'apparition de l'*Émile*. La campagne pour l'allaitement des nouveaux-nés était en train depuis longtemps. Tronchin, Buffon avaient parlé avec autorité; et combien, moins connus, combattaient le même combat. Desessartz,[1] Ballexert, M. de Ste.-Marthe, dans sa *Paedotrophia* (1698) en vers; l'abbé Cajot (chap. i) en cite de moins connus; le Chevalier de Cramezel, Pluche, Panage. Et ceux-ci pourraient en appeler à des autorités classiques, Plutarque par exemple. On a trouvé des appels au sentiment de mère dès le XVI^e siècle chez Erasme (Colloque, *Puerpera*, 1516), et chez les Voyageurs (voir par exemple Jean de Léry, l'*Histoire d'un voyage fait en terre de Brésil, autrement dite Amérique* [1758], citée dans Chinard, l'*Exotisme américain dans la litt. fr. au XVI^e siècle* [1911]), et jusque chez des Pères de l'Église, *Favorinus*, qui au II^e siècle disait: "N'est-ce pas n'être mère qu'à moitié que

[1] Voyez une étude sur la parenté d'idées de Rousseau et Desessartz, dans le *Journal de médecine interne* par le Dr. Prosper Merklen, Janvier 1912.

confier ses enfants à des nourrices mercenaires?" (cité, Compayré, *J.-J. Rousseau*, p. 38). Les mêmes auteurs, presque tous, protestaient contre l'emmaillotement, et avant Rousseau un écrivain dans une brochure *L'Académie des grâces* (Paris, 1755) attaquait le corset: "On enferme dès leur enfance les filles dans une boëte de baleine qui soutenue par une croix de fer, met tout leur corps à la torture; on donne à leur taille une disproportion que la nature désavoue" (cité, Cajot, p. 336). Le grand principe philosophique (ou psychologique) du sensualisme de Locke et Condillac "nihil in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu" avait été proposé déjà par Malebranche, dans son *Traité de Morale*.[1] Rohault, Régis, l'abbé Fleury (*Choix des Études*) l'avaient adopté. Morelli en 1743 publie son *Essai sur l'esprit humain ou principes naturels de l'éducation*, pour prouver que l'enfant est sensible avant d'être raisonnable, c'est-à-dire, applique spécialement à la pédagogie le sensualisme; toute une grande partie d'*Émile* n'est pas autre chose.[2] Fénelon déjà avait développé clairement cette conséquence, qui tient tant à cœur à Rousseau, qu'il faut laisser affermir les organes sans presser l'instruction (*Traité de l'Éducation*, chap. iii). Dès le XVI^e siècle Rabelais et Montaigne avaient parlé avec force en faveur des exercices corporels dans l'enfance et la jeunesse, et du besoin de les "endurcir"; les Jésuites eux-mêmes y avaient insisté au XVII^e siècle; Locke en Angleterre et Turgot en France avaient repris le même sujet avec conviction; presque en même temps qu'*Émile* paraissaient deux ouvrages spéciaux: Desessartz, *De l'éducation corporelle des enfants en bas âges* (1760), et Ballexert, *Dissertation sur l'éducation physique des enfants* (1762). Quant à recommander que chaque enfant s'applique à quelque métier manuel, personne qui s'intéressait aux idées sur l'éducation n'avait le droit d'ignorer les conseils de Locke; l'abbé Fleury s'en était fait l'avocat en France; on aurait pu en appeler à Aristote. Ce n'est certes pas non plus le conseil de rendre intéressante l'instruction, et de l'adapter à l'âge de l'enfant qui a manqué avant Rousseau; il n'est guère de penseur intelligent de Platon et Aristote à Montaigne et Locke, qui ait pu ne pas le donner; bien plus, les "petites écoles" de Port Royal, l'appliquaient presque cent ans

[1] À moins de remonter à Gassendi.

[2] Voir aussi Vauvenargues, *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain*, 1747 Batteux, *Sur le goût*, et autres.

avant la publication de l'*Émile*. De même pour l'idée de faire apprendre par expérience plutôt que par mémoire dont on a tant fait honneur à Rousseau s'impose tant à l'esprit qu'on a presque honte de dire une chose si évidente: seule une époque où une philosophie scolastique ne consistait qu'en dogmes philosophiques abstraits, où précisément l'acquisition par expérience est impossible, pouvait l'ignorer. Cette conception était sinon morte tout à fait, certes à l'agonie après deux siècles d'assauts ininterrompus. Du reste s'il en était besoin, un compatriote de Rousseau, le Vaudois Crousaz, avait déjà assumé le rôle d'enfonceur de portes ouvertes: *Logique ou système abrégé de réflexions qui peuvent contribuer à la netteté et à l'étendue de nos connaissances* (Amsterdam, 1737). Ajoutons que dès le XVIII[e] siècle, Fénelon (toujours après Rabelais et Montaigne) prêchait qu'il fallait se guider en éducation sur le principe de l'utilité des choses (*Traité de l'éducation*, chap. v), et Madame de Maintenon disait à ses élèves que être religieux, c'est être bon: "Persuadez-leur bien qu'il n'y a rien d'utile à savoir que ce qui nous apprend à bien faire. Ne faites pas de vos filles des théologiennes et des raisonneuses; ne leur apprenez des choses du ciel que ce qui sert à la sagesse humaine" (cité, Compayré, p. 86). Avant Rousseau, Bacon avait déclaré l'enfant incapable de comprendre les choses de la religion avant quinze ans. Crousaz, cité tout à l'heure, recommande la temporisation aussi en cette matière; et Bonnet, l'adversaire de Rousseau en certains points, avait dit huit ans avant l'*Émile*, "Je voudrais ne parler de Dieu et de la religion à l'enfant que lorsque sa raison aurait atteint une certaine maturité" (*Essai de Psychologie*, 1754, chap. 82). Mais assez. Veut-on voir comment chaque idée pédagogique considérée par maints lecteurs de Rousseau comme originale, ne l'était point, qu'on lise ce travail du bénédictin déjà cité du Père Cajot: *Les plagiats de M. J.-J. Rousseau de Genève sur l'éducation* par D. J. C. B., à la Haye, 1766, xxii, 376 pages.[1]

[1] Soulignons à propos de ce livre une distinction entre deux questions: Rousseau a-t-il été novateur, et Rousseau a-t-il été plagiaire? Cette dernière ne nous a absolument pas préoccupé. La composition de livres comme ceux de Cajot ou de Krueger (*Fremde Gedanken in J.-J. Rousseau's erstem Discours*, Halle, 1891) constituent des occupations quelquefois utiles, le plus souvent innocentes. Car supposé que Rousseau se fût inspiré des auteurs signalés, on ne résoud pas la question vraiment importante, pourquoi c'est Rousseau qu'on lit, et pas ces auteurs soi-disant pillés, Platon ou Montaigne, p. ex.? Ou supposé encore que cette question d'ancêtres soit de grand intérêt en soi, qui nous dira lequel a raison, par exemple, de Grimm qui dit dans la *Correspondance littéraire*, que le

VII

Voilà pour les grandes doctrines. Il en serait de même partout ailleurs. Prenez la campagne de Rousseau contre le théâtre; sans remonter à Platon qui bannit le spectacle car il distrait de la spéculation, Cicéron qui dans les *Tusculanes* craint les passions déchaînées dans l'amphithéâtre, Sénèque qui combat les représentations périlleuses où le vice se coule dans les cœurs sous forme aimable (*Lettre* XC *à Lucilius*), ou les Pères de l'Église, Tertullien, Chrysostome, St.-Augustin, nous voyons en France lorsque les pièces laïques eurent remplacé les mystères, l'Église prendre dès le XVI^e^ siècle des mesures contre le théâtre, et au XVII^e^ siècle Madame de Maintenon presque décider Louis XIV à défendre le théâtre à Paris. Bourdaloue, puis les Jansénistes, Pascal à leur tête, s'élèvent contre le théâtre corrupteur de mœurs. Nicole fait un écrit spécial *De la Comédie*, et lorsque le Rev. P. Caffaro essaye de justifier l'existence de la comédie, Bossuet répond par ses *Maximes et Réflexions contre la Comédie*. En Angleterre, le groupe des écrivains du *Spectateur* que Rousseau lisait déjà chez Madame de Warens, menaient une campagne contre les spectacles. Jeremy Collier avait écrit en 1698 un *Aperçu de l'impiété et de l'immoralité du théâtre anglais*, lequel est responsable pour la fondation d'une "Société pour la réforme des mœurs," qui en 1735 comptait à Londres seul 99,380 adhérents. Dans ses *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français*, Muralt avait-il dit autre chose que Rousseau?

À propos de la musique, Cajot vous expliquera que Sextus Empiricus avait soutenu dès le II^e^ siècle qu'il n'y avait dans la musique ni observation des nombres, ni cadence, et "M. Rousseau vient de restreindre à la musique française les principes de ce sceptique" (chap. vi) tandis que Culcasi (*Gli influssi* . . . . , 1907)

Contrat Social "n'est d'ailleurs qu'un commentaire assez embrouillé du *Gouvernement civil* de Locke"; ou de l'abbé Dulaurens qui prétend que le *Contrat* est copié pour ainsi dire mot pour mot du *De Jure civitatis* de Ulric Hubert, juriste du XVII^e^ siècle; ou de Faguet qui ramène ce même ouvrage à Jurieu; ou de Dide qui, avec beaucoup d'autres y voit un plagiat du *Contre un* de La Boétie; ou de J. Vuy qui accuse Rousseau de s'être inspiré des franchises octroyées aux bourgeois de Genève en 1387 par le prince-évêque Adhémar Fabri? Beaulavon aurait peut-être raison, qui dans son édition du *Contrat* dit: "Toutes ces sources avaient donc fini par être relativement peu distinctes, et il n'importe plus autant de savoir à laquelle Rousseau a directement puisé" (pp. 65–66). Les travaux de ces nombreux savants, chasseurs de sources et de plagiats, ne nous ont pas moins souvent facilité notre tâche de prouver, avec faits précis à l'appui, que Rousseau n'est pas un novateur, et que le secret de son influence est ailleurs.

vous racontera avec clarté l'histoire de cette grande querelle sur la supériorité ou l'infériorité de la musique française par rapport à l'italienne, querelle commencée par Lulli et Grimm contre Rameau, avant que Rousseau prît la parole (chap. xii).

Il n'est pas jusqu'au style de Rousseau qui n'ait été employé avant que Rousseau parût, car, dit Augis dans son édition des *Œuvres de Rousseau* (1824, Vol. 17, Preface), celui-ci n'a fait que suivre "l'exemple brillant qu'avait donné Malebranche en ornant des richesses de l'imagination la plus vive, le Ier livre de la *Recherche de la vérité.*"

Si nous ne craignions de deviner fastidieux, nous pourrions continuer longtemps encore l'énumération des écrivains qui ont été Rousseauistes avant Rousseau. Il n'est vraiment rien de rien en quoi Rousseau eût été "nouveau"; et pas seulement "nouveau" en général—car on peut dire "rien de nouveau sous le soleil"—mais nouveau même pour son temps. Bien plus Rousseau a été précisément pour son temps nettement réactionnaire en pas mal de points. Nous venons de le voir pour le théâtre; Champion et Dide l'ont démontré pour certains chapitres de politique; qu'on lise aussi le petit volume fort intéressant de A. Morize *Apologie du luxe au XVIIIe siècle* (1909) lequel nous montre que Rousseau, loin d'être un novateur en dénonçant le luxe dans ses *Discours*, a marché au contraire contre l'esprit progressiste de son époque: des novateurs, profitant du mouvement d'affranchissement créé par la Renaissance et la Réforme, et continué par Bayle, dressaient contre la tradition catholique une théorie économique de la société d'après laquelle le luxe est un moyen de favoriser la prospérité économique d'une nation; selon les termes de Saint-Évremond, ils avaient nommé "plaisir" ce que "les gens rudes et grossiers ont nommé vice." Et c'est contre eux que Rousseau s'est élevé; c'est-à-dire qu'on accusait Rousseau de paradoxe dans ses *Discours*, et voici qu'on nous prouve absolument par l'histoire que c'est justement lui qui est l'orthodoxe et qui s'élève contre le paradoxe d'écrivains contemporains.

VIII

Nous n'en doutons pas, Rousseau continuera longtemps encore à être proclamé l'écrivain le plus original du XVIIIe siècle, le grand

lanceur d'idées: "Le roi est mort, vive le roi!" Cela n'a pas grande importance du reste. Ce qui précède n'en démontre pas moins, quand même la critique ne s'en est pas encore aperçue, que l'érudition moderne a transformé le problème Rousseau; elle ne l'a pas résolu encore, mais en nous montrant comment il ne faut pas le résoudre, elle le pose à nouveau. C'est toujours quelque chose. Mais dira-t-on peut-être, variant un peu le fameux mot de Madame de Staël: "Rousseau n'a rien inventé, mais il a tout enflammé"; si Rousseau n'a inauguré sur aucun point, n'a-t-il pas co-ordonné en un faisceau unique toutes ces doctrines qui à ce moment cherchaient à pénétrer le monde? Cela pourrait se soutenir. Mais ce serait réduire l'affaire à une simple addition, et n'est-il pas évident que l'addition se serait faite sans Rousseau, tout aussi bien? Et tel ne fût-il pas le cas, cette addition ne suffirait point encore à expliquer le prestige de Rousseau; le problème ne serait pas résolu, il serait déplacé, ou transformé en celui-ci: Comment Rousseau a-t-il usurpé sa renommée?

Autre chose. En remuant l'œuvre de Rousseau dans tous les sens pour aboutir au résultat qu'elle n'était pas celle d'un novateur, l'érudition en même temps a imposé à notre attention une autre vérité non moins importante; c'est qu'il existe entre plusieurs des théories fondamentales de Rousseau des contradictions irréductibles. Entre le scepticisme métaphysique, la tolérance religieuse, le rationalisme moral, l'enthousiasme pour les sciences naturelles, l'enthousiasme pour la liberté politique chez Voltaire, par exemple, il y a une certaine unité philosophique, cela se tient logiquement, et des inconséquences (comme on en trouve chez chaque auteur) sont des accidents qui n'infirment pas l'inspiration générale unique; de même Montesquieu est toujours l'adversaire de l'absolutisme politique et social, et le champion du contingent; Buffon avec sa classification hiérarchique des animaux calquée sur la classification aristocratique de la société qu'il avait adoptée par tradition, n'en reste pas moins pour son temps un naturaliste imbu d'un esprit méthodique d'observation; Bossuet est toujours au fond l'apôtre de l'autorité; Pascal le détracteur de la raison humaine, etc. Chez Rousseau rien de tel; les différents critiques ont longtemps essayé de tout ramener, selon leur humeur ou leurs préférences, à quelqu'une des théories accusées chez

Rousseau, le rationalisme philosophique ou la liberté politique, le retour à la nature ou le sentimentalisme; mais aujourd'hui l'érudition en écartant impitoyablement tout subjectivisme, n'autorise plus pareille tentative. Personne n'osera plus essayer de nier qu'il y ait contradiction entre sa liberté politique et son "despotisme démocratique," comme l'appelle Faguet; entre ses grands principes de tolérance religieuse et ses assertions répétées cent fois de la nécessité d'une religion civile ou le "crime" de ne pas se soumettre à la religion d'état; entre l'homme, qui serait naturellement bon, et la société œuvre de l'homme, qui serait mauvaise; entre la conscience morale immédiate et infaillible, et la longue éducation nécessaire à Émile pour lui apprendre à discerner le bien; entre les droits de l'amour spontané et le devoir de soumettre les prétentions du cœur aux prétentions de la raison dans le mariage. Et qu'on ne dise pas que Rousseau a pu changer d'opinion sur ces divers points; il l'a fait assurément parfois; mais c'est aussi *simultanément* qu'il a soutenu les théories les plus diverses, et il n'a jamais renié à aucune période de la vie aucun des écrits qu'il avait publiés, et dont seulement il s'agit ici.

C'est donc là un second service que nous a rendu l'érudition contemporaine. Non seulement elle a démoli les affirmations de la critique traditionnelle qui voulait faire de Rousseau un novateur, mais elle a démontré la vanité des efforts de cette critique pour expliquer Rousseau. La critique n'a pu comprendre Rousseau et par conséquent n'a pu expliquer son intérêt pour nous, car elle est partie *a priori* de cette chimère que Rousseau a une doctrine philosophique bien formée et qu'elle cherche à formuler cette doctrine. Rien ne nous force à admettre *a priori* qu'il existe un système de toute pièce et logique; et si c'est là la condition *sine quâ non* de comprendre Rousseau, il faut d'emblée y renoncer: le "système" de Rousseau n'existe pas.

Malheureusement même les plus récents et les plus objectifs des étudiants de Rousseau se sont arrêtés là. C'est une erreur aussi. L'érudition dit seulement qu'on avait cherché sur une mauvaise piste, mais non pas qu'il n'y ait rien à trouver par ailleurs. De fait, elle nous remet devant le problème: qu'est Rousseau; pourquoi a-t-il exercé cette influence? S'en tenir en effet, sous prétexte

d'objectivisme, à exposer fidèlement avec ou sans contradiction, les idées de Rousseau, dans ses différents écrits, c'est, ou faire métier de perroquet, ou mal comprendre le rôle de la science. Il y a dans l'immense littérature sur Rousseau, éclose ces vingt dernières années, la matière d'une interprétation toute nouvelle. Cette interprétation vaut la peine d'être tentée.

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NOTES ON THE CHASTITY-TESTING HORN AND MANTLE

Among the most popular stories afloat during the Middle Ages were those of the chastity-testing horn and mantle. The former refused to carry drink to the lips of a cuckold;[1] the latter could be worn by no woman who had been untrue to her husband.

A number of versions of the horn test are preserved in the mediaeval romantic literature of England and the Continent.[2] The story was told by Robert Biket in his *Lai du Corn* (ed. Michel in Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, 327 ff.) and by the author of one of the continuations of Chrestien de Troyes' *Perceval li Gallois* (ed. Potvin, vss. 15,640–767). An abridged form is given in *Le Roman du Renard contrefait* (Tarbé, *Poètes de Champagne antérieurs au siècle de François Ier*, 79 ff.).[3] Versions are also found in the prose *Tristan* (ed. Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, § 47), in *Il Tristano Ricardiano* (ed. Parodi, I, 324 ff.), in *La Tavola Ritonda* (ed. Polidori, I. 157 ff.), in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (ed. Sommer, I, 324 ff.), and in the

[1] Some accounts make the wives the subjects of the probation by means of the horn. See Miss Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Radcliffe College Monograph, No. 13), Boston, 1903, pp. 105 f. See also the Irish poem printed below, pp. 5 f.

[2] The list of documents cited below is based on the material collected by Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, Breslau, 1883, 58 ff, and Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 257 ff. See further Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, 104 ff. For bibliography on the horn and mantle tests, see Warnatsch, *op. cit.*, 55 ff; Child, *Ballads*, I, 271, n.; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, 104, n. 1.

With the horn should be compared Oberon's golden cup, out of which no one could drink unless he was "preudom, et nes et purs et sans pecié mortel," cited by Child from *Huon de Bordeaux*, vss. 3652–69. See further, Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, 115.

[3] See Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, 64; Miss Paton, *op, cit.*, 113.

Orlando Furioso (Canto XLII, 70–73; XLIII, 6–44).[1] In German the *motif* is found in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Crone* (ed. Scholl, vss. 466–3189), in a fifteenth-century *Fastnachtspiel* (Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, p. 183, No. 127), and in a *Meistergesang* given by Bruns (*Beiträge zur kritischen Bearbeitung alter Handschriften*, II, 139).[2] In English it occurs in the *Cokwolds Daunce* (ed. C. H. Hartshorne, *Ancient English Metrical Tales*, 209 ff.)[3] and the ballad of *The Boy and the Mantle* (Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 271 ff.).[4]

The account of the wonderful mantle is preserved in almost as many versions. It was utilized by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven in his *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, vss. 5746–6135); and an incomplete account (probably the work of Heinrich von dem Türlin) was published by Warnatsch (*Der Mantel*, 8 ff.).[5] Other versions are found in a *Fastnachtspiel* (Keller, *op. cit.*, II, 665, No. 81), in a *Meistergesang* (Bruns, *op. cit.*, II, 143),[6] and in the Dutch *Lancelot* (ed. Jonckbloet, Book III, vss. 12,500–27). Two of the best known accounts are those found in the Old French *lai* of *Le Mantel Mautaillé* (ed. Michel in Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, 342 ff.) and the English ballad already referred to (see Child, *Ballads*, I, 271 ff.). Summaries of the story occur in the romance of *Messire Gauwain ou La Vengeance de Raguidel* (ed. Hippeau, pp. 135 ff., 3906–55) and in Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalachronica*.[7]

Several versions of the mantle test are found in Celtic literature. A Scottish Gaelic poem in the sixteenth-century *Book of the Dean of Lismore* was published in 1862 by Rev. Thomas McLauchlan, and since then several times by other editors.[8] A similar Irish ballad was published in 1892 by Alexander Macbain and John Kennedy in the

[1] See Child, *Ballads*, I, 265, n.; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, 105, n. 3.

[2] For other versions, see Child, *Ballads*, I, 263, n. Cf. Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, 77; Miss Patton, *op. cit.*, 107 ff.

[3] Cf. Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, 68.

[4] For other forms of virtue tests, see Child, *Ballads*, I, 266 ff., III, 503; Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, 80 ff.

[5] See also Child, *op. cit.*, I, 259, n.

[6] See Child, *op. cit.*, I, 261, n., and Warnatsch, *op. cit.*, 74.

[7] See Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, 376 f.; Thos. Wright, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 3d ser., IX, 10 and n. Several late prose versions are mentioned by Child, *op. cit.*, I, 258. See also Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, 119 f., and Warnatsch, *op. cit.*, 72.

[8] For bibliography, see *Modern Philology*, I (1903), 145.

Reliquiae Celticae, a posthumous collection of the works of Alexander Cameron. By far the most important contribution was made by L. C. Stern, who in 1896 published in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I (1896–97), 294 ff., a version found in the seventeenth-century *Duanaire Fhinn*, at the same time adding a discussion of the various forms of the story.[1] Finally, in 1903 Professor Robinson printed in this journal (I, 192 ff.) a version from a nineteenth-century Irish MS in the library of Harvard University.

That the stories of the chastity-testing horn and mantle found in the mediaeval romances and lays of England and the Continent originated on Celtic soil, was maintained in 1883 by Warnatsch (*Der Mantel*, 58) and more recently by Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, 118). Stern (*Zt. f. Celt. Philol.*, I, 310) apparently favors the same view.[2]

The evidence here, as in other questions of Celtic origin, must be handled with the utmost care. Early Welsh literature furnishes but scant testimony. According to a collection of Welsh triads found in a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century MS, Tegau Eurvron, one of the three virtuous ladies of King Arthur's court, possessed a mantle which no unchaste woman could wear. According to another text, she owned a chastity-testing horn.[3] In spite of the possibility that these passages embody genuine Celtic tradition,[4] they cannot be regarded as very convincing. On the other hand, Goidelic literature furnishes us with a body of material which, though at first blush appearing equally unsatisfactory, is in reality of considerable importance. The fact that the Irish and Scottish Gaelic poems cited above are preserved only in late MSS, coupled with our inability to determine, from an examination of these documents alone, exactly how far they are based on native tradition, might lead us to infer

[1] Stern mentions other versions in MSS *23. C. 31* and *23. G. 31*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. To these I add the following list gathered from the unpublished catalogue of Irish MSS in the same library: *23. A. 23*, *23. A. 47*, *23. C. 10*, *23. K. 18*, *23. L. 8*. Professor Robinson cites an apparent reference in S. H. O'Grady's *Catalogue of Irish MSS in the British Museum* to another copy in MS, *Egerton 175* (*Mod. Philol.*, I, 146, n. 4). See also Bodleian MS, *Ir. C. 2* (pp. 45 ff., 175 ff.), a collection of English translations of Fenian poems.

[2] Cf. K[ittredge] in Child's *Ballads*, V, 289.

[3] Cited by Stern, *Zt. f. Celt. Philol.*, I, 304 f. See also Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, 59; Child, *Ballads*, I, 265 f.

[4] See J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, Longmans, 1911, I, 122, n.

that the presence of the mantle in Celtic literature is due to Continental or English influence; but before judging too hastily, we must remember one or two things. First, a large amount of Celtic literature is and has been for centuries, lost beyond recovery;[1] consequently the absence of a given feature from early extant documents by no means proves the non-Celticity of the feature in question. It has been demonstrated that the lateness of an Irish MS cannot be taken as proof that the documents contained therein are of equally recent date.[2] The Gaelic ballad of the mantle may, therefore, contain material of a high degree of antiquity. Moreover, the barbaric character of the narrative, as well as its eminently Celtic smack, may certainly be accepted as some evidence that it is of native growth and is not merely a late adaptation of foreign material.[3] Finally, scattered through Irish documents composed of material antedating the earliest English or Continental versions of the horn and mantle stories, there exist scraps of tradition which prove that the ancient Celts were familiar with similar tests.[4]

[1] For references on this point, see *Revue Celtique*, XXXI (1910), 428, n. 2. See also *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1st ser., IX (1861–62), 16 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 448, and n. 1. Cf. Meyer, *Royal Ir. Acad.*, *Todd Lect. Ser.* XVI (1910), xv, xxix.

[3] These facts should be considered in connection with the considerable amount of collected material pointing toward the origin of a large body of mediaeval romance in Celtic tradition. I am planning to publish as soon as possible a detailed comparison between the mediaeval romances and early Celtic literature.

[4] Tests by means of natural objects are described in the so-called *Scél na Fir Flatha* (Tale of the Ordeals), a document which, though found in no MS earlier than the fourteenth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan*, contains "the fullest account extant of the twelve ordeals of the ancient Irish" (Whitley Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, i, Leipzig, 1891, 183 ff). The *Ordeals* mention a crystal vessel alleged to have belonged to a king named Badurn, who acquired it in the following manner. On one occasion Badurn's queen went to a fountain, "and at the well she saw two women out of the fairy-mounds (*da mnai as na sidhaib*). . . . . When they beheld the woman coming toward them they went under the well, and in the fairy-mound she saw a marvelous ordeal, even a vessel of crystal. If a man should utter three false words under it, it would separate into three (parts) on his hand. If a man should utter three true words under it, it would unite again" (*Ir. Text.*, III, i, 191). Of a similar character is the truth-testing vessel owned by Manannan mac Lir (one of the most famous early Irish supernatural beings), and mentioned in the *Eachtra Cormaic i Tir Tairngiri* (Adventures of Cormac in the Land of Promise [the Celtic Other-World]): *Ir. Text.*, III, i, 197 f., 215 f. Cf. the version printed in the publications of the *Ossianic Society*, III, 229. There is also an apparent reference to Manannan's cup in a fifteenth-century version of the well-known *Oided mac n-Uisnig* (Death of the Sons of Usnech), *Ir. Text.*, II, ii, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 134, 163. It should be noted that in all these cases the magic vessel, like the horn and mantle in the English and Continental poems, is an other-world object. (See further *Silva Gadelica*, II, 264 f., 521; Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, 112; and an unpublished portion of my dissertation on *Mediaeval Romance as Illustrated by Early Irish Literature* (Harvard University, 1909), 347, n. 1 (see above, p. 4, n. 3).) In connection with these matters it is important to remember

Perhaps some light may be thrown on the subject by the evidence of two Irish poems which I chanced upon several years ago while investigating manuscripts in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin. The first is found in MSS *23.D.7* (p. 56) and *Stowe, F.V.3* (pp. 251 f.), both of which are probably not earlier than the eighteenth century.[1] The following text is based on the Stowe copy.

Táinig go teaghlach righ an domhain
grúagach déidgheal daitheamhuil;
eala na láimh leis don mbrugh,[2]
ag siubhail go sáimh ar slabhradh.

There came to the household of the king of the world
a white-toothed, comely gruagach;
[he came] to the palace [with] a swan in his hand,
walking quietly attached to a chain.

Ba misde mna fios a rúin[3]
a tteaghlach Ching éadmhair[4] Árthúir-
sgéal[5] on eala bhinn bhuig,
da bhfearaibh as tinn táinig.

Were worse for the knowledge of their secret the women
of the household of jealous King Arthur—
a tale from the tender, sweet swan,
it is painfully it came to their husbands.

that in certain versions of the story of the Holy Grail, the grail (which is pretty certainly in origin a Celtic other-world treasure) acts as a virtue-test. See Alfred Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 74 ff.; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, p. 199. Cf. my dissertation, pp. 380 f.; Arthur C. L. Brown, "The Bleeding Lance," *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n. of Amer.*, XXV (1910), 57.

The *Scél na Fir Flatha* also furnishes an interesting parallel to the wonderful mantle. One Morann mac Main is said to have possessed three collars which either detected or prevented falsehood on the part of those who wore them. One of these was brought by the king's fool from *Sid Ar femin*, a well-known subterranean fairy palace in Munster. *Adcon[n]airc-sium isin sidh bad n-e ret is in deiligud fir 7 gai and:* "He saw in the fairy-mound that it was the thing (used) there in distinguishing between truth and falsehood" (*Ir. Text.*, III, i, 190, 208). Cf. Keating, *History of Ireland, Irish Texts Soc.*, II (1908), 237, III (1908), 35.

[1] A copy of the poem found in MS, *Egerton 127* (p. 53, new numbering p. 33), British Museum, and headed *Trí rainn 7 abrán*, agrees in general with the Stowe text.

[2] don mbrugh; *23.D.7*, on brugh. Perhaps we should adopt the latter reading and hence translate "from the palace," as the word *brugh* is often used in Irish to indicate one of those magnificent other-world dwellings inhabited by the fairy-folk (*aes síde*). If this rendering be correct, the *gruagach*, like other possessors of magic virtue-testing objects (see above, p. 4, n. 4), is of supernatural origin. On Celtic fairy palaces, see *Revue Celtique*, XXXI (1910), 462, n. 1, and my dissertation, p. 322 and n. 4. See also word *brug* in "Index of Places" to *Ir. Text.*, IV, i.

[3] *23.D.7* interchanges the second and third stanzas.

[4] *23.D.7*, eadúir.

[5] *23.D.7*, sgéala.

Ni ghéabhad[1] an t-éan tain on tuinn
biadh san mbrúgh[2] on mnai altruim;
ni gheubhadh[3] on mnai mbaisghil mbáin
gan fíon go mblasmhil d'fághail.[4]

The gentle bird of the wave would not take
food in the palace from a fostering woman;
it would not take anything from a fair, white-handed woman
unless it got wine with taste of honey.

AN T–ABRAN[5]

An eala mhaiseach do-tharraing[6] an gruagach réidh,[7]
nach géubhadh[8] beatha san teach sin ambúailfed[9] sé
acht[10] fíon dathghlan[11] do[12] bhasuibh na suarc bhan séimh
nach dean malairt ar a bhfearaibh uair san sáeghal.

The beautiful swan which the noble gruagach led,
which would not take food in any house into which it entered,
except pure-white wine from the hands of the gentle, modest women
Who never did injury to their husbands.

The second poem is contained in the nineteenth-century paper MSS *23.D.18* (pp. 350–395, incl.) and *23.K.18* (p. 185, l. 5–p. 209, l. 20), in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. An incomplete version, lacking the episode of the virtue-test, was printed in 1893 at Baile-átha-cliath (Dublin) by Padruig O Briain in his *Blaithfleasg de Mhílseáinibh na Gaoidheilge*, a volume whose title Mr. O Briain renders by the seductive English appellation of "A Garland

[1] *23.D.7*, Nír ghábh.

[2] san mbrugh; *23.D.7*, san mbith (at all; lit., in the world).

[3] *23.D.7*, niór ghabh.

[4] For this line *23.D.7*: reads *gan fíon deaghbhlas[ta] ghil d'fághail* (unless it got sweet-flavored fair wine).

[5] Also spelled *amhran;* the name of the meter in which the *ceangal* (recapitulation) is written. Another poem whose *ceangal* is written in the *Amhran* meter is given in the *Duanaire Dhdibhidh Uí Bhruadair* (The Poems of David Ó Bruadair, *Irish Texts Society*, XI, Pt. I, 1910, pp. 11 ff.). For this note, as well as for the interpretation of the word *abran*, I am indebted to Professor Robinson.

[6] *23.D.7*, do-thaisdiol (?).

[7] *Stowe*, leith (gray).

[8] *23.D.7*, gabhann.

[9] sin ambúailfed; *23.D.7*, ann ambualann.

[10] *23.D.7*, gan.

[11] *23.D.7*, deaghblasta (sweet-flavored), after which is added *d'fághail* (to get, getting).

[12] *23.D.7*, o.

of Gaelic Selections." The quotations in the following summary are based as far as possible on the printed text, and, where that fails, on MS *23. K. 18.*

CATH NA SUIRIDHE (BATTLE OF THE COURTSHIP)

The poem, like most other Fenian tales, takes the form of a dialogue between Patrick and Oisin. The saint excites the old warrior's ire by telling him that though he has passed successfully through many conflicts,

> Atá aon chath fós gan dul thort,
>
> There is yet one battle you will not escape.

Oisin, on hearing that the contest referred to is the Battle of Death, expresses his belief that Death is no longer to be feared, for it was he or his like who fell in the Battle of the Courtship. Patrick immediately scents a story:

> Cread é an cath sin, a śéanoir bhláith,
> Ionar thuit, mar saoiltear leat, an bás?
> Innis dam gach ní gan bhreug—
> Tásg an chatha do bhí treun.
>
> What is that battle, O fair old man,
> In which, as it seems to you, Death fell?
> Tell me everything without deceit—
> The account of the battle, which was fierce.

The saint's solicitations are, as usual, effective, and the old Fenian tells the following story:

Finn and his band, while hunting one day, were met by a fairy woman of marvelous beauty, who invited them to her *dun.* On their arrival she bound them by magic and played various tricks on Conan Maol.[1] Finn, in order to discover a method of getting himself and his companions out of their scrape, bit his thumb with his "tooth of knowledge"[2] and by so doing learned that they could be released if he kissed their hostess.

[1] The Thersites of the Fenian band.

[2] On Finn's "tooth of knowledge," see *Ir. Text.*, IV, i, l. 203 and n.; *Macgnimartha Finn, Eriu* I, 186 (cf. Publns. of *The Gaelic Soc.*, Dublin, 1881, 48, 67 f.); *Revue Celtique* XIII (1892), 16, 21, XIV (1893), 246 f.; O'Curry, *MS Materials of Ancient Ir. Hist.*, 396; *J. of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, III (1903–4), 160; MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, 248 f. Cf. Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Longmans, 1906, II, 37.

Do ḟaisneis an meur do Ḟionn go beacht
Gach sgeul díreach bhí le teacht,
'S d'á ngoidfeadh sé póg ó'n mhnaoi,
Go raibh a geasa gan aon bhrigh.

The finger told Finn perfectly
Every certain event that was a-coming,
And that if he stole a kiss from the woman,
Her spells would be powerless.

Do fuair Fionn annsin uain,
'S do thug póg do'n mhnaoi gan guais.
"Le buadh feasda," do ráidh an bhean, "a Ḟinn;
D'fághbais mo gheasa gan aon bhrigh."

Then Finn found opportunity,
And he gave the woman a kiss without danger
"Success to thee henceforth," said the woman, "O Finn;
You have left my spells powerless."

Do sín fionn an Riogan chaomh;
is fiór—ní bréag—gur chionntaig lé.
d'fóir sí ann sin an fiann go huimlán
ó pheanid agus ó chrúadh chás.

Finn approached the fair queen;
It is true—no deceit—he sinned with her.[1]
She freed the Fenians all together
From punishment and distress.

Hereupon the lady became extremely alarmed over the loss of her virtue. Addressing the chief of the Fenians, she said:

"As baoghal liomsa, a ḟinn mhaic cúmhaill, a ghrádh,
gur thréagas leatsa mho dheagh-chlú go brách;
tá mo cheile amuith mar so ar cúaird,
ag iára cochall ionnracais na mbuadh."

[1] The two following stanzas (found only in the MSS), explain in greater detail the method here suggested as that used by Finn in freeing his comrades from the fée's spells:

"Racham annois," do rádh fionn áig,
"chum súain go beacht láimh ar láimh,
ag déanamh grinn is suaircios re cheile
gan smuit chadlata na tromm nealta."
. . . . . .
Do bhúail fionn a mhéur go réig
annsa tsléan tsíoda do bhí ar a taobh;
do thog an bhean leis í faoi tséoil
ar leabuin chum grinn is spóirt

"I fear, O Finn mac Cool, my love,
That I have left with you my good fame for ever;
My husband is out on a visit,
Seeking the mantle of chastity of virtues."

"Tiocfadh féin sa choimhdeachta eile anocht,
'Gus deilbh leis mise do bheidh san locht;
nochtaig an cochall mo mhíodh-rún,
is do gheabhad masla agus miodh-chlú."

"He himself will come and the rest of his company tonight,
And it will appear to him that I am in fault;
The mantle will lay bare my evil secret,
And I shall get reproach and ill fame."

When Finn questioned her about the magic qualities of the mantle she replied:

"Buádh an chochall úd, a fin mhaic cúmhaill;
ná fúaras guith ná miodh-chlú
ná nochtaig an cochall go beacht
do neach ar bith 'nar mhiann feas."

"The virtue of that mantle, O Finn mac Cool, [is that there]
Was never heard [lit., found] report of ill fame
[That] the mantle will not lay bare completely
For any one at all who desires to know"(?).

At this point the Fenians heard a fierce cry at the door, and the fée's husband appeared.

D'féach iona thímphchioll go feargach borb
an tan do ráine sé tar dorus.
do bhí cochallán aon tsnáithe na laimh,
do śléamhuin tsíoda dob oírdhearc fál.

He looked around fiercely and roughly
When he entered the door.
There was in his hand a great mantle made of a single thread
Of smooth silk which was an excellent covering.

Before the giant could apply the virtue-testing mantle to his wife, there arrived twenty of his kinsmen, accompanied by an equal number of women. Among these were his son, Mór-Śúileach-Caolchosac (Great, Sharp-sighted, Slender-footed One), and the latter's wife, Crúadh-Chás (Hard Case).

D'ffafra mór-ṡúileach cá raibh an cochlán
nó go bfáigheadh fios ionnracais a mhná.
do fúair sé an cochlán go dían
ó na mháthar le lán toil mhiann.

Mór-Ṡúileach asked where the mantle was,
That he might obtain knowledge of the chastity of his wife.
He got the mantle quickly
From his mother to his heart's desire (?).

Ann sin do chuirr an cochall ar an mhnaoi,
is do fúair go raibh sí lán tsaoir.
do cuiredh an cochall ar an iomlán
dona mnaibh is dob adhbhar bróin agus ochlán.

Then he placed the mantle on his wife,
And he found that she was fully exempt.
The mantle was placed on the whole number
Of the women, and it was a cause of sorrow and distress.

The general test of course included Mór-Ṡúileach's mother, who as a result was proved guilty of unchastity. Speedy punishment followed:

Do nocht caolchosach a ghear lann,
is do theilg dá mháthar a ceann.

Caolchosach bared his sharp blade,
And cut off his mother's head.

For this act of violence he was slain by Finn.

In the MSS Oisin, having now recited more than a hundred stanzas, has apparently got his second wind, for he goes on to tell the story of Cab an Dosan, which forms the subject of one of the better known Ossianic lays. In the printed version he ends the day's entertainment at the completion of the Battle of the Courtship, closing his tale with the following stanza:

"Sin agat, a chleirigh chaidh chaoin,
tuarasgbháil chatha na Suiridhe,
'S má bhí an daol-bhás riamh ann,
Is ann do teilgeadh de a cheann."

"There's for you, O holy, fair cleric,
The description of the Battle of the Courtship;
And if black Death ever existed,
It is then that his head was cut off."

Far be it from me to darken counsel by words without knowledge, yet I cannot refrain from suggesting that in the first of these poems the peculiar form of the test,[1] in the second the fact that the mantle is utilized in a poem which bears no other possible trace of non-Celtic material, may furnish some indication, however slight, that chastity-tests similar to those found in the English and Continental stories of the horn and mantle were familiar to the ancient Irish—that I have accidentally fished up out of "the backward and abysm of time" a scrap or two of genuine Celtic tradition, that tradition from whose detritus have been gathered so many stones for the great palace of mediaeval romantic literature. *Tuigeann fear léighinn leath-focal.*

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[1] Although the occurrence of the name "Arthur" in the poem indicates the acquaintance of the author or redactor with Arthurian romance, the swan as a virtue-test does not appear, so far as I am aware, in a single non-Celtic version of the story. This is not the only appearance of Arthur in an otherwise typically Irish story. See, for example, *Agallamh na Senorach*, *Silva Gadelica* II (1892), 105 f., 212. The situation is entirely different in the case of the *Eaċtra an Ṁadra Ṁaoil* and the *Eaċtra Ṁacaoĩm-an-ĩolair*, two Irish Arthurian romances published in 1908 by R. A. Stewart Macalister for the *Irish Texts Society;* probably the former, certainly the latter, is based on a French original (see *Gaelic Journal*, XIX (1909), 357, n. 5). Yet even into these the Irish redactor has evidently introduced features derived from Gaelic literature or tradition. On Arthur in early Irish literature, see Patrick M. Mac Sweeney, *Irish Texts Society*, V (1904), xxiv f., and my paper read before the Modern Language Association of America at Philadelphia in December, 1912.

NEW ANALOGUES OF OLD TALES[1]

The enormous extent of the literature of *exempla* has recently been disclosed by the publication of the third volume of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum*, London, 1910. In this volume the editor, Mr. J. A. Herbert, describes and analyzes 109 MSS and refers to over eight thousand stories. These are all contained in collections, made largely for the use of preachers. Many preachers, however, invented or selected their own illustrative stories and the great number in Herbert's *Catalogue* could easily be increased by *exempla* in the innumberable collections of sermons found in all Continental libraries. A selection of 115 of such individual *exempla* is offered in the text before us, taken from MSS in the Royal and University libraries of Breslau, ranging from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century. The principle of selection is thus stated by the editor: "Aufnahme fanden nur solche Stücke, die in den Handschriften entweder ohne alle Quellenangabe angeführt sind, oder deren Quellen uns heute nicht mehr bekannt sind." There are exceptions, however, as p. 76, No. 76, "Legitur exemplum in libro de dono timoris." The editor concedes that the investigator can without difficulty discover the sources of some of the *exempla*, and analogues for others. The editor himself gives a few, but in general limits his remarks to the age and origin of the MSS in which the *exempla* are contained. Finally, he admits that certain stories are, properly speaking, not *exempla*, as they are taken from *chronicles*, but claims that they belong in this selection since they contain materials encountered in *exempla*. Such are: No. 2, "De Alexandro Magno"; No. 3, "De itinere Karoli Magni in Orientem"; No. 4, "Quomodo Karolus Magnus reliquias ex oriente apportaverit"; No. 6, "De Karolo Magno et Rolando"; No. 7, "Amicus et Amelius"; No. 8, "De Oggero et Presbytero Johanne"; No. 16, "De Udalrico episcopo, cui animae in specie avicularum apparuerunt," etc. Brief references to sources are given in the notes to these.

[1] *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* herausgegeben von Joseph Klapper. (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte herausgegeben von A. Hilka. 2.)

An interesting *exemplum* of the class of *novelle* is the first "Salvatica," a variant of the story of "The Maiden without Hands," Grimm, No. 31. The most important individual *exemplum* is No. 46, "De ebrio, qui defunctum invitavit." This is the earliest version of the Don Juan story yet discovered. It is contained in a fifteenth-century collection of sermons, and is credited to a book named *Annulus*, otherwise unknown to me. There is a curious version of the same theme in Herbert's *Catalogue*, p. 562, from MS Harley 268, of the second half of the fourteenth century. In digging foundations for a church, the workmen find an old sarcophagus. When they go to dinner they ask, "Who will look after our tools?" Their employer, a knight, answers, "The man in that sarcophagus, and presently he shall have dinner too." When the workmen return, the dead man appears at the door of the knight's castle and demands admission. He refuses meat and drink, saying that masses are his only food, and that he still wants forty to free him from purgatory. The knight has these said for him, and afterward sees him dressed in white, riding on a white horse.

Of the *exempla* to which Klapper gives no references whatever, but for which I have found sources or analogues, the following may be mentioned:

No. 17, "De beato Germano, qui animabus subvenit." This is the story of the priest sprinkling holy water in the cemetery and the dead reaching up their hands to receive it. The same story is in the *Speculum laicorum*, credited to "Odo de Seriton"; see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 383, and variants, pp. 463, 464.

No. 19, "De custode S. Petri, qui gaudia et penas aeternitatis vidit." This is the well-known vision of the sacristan of St. Peter's which led to the institution of the festival of All Saints; see *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, p. 727.

No. 29, "De abbatissa, quae vidit neptem suam damnatam." See Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 471.

No. 30, "Quomodo Herodias punita sit." See *Legenda aurea*, p. 573.

No. 31, "De divite, quem diabolus sustulit de sepulcro." A similar story is in Caesarius Heisterb., *Dial. Mirac.*, XI, 39; *Scala celi*, Ulm, 1480, f. 168; see also Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 497, 499, 500.

No. 32, "De procuratore infideli, qui daemonibus traditus est." A king going on a journey intrusts his only daughter to a certain officer to guard. The faithless officer wrongs his charge and upon the king's return is flayed and his skin thrown to demons dwelling in a certain mountain. The story seems to be a variant of the one in *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 27, "Tochter anvertraut, strafe."

No. 34, "De milite, cui apparuit amicus mortuus, de quo male locutus erat." See Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 280 (*Manuel des péchés*), 310 (*Handlyng Synne*), 318 (*Manual of Sins*), 386 (*Speculum laicorum*, No. 222, attributed to "Odo de Seriton"), 463, 588.

No. 36, "De sacerdote, qui cotidie missam pro defunctis celebravit." The bishop suspends a priest who frequently celebrates mass for the dead, and is threatened by the dead as he passes through the cemetery; see *Legenda aurea*, p. 733, credited to "Petrus Cluniacensis"; see also Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 383 (*Speculum laicorum*, No. 158), 456, 468, 473, 686.

No. 37, "De sacerdote, quem mortui in cimeterio detinuerunt." A priest who never prays for the dead is seized by the foot as he is passing through a cemetery and not released until he promises to pray for the dead; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 661, 693.

No. 38, "De viro sancto, cui defuncti responderunt." The dead respond "Amen" in mass; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 383 (*Speculum laicorum*, No. 162, 163), 463, 464. The stories in the *Speculum laicorum* are credited to Odo of Cheriton.

No. 41, "De pena adultorum." A similar story of two who sinned only in their hearts because they had no time or place to sin in reality is in Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 10 (48*b*, credited to *Jacques de Vitry*, but not in my edition), 122, 690.

No. 42, "De pena eorum, qui voluntatem morientium non faciunt." A dying rich man invokes on each of his three executors particular evils as penalties for breach of trust, and all the penalties are incurred; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 389 (*Speculum laicorum*), 419 (*Liber exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti*), 472, 635 (MS Additional 33956), an interesting localized version; "William Chansoner, a usurer at Bynns," appoints as his executors a priest named Boneth and two friends, invoking leprosy, "ignis infernalis" (erysipelas?), "ignis sancti Anthonij" in Klapper, and sudden death as

penalties for breach of trust. All three prove faithless, Boneth is admitted to the leper hospital "apud Hervers," the second executor dies of "ignis infernalis" at Vienne, and the third falls and breaks his neck. The beginning is "Narravit frater quidam Anglicus qui venit de Aluñia" (?Aluernia, Auvergne). A similar story is in the *Scala celi*, f. 85.

No. 43, "De Viro, quem defuncti ab inimico liberaverunt." A man who was wont to pray for the dead is protected by them when his enemies pursue him through the cemetery; see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 383 (*Speculum laicorum*, "Refert Cantor Parisiacus," i.e., Petrus Cantor Parisiensis), and many other references. This favorite story is also in the *Legenda aurea*, p. 733, and *Scala celi*, f. 133 vo.

No. 47, "An suffragia damnatis prosint." The legend of Judas released from punishment every Sunday; see *Voyage of Saint Brandan;* Ward, *Cat.*, II, 528. Jubinal's text is reprinted in Douhet, *Dictionnaire des légendes*, Paris, 1855, col. 724.

No. 48, "De avaro mortuo, cuius intestina bufo comedebat." The story of a miserly dean in England who dies and is told by an angel that he may hope for mercy if he can get a penny from his money-bag. He finds a devil sitting upon it and is carried to hell. He appears to the bishop and asks that his body be removed from the church in which it was buried "quia propter hoc in inferno durius torquebatur." A great toad is found in his tomb devouring his heart. The same story is found in Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 474; MS Egerton 1117, end of thirteenth century.

No. 52, "De annulo, quem sancta Agnes suscepit." See *Legenda aurea*, p. 116.

Nos. 54, 57, "De iuvene, qui se per confessionem a diabolo liberavit," and "De iuvene, qui per penitentiam a diabolo liberatus est." Two stories of a youth who is tempted by the devil to sin but confesses, and can no longer be recognized by the devil. The second story is in the *Scala celi*, f. 43, credited to E. de Bourbon, "Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti." The main idea of these stories, the inability of the devil to recognize his victim after confession, is a very common one; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 284 (*Manuel des péchés*), 311 (*Handlyng Synne*), 483, 525, 542, 551, 561, 604, 649; in these the sinner is generally chained to the devil, but escapes long enough to

make confession, and thus becomes unrecognizable to the devil. Sometimes a black mark is affixed by the demon and disappears at confession; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 578, 639. Sometimes the written record of sins is blotted out; see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 639, where a hermit meets a devil in human form with a record of his sins, and persuades him to wait while he goes to confession; when he returns they find the record expunged. These stories are variants of the class where the penitent is unable from his or her tears to make an oral confession, and a written one is submitted to the bishop or priest and the writing is expunged. See my references to *Jacques de Vitry*, 301.

No. 56, "De iuvene, quem os monstruosum deglutire nitebatur," a very curious story of a youth tempted by the flesh who saw an enormous head with a mouth large enough to swallow a camel. At length he is freed from his temptation and the head joining itself to a huge body disappears in a well. The only other version of this story which I have seen is in Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 472 (MS Egerton 1117, cited above).

No. 61, "De milite Ludovici, qui periurantem interfecit." See *Jacques de Vitry*, 219, and Etienne de Bourbon, No. 385, p. 340.

No. 65, "De diabolo, qui claustrum intrare non potuit." On a certain Christmas Eve the Virgin with the Child in her arms appeared to Hugo, abbot of Cluny. The Child said: "You are celebrating my nativity with great rejoicing. What can the devil now do or say and where now is his power?" Then the devil was seen to rise up from the ground and say: "I cannot enter thy church because thy praises are sung there, but I can enter the chapter-house and dormitory and refectory." He attempts to do so but finds the door of the chapter-house too narrow, that of the dormitory too low, and that of the refectory barred by the sobriety of food and drink. This story is in Petrus Venerabilis, *De miraculis* (Migne, CLXXXIX, col. 880), and in Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 607, credited to "Vita Petri Clariacensis." The story is also in Etienne de Bourbon (MS Additional 28682, f. 230 *b*, beginning, "Legitur in libro Petri Cluniacensis quod abbas Hugo Cluniacensis retulit de se quasi de alio").

No. 66, "De diabolo, qui fragmina psalmorum collegit." See *Jacques de Vitry*, XIX, and parallels there cited. To these may be added: *Liber de abundantia exemplorum*, f. 66, *Jacob's Well* (Early

English Text Society, No. 115), p. 114, and Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 354 (Caesarius, IV, 9), 555, 584, 628, 701, 705.

No. 71, "De lictore occiso, qui ante mortem confessus est." A certain lictor is killed in the performance of his duty. A priest, passing through the cemetery that same night, sees the trial of the soul of the lictor and its defense by the Virgin. The soul is permitted to return to the body and repent. This story belongs to the class represented in Ward, *Cat.*, II, 663, 676; see references in my edition of the *Miracles of the Virgin* (*Romanic Review*, II, 235–79), No. 4.

No. 72, "De peccatore, cui sancta Barbara gratiam confessionis impetravit." In Glogovia in 1396 a certain Paulus Haman was broken on the wheel, but lived until the third day and asked a woman passing by for drink. She reported the fact and the torturer tried to kill the criminal with an axe but could not. He said that he could not be killed until he had received communion, and that this was through the intercession of Saint Barbara. As soon as he received communion he died. The classical story of this kind is that of "Ebbo the Thief"; see my edition of the *Miracles of the Virgin*, No. XI. A story similar to Klapper's is in Caesarius, IX, 49.

No. 74, "De rustico, qui sanctum Thomam sorte eligit." A rustic refuses to take the doubting apostle as his patron and is told to go to Jerusalem where he will find a more powerful one. During a storm he is thrown into the sea as the unlucky Jonah selected by lot. Saint Thomas rescues him. Later he refuses to follow his companions home on a feast day, and the saint conducts him home miraculously, and gives him a writing containing his name. This is found to be that of Saint Thomas. The rustic's comrades return later and bear witness to his story. That part of the story in which a person in a foreign land is brought home in a miraculous manner is in Caesarius, VIII, 59, and is the plot used by Boccaccio, *Decameron*, X, 9. See Rajna's discussion of the story in the *Romania*, VI (1877), 359–68. Another case of rapid transit is in Caesarius, X, 2; see also *Scala celi*, f. 53, and Thomas Cantapratanus, II, 40, 3.

No. 75, "De medico, qui sanctum Thomam sorte eligit." The duke of Lorraine summons his physician, a devotee of Saint Thomas, after whom he is named, to cure his eyes. The physician is delayed in compounding the medicine, and the duke exclaims: "O quando

veniet ille diabolus?" and straightway the devil appeared in the guise of the true physician and blew into the duke's eyes a powder which caused them to fall out and threw at him a medicine-box which killed him. The true physician is thrown into prison until the citizens can decide on the mode of his death. Meanwhile the duke's soul is disputed in the usual fashion by angels and demons. Finally Saint Thomas puts the demons to flight and orders the duke's soul to return to its body. The physician is released and made the first abbot of a splendid monastery erected by the duke and dedicated to the saint. This story is made up of various incidents, one of which, the dispute of demons and angels over a soul, has already been mentioned. The story in its entirety is found, to my knowledge, only in Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 619. The MS Additional 18364 is of the fourteenth century and most of the *exempla* in it are taken from the *Vitae patrum*, Gregory's *Dialogues*, Etienne de Bourbon, and Caesarius of Heisterbach.

No. 76, "De milite, cui Alexander papa annulum donavit." The sight of the ring causes the owner to think of death and future retribution. This is one of the stories in which the source is mentioned, "Legitur exemplum in libro de dono timoris." The story is in Etienne de Bourbon, p. 68. See also Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, IV, 151, and Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 99 (*Liber de dono timoris*), 435 (cited as from E. de Bourbon), 617.

Nos. 78, 79, "De Silvestro papa, qui draconem ligavit." See *Legenda aurea*, p. 78.

No. 84, "De Liberio imperatore, qui thesaurum invenit." Liberius while passing through a certain palace saw in the pavement a marble slab in which was sculptured a cross. He had it taken up, saying that the symbol which should be on men's breasts and brows ought not to be trodden under foot. Another slab with a cross was underneath and a third, which, when removed, disclosed a great treasure. This story is in the *Scala celi*, f. 69, with the ascription "refert Gregorius quod Justinus," etc.

No. 88, "De archidiacono, qui episcopum suum necare fecit." A similar story is in Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 97 (*Liber de dono timoris*), 431 (*Alphabetum narrationum*), 564, 607. Herbert cites Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, III, p. 242. A variant of this story is in the *Scala celi*, f. 8 vo.

No. 89, "De puero, qui aquam in fonte iussit ascendere." See Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 464, from Migne, *Vitae patrum*, 73, cols. 756, 1004.

No. 91, "De adultero quondam et uxore eius devota." See Ward, *Cat.*, II, 682 (*Promptuarium exemplorum: De Miraculis B.V.*, cap. xxii).

No. 95, "De domicella, quae somniabatur quod e claustro aufugisset." See Ward, *Cat.*, II, 666; MS Egerton 1117, printed from this in Wright's *Latin Stories*, Percy Society, London, 1843, No. 107.

No. 96, "De filiis, qui cadaver patris sagittis penetraverunt." This favorite story of the true son who would not shoot at his father's corpse is one of the *Gesta Romanorum* tales, No. 45. To Oesterley's references may be added Etienne de Bourbon, No. 160, p. 136. See also Clouston's *Popular Tales*, I, 14, cited by Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 206. The story was a favorite one in the *exempla*-books; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 176, 206, 444, 529, 563, 608, 652, 684.

No. 99, "De domina, quae leproso adhaesit." See Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 655.

No. 103, "De monacho, qui capram dilexit." This famous story was used by Boccaccio in the *Decameron* (Introduction to IVth Day) and is studied by D'Ancona in *Studj di critica e storia letteraria*, Bologna, 1880, p. 307. Many additional references might be given; see *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 82, and, for *exempla*, Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 8 (*Jacques de Vitry*), 65 (Odo of Cheriton), 504, 573, 607.

No. 104, "De rustico, qui odorem apothecae ferre non potuit." See *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 131, and Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 64 (Odo of Cheriton), 183, 404 (*Speculum laicorum*), 499, 554.

No. 108, "De rustico et asino." A rustic was leading a loaded ass which stuck in the mud. A soldier passing by alighted from his horse to help the rustic extricate his ass. As soon as the rustic saw what the soldier was doing he made no effort himself and the soldier left him in anger. This is of course a variant of the well-known fable "Le chartier embourbé" (La Fontaine, VI, 18; Babrius, 20; Avianus, 32, "Rusticus et Hercules").

No. 109, "De lignis silvarum, quae regem eligere voluerunt." This is the well-known fable from the Book of Judges, 9:8–15. It is used as an *exemplum* by Odo of Cheriton; see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 34, 38, 42, 43, 46.

No. 112, "De asino et catulo." This well-known fable is in *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 15, and *Gesta Romanorum*, 79, etc.

No. 113, "Lupus monachus." See Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 61 (Odo of Cheriton), 183.

The above are, I believe, all the *exempla* for which Klapper has given no references whatever, and for which I have found analogues. There are also many interesting ones for which Klapper's references are very inadequate. I may mention the following ones:

No. 23, "De triginta missis beati Theoduli." This most interesting and dramatic story of the thirty consecutive masses said to release a soul imprisoned in a block of ice is found in the *Legenda aurea*, p. 731, "De commemoratione animarum." It was a favorite story in *exempla*-books as may be seen from Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 330 (*English Metrical Homilies*), 383 (*Speculum laicorum*), 474, 630, 685. Herbert also cites the version in Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV (1896), 254 (Odo of Cheriton).

No. 60, "De nigromante Magdeburgensi." Three youths reduced to beggary by dissipation are conducted by a necromancer to a conventicle of demons. They are given a week to decide whether they will renounce Christ and his mother. While the meeting is going on the king of it arises, takes off his crown, and performs an act of adoration. A little later he rises and bows but does not adore. He is asked to explain his actions and says that the parish priest was passing with the Host to visit a sick man, and the king had to adore it. When the priest returned without the Host the king had to bow in reverence to the office. The references in Klapper to Cantipratanus and Hollen are not pertinent. In their stories the Host breaks up a conventicle of demons, but the two acts of adoration and reverence are wanting. This story also is a favorite one; see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 407, for the version in one of the MSS (Additional 17723) of the *Speculum laicorum*. To Herbert's references may be added *Scala celi*, f. 64 vo. Other versions are in Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 447, 505, 545, 644, 675, 719.

No. 94, "Deus plus potest quam imperator," the story of the two blind beggars who cried daily through the streets of Rome, "Bene est adiutus, quem deus vult iuuare," and "Bene est adiutus, quem imperator vult iuuare." The emperor has a pastry made and

filled with gold and gives it to the second beggar. He sells it to the first beggar for three pence. When the emperor learns this he confirms the sentence of the first beggar that it is better to trust in God than in man. Klapper cites *Ruodlieb*, vss. 390 ff., in Grimm and Schmeller's *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts.* A version is in the "Convertimini" ascribed to Holkot by Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 130. Another is in Wright, *Latin Stories*, Percy Society, 1843, No. 104, Wright cites Gower, *Conf. Am.* vss. 2391–2430. The theme of one of two persons being lucky and receiving the gifts designed for the other is found in *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 109. See also Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 377 (*Speculum laicorum*, "Miser of Winchelsea"), 447 (*Alphabetum narrationum*), 507, 719.

No. 97, "De duobus sociis, qui thesaurum invenerunt." This is the story of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, and does not occur frequently in *exempla*. I do not remember to have seen it until the publication of Herbert's *Catalogue*, where three versions of it are to be found, pp. 660, 693, 711. Klapper gives a second version in No. 98, "De tribus sociis, qui thesaurum invenerunt." In addition to the references in the Chaucer Society's *Originals and Analogues*, see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 100–101, No. 73, "Jésus et les trois voleurs." To Chauvin's references may be added: H. S. Canby in *Modern Philology*, II, 471–87; W. M. Hart in same periodical, IX, 17–22; and Köppel in *Anglia*, XIII, 174–86; XIV, 227–67.

No. 105, "De duobus malefactoribus, qui impetraverunt, ut instrumenta mortis sibi ipsi eligerent," the well-known story of the malefactors condemned, one to be blinded, the other to be hanged, given their choice of the instruments of their punishment. Of course one cannot find a suitable nail or the other a fitting tree. This jest is as old as *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 62, where references to other versions may be found. To these may be added Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 69 (Odo of Cheriton), 461, 552, 573, 602.

There are certain stories to which Klapper gives no references and for which I have been unable to find any parallels. I mention them here in order that someone may be more fortunate in discovering their sources or analogues. Two of this class are of a quasi-historical character: No. 11, "Quomodo Regulus Consul serpentem

vicerit," how Regulus killed a great serpent while waging war against the Carthaginians; and No. 13, "Quomodo Virgilius vanitatem mundi cognoverit," the poet's recognition of the vanity of the world, expressed in the lines:

> Pastor, arator, eques, paui, seui, superaui.
> De capris pastis, rure sato, hoste subacto,
> Nec lac nec segetes nec spolia ulla tuli.[1]

The others are:

No. 15, "De Hemmerlino, quem s. Thomas Cantuariensis a purgatorio liberavit." A certain knight went with the king of "Suecie" to war with the king of Spain. The knight's horse is killed under him and his faithful servant Hemerlinus gives his own to his master and is himself slain. Three years later the knight on his way to Canterbury has a vision of his former servant tormented in purgatory, from which, he says, he can be liberated by the virtue of St. Thomas, then living. The mass is begun, and the knight sees the church filled with the souls which have been freed from purgatory by the saint. When the mass is finished the whole church is resplendent and the bishop, St. Thomas, sees Michael and a multitude of angels bearing a soul brighter than the sun, which the archangel presented to the bishop with the words: "The Lord offers this soul to thee because thou didst pray devoutly for it." I cannot find this story in the miracles of St. Thomas.

No. 21, "De damnato, quem aquila dilacerabat." We read in the book called *Annulus*, part II, cap. cxix, that there were two noble canons related to each other and both living a life of worldly pleasure. One dies and appears to the other tortured by a black eagle vomiting fire from its mouth and eyes. The dead man warns his kinsman to amend his life and is finally carried off by the eagle.

No. 33, "De divite, qui animas absolvit post prandium." In the same book, *Annulus*, cap. cxxii, we read of a devout man of wealth who invited the poor to a banquet. Among them were three strangers who did not eat or drink. When grace was said, "Fidelium anime requiescant in pace," the three arose and said they were

[1] Professor Hamilton has reminded me that the story of Regulus and the serpent is in *Gesta Romanorum*, 268, and the Vergil verses are in the *Anthologia Latina*, Leipzig, 1906, No. 800 (olim 872). The omitted line is:

Capras, rus, hostes, fronde, ligone, manu.

waiting for the only food they used, namely, absolution, whereupon they vanished.

No. 35, "De sanctimoniali, quae animas vidit in ecclesia." In the same book, cap. cxxii, we read of a certain nun of the preaching order in Cronwitez, "custos ecclesie," who saw, when she entered the church to ring for matins, a multitude of poor with bags and wallets. She asked who they were and was told that they were the souls of the dead come to bear away the prayers uttered in the church so that they might be freed from their torments.

No. 39, "De duce, quem animae contra inimicos defenderunt." In the same book and chapter we read of a pious duke who built churches and had masses said for the dead. The devil stirred up his subjects to war against him, but he was defended by an army of souls which he had freed from purgatory.

No. 40, "De episcopo, qui vidit iuuenem piscare mulierem." A certain bishop who lived near a cemetery saw in a dream a youth fishing with a golden hook and silver line and catching a woman. When he awoke he looked into the cemetery and saw a youth praying at a certain grave. When asked what he was doing he answered: "I am praying paternoster and miserere for my mother's soul." The bishop then understood that the soul of the mother was delivered from purgatory by the prayers of the youth, and said: "Paternoster est hamus aureus et Miserere est linea argentea."

No. 49, "De visione, quam frater ordinis praedicatorum habuit in hora mortis." An English monk of the preaching order has a vision on his deathbed of Saint Edmund, the Virgin, and angels. Such visions are common, but I have not encountered one exactly like this.

No. 59, "De bufone, qui male acquisita consumabat." In the book called *Annulus*, cap. cxiiii, we read that a saint came to an inn where wine was sold by unjust measure, and yet the innkeeper grew constantly poorer. The saint directed the innkeeper to dig near the *clepsedra*, where a great toad was found receiving in its open mouth drops and foam. The saint said to the innkeeper: "Now I know how your ill-acquired goods are consumed."

No. 63, "De clerico, cui daemon promisit, quod foret rex Angliae." A certain clerk is promised the kingdom but is hanged instead.

No. 67, "De clerico, qui verba Scripturarum in epistola amatoria scripsit." In Germany a certain clerk wrote love-letters to a nun and used the words of Scripture: "Labia tua mel et lac" (Song of Solomon, 4:11), in one of them. His tongue protruded and he died suddenly.

No. 68, "De Sarraceno, qui post conversionem suam regem paganorum baptizavit." A certain preacher crosses the sea and converts a Saracen of high rank, who is sent by his lord to convert the heathen. He comes to an island and has a dispute with the king's philosophers, and as a sign of his truth, he invokes a demon who kills the most prominent of the philosophers. The terrified king demands another sign, and the Saracen expounds to him at length a wonderful dream which he has had and which is merely an allegory of Christ's life and death. The king is, of course, converted and baptized, with all his city.

No. 70, "De episcopo Misnensi, qui per sanctam Barbaram a morte liberatus est." The bishop, whose name is not given, was attacked by his enemies in the castle of Stolpan in 1383, but aroused from his sleep and miraculously preserved by Saint Barbara.

No. 80, "De flore, qui in nocte nativitatis Christi floret." St. Helena took to Rome with her some of the hay on which Christ was born and Pope Liberius carefully preserved it wrapped up in the Savior's swaddling-clothes. In Saxony, not far from the city of Dudirstat, in a certain convent was preserved a flower from this hay, which every year on Christmas Eve at the very hour when Christ was born flowered and opened most beautifully and joyfully.

No. 81, "De Judaeo, qui prophetiam invenit in Tholeto." In the time of King Ferdinand a Jew breaking a rock in order to enlarge his vineyard found in a cavity a book with leaves of wood, about as large as a psalter and written in three languages, viz., Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It spoke of three world-epochs, from Adam to Christ. The beginning of the third is placed in Christ, thus: In the third the Son of God shall be born of the Virgin Mary and shall suffer for the salvation of the world. The Jew was straightway converted and baptized with his household. It was also written in the book that it should be discovered in the time of Ferdinand.

No. 82, "Visio mirabilis in claustro grisei ordinis Tripolis anno

1277." A certain monk was saying mass before his abbot, and between ablution and communion there appeared a hand writing on the corporal on the altar. The writing contained various prophecies of the vicissitudes of the church and world, of which one is: "Gens quedam veniet, que vocatur sine capite." This is later explained: "Anno domini MCCCXLIX, quando isti flagellatores fuerunt, qui fuerunt gens sine capite."

No. 83, "De solatiis Lucensibus." In the city of Lucca, "civitate Lucana," the inhabitants amused themselves by creating a pope, an emperor, a king of France, and a Lord of Lucca who was over all the others and summoned them to appear before him and to show him honor and reverence. After this the Lord of Lucca asked: "Is there a greater lord on earth than these?" and the answer was: "Christ." "Where is he?" "In the churches." Then they led before the Lord of Lucca a priest arrayed for the mass and he did honor to him. "In that very year the city was divided and fell from bad to worse and in a short time was sold more than five times." I do not know any analogue for this curious anecdote.

No. 92, "De ribaldo, quem mulier in puteum misit." A certain woman had an unworthy husband, who spent his substance in riotous living and depended on a prophecy that he should find a treasure. The wretched wife consulted the priest who advised her to follow this stratagem. She told her husband that it had been revealed to her that the treasure in question was in the well, but that she could not seek it. So she lowered him into the well, and when he was half-way down, she let go the rope, and he fell and broke his arms and legs and had to stay at home with his wife.

No. 107, "Quomodo miles novus armaretur." We read in ancient histories that when a new knight of noble degree is to be armed and enter battle or the lists, the most beautiful maiden who can be found, the daughter of a king, for instance, leads him into her chamber, arms him, and then embraces him and promises him her love if he returns victorious. Thus she encourages him to do well and fight manfully.

No. 110, "De urso, qui mel gustare voluit." The bear was so recalcitrant that he had to be dragged to the honey and his ears remained in the hands of the one dragging him. When, however, he had tasted the honey, he had to be dragged away by his tail, and

that too remained in the hands of the one dragging him. So the bear lost his ears and tail on account of the sweetness of the honey, and thus it is that all other bears are now born as they are, who, according to this fable, were formerly born in another fashion.

No. 114, "De lupo, qui ieiunavit." A wolf seeing Christians fast, fasted himself forty days. When Easter came no one gave him any food. Then he saw a sheep on a disciple's shoulder and tried to reach it but was struck by a scythe and wounded. Then he sought a goose which was said to possess the art of healing. The goose was frightened and kept wounding the wolf anew with its hard beak. At last the wolf saw the craft of the goose and pretended to have quinsy and persuaded the goose to put its beak in his throat and swallowed the unhappy fowl, only to die afterward of his own wounds.

No. 115, "De asino, qui voluit scire ovi cornicis dispositionem." A loaded ass was passing a church and heard the priest declare that the state of men and beasts was similar to that of the crow's egg. The ass threw off his load and tried to climb a tree in order to see what the condition of the crow's egg really was. He got a fellow-ass to help him up and saw that the eggs were white. "Oh," he exclaimed, "am I so fair? I will not carry any more loads, but how shall I descend?" The crow happened along and said: "If you will promise not to climb up again, I will carry you down." The ass that he was, trusted to the crow and fell heavily down. Then he exclaimed: "I will not climb a tree again, but will remain an ass as I was before," and so he again resumed his burden.

As will be seen from the above résumé the collection made by Klapper is an interesting one and contains some important analogues. The editing is, however, as I have shown above, very inadequate. The student of this class of literature will see from my references how indispensable to all workers in this field is the *Catalogue* of Mr. J. A. Herbert, recently discussed in these pages.

T. F. Crane

Ithaca, N.Y.
December 27, 1912

Note.—My colleague, Professor G. L. Hamilton, has called my attention to the following corrections and additions: No. 30, see G. L. Hamilton on death of Herodias in *Romania*, XLI, 278 ff. No. 39, cf. Grimm, *Deutsche*

Sagen, No. 328. No. 47, The *Vita S. Brandani* known to the writer was probably not the *Navigatio* printed by Jubinal, but the fuller text presented in the *Vita* printed by C. Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, the source of the Anglo-Norman version published by Suchier and Michel (cf. Plummer, *Zeitschrift für celt. Philol.*, V, 138; *op. cit.*, I, xlii). In this version (Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, 286–87, chaps. xii, xiv, Anglo-Norman trans. ed. Suchier, 1300 ff., 1355 ff., *Romanische Studien*, I, 581, 582), Judas relates in detail how he rests "die dominica," and then goes through various punishments, beginning "in die lune," details of which there is no sign in the other versions. No. 66, for further analogues see A. Schönbach in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 163, I, 35, for name of demon see *Studien zur vergl. Literaturgesch.*, VI, 279. No. 74, for the first part of the the Jonah-story see R. Köhler in *Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Warncke, pp. c ff.; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1910, 273; *Proceedings of the Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 1887, 145; A. Henry, *Travels*, 1909, 107. In some of the instances cited emphasis is laid on the fact that the victim was tied helpless to a plank, as in this example, a substitution of the earlier custom of throwing in the victim after cutting off his limbs. For the second part add R. K. Klein, *Schriften*, I, 117; von der Leyen in *Archiv für das Studium der neuer. Sprachen*, CXVII, 84; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 340; *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, IV, 110. No. 80, The flower of Dudirstat which blooms on Christmas Eve is paralleled by the well-known Glastonbury thorn and similar marvels elsewhere; see Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, ed. Ellis, II, 293 ff.; III, 375 ff.; *Folk-Lore*, V, 337; XXI, 225; XXII, 323; *Joseph of Arimathea*, ed. Skeat, xxii; *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 1907, 103; Trevelyan, *Folklore and Folk Tales of Wales*, 106; *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, III, 230. No. 97, There is another Latin version not yet noted in the sermon of the Spanish preacher in *Revista de archivos*, ser. III, Vol. VII, pp. 420–21; an unnoted version is also in Renal, *Contes de Madegascas*, II, 21–22.

POPE IN GERMANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There is still a wide difference of opinion in regard to the influence which Pope exerted upon German literature in the eighteenth century. Hettner, for example, seeks to minimize this influence, and holds that only the weaknesses of Pope, not his excellences, had passed over to his German imitators.[1] It is also widely assumed that Pope had nothing that appealed to the new literary taste developed during the latter part of the century, that amid the enthusiasm which writers like Shakespeare aroused, Pope was completely forgotten. This is the opinion of one of his recent critics who says: "In Deutschland nahm das Interesse für Pope ganz und gar ab, als das strahlende Gestirn eines Shakespeare zu leuchten anfing."[2] There are those, on the other hand, who regard Pope's influence as much more vital and lasting. Max Koch,[3] quite contrary to Hettner, thinks that Pope's most important characteristic, his style, did much toward the development of the German poetic language and that some of the greatest literary men of the eighteenth century, such as Lessing, Wieland, and Schiller, learned important lessons from him.

Extensive proof for any of these more or less contradictory opinions in regard to Pope is still lacking. The critical studies dealing with the subject are few and limit themselves to special phases.[4] I am offering here, therefore, the first part of a somewhat detailed investigation covering the entire question. It is my purpose (1) to show the extent to which Pope was read by the Germans of the

[1] "Gesch. d. d. Lit. im 18. Jahrh.," 4. Aufl., I, 306.

[2] Karl Graner, "Die Übersetzungen von Popes Essay on Criticism und ihr Verhältnis zum Original" (Aschaffenburg, 1910), p. 3.

[3] "Ueber die Beziehungen der Eng. Lit. zur Deutschen im 18. Jahrh." (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 12 ff.

[4] In addition to the work of Graner already cited, should be mentioned: Erich Petzet, Die deutschen Nachahmungen des Popeschen Lockenraubes, "Zs. vergl. Litg.," Neue Folge, Bd. IV (1891), pp. 409 ff.; R. Maak, "Ueber Popes Einfluss auf die Idylle und das Lehrgedicht in Deutschland" (Graz, 1895); A. Frick, "Ueber Popes Einfluss auf Hagedorn." Progr. (Wien, 1900). A brief sketch of Pope's influence in Germany is found in Albrecht Deetz, "Alexander Pope. Ein Beitrag zur Litg. des 18. Jahrh., nebst Proben Popescher Dichtungen" (Leipzig, 1876).

eighteenth century, (2) to give an account of their critical attitude toward him, (3) to trace the influences which he had upon their literature.

GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF POPE

The present study will limit itself chiefly to the first of the points outlined, an examination of the various translations of Pope's works during the eighteenth century and a statement of the conditions under which they originated.

To the German translator, Pope offered many difficulties. Although such well-known poets as Brockes, Hagedorn, Eschenburg, and Bürger are counted among his translators, the work of none of them received the distinction that was accorded Ebert's translation of Young for example, a work which so far excelled its competitors as to discourage further attempts.

It is undoubtedly no mere accident that Ebert, who enjoyed in his time the reputation of being the greatest German translator from the English, avoided Pope. His experience as a translator and his excellent knowledge of both languages showed him at once the almost insurmountable difficulties which he who would translate Pope adequately would meet. While the sonorous and loosely joined lines of Young may be satisfactorily rendered in equally sonorous prose, that is not the case with the terse, highly polished and sententious couplets of Pope. Pope without his style is no longer Pope, and any translator that leaves this out of consideration gives his readers no adequate conception of his author.

It is, I think, generally agreed that a translation which disregards Pope's meter misses one of the chief characteristics of his style. There is no other metrical form which is so well suited to express his pointed antitheses as the heroic couplet. But this metrical form was new to the Germans of the eighteenth century and presented difficulties due to essential differences in the two languages. The German language has a much greater tendency to compound words and is much more highly inflected than the English. As a natural consequence, the same idea can generally be expressed in fewer syllables in English than in German, and if we add to this natural terseness of the English language the unusual compactness of Pope's style, the difficulty of confining Pope's antithesis to the couplet is at once

apparent. In addition to this, Pope's thoughts, often commonplace though very pleasing in the polished setting which he gives them, are likely to appear flat in the idiom of another language.

But the German translator was at another great disadvantage. The English language had attained a very high degree of development a century before Pope began to write, while the German language, well on into the second half of the eighteenth century, was still crude and unwieldy. The change which the latter underwent between 1740 and the advent of Goethe and Schiller is truly remarkable. It will be seen that the numerous translations and imitations of Pope did much toward bringing about this change. The conciseness and highly finished language of Pope was a topic ever upon the lips of the German critic, so that many a German writer, to acquire these much desired characteristics of style, schooled himself in the poetry of Pope. We will now see with what success the translators of Pope coped with these difficulties.

1. *Pope First Entered Germany Through France*

It is entirely natural that France should be the most important early medium through which the fame of Pope was extended to other European countries. Pope had learned much from France. His literary doctrines were in a large measure those of French pseudo-classicism represented by Boileau. The work of Pope was received, therefore, in France with immediate and almost universal favor, while the works of Shakespeare and Milton were regarded as barbarous. Among the noted French critics it was particularly Voltaire who by his lavish praise did much toward directing the attention of Europe to Pope.[1]

The Germans on the other hand, with Gottsched as the chief exponent of French literary theories, had learned to accept without question the critical opinions of France. It was, therefore, largely through French translations and through the numerous reviews and criticisms which during the third and fourth decades of the century circulated in such journals as the "Mémoirs de Travaux," the "Journal des Scavans" and the "Nouvelle Bibliothèque" that Germany made its first acquaintance with Pope. German criticism of Pope

[1] Cf. Archibald Ballantyne, "Voltaire's Visit to England (1726–29)," (London, 1893), pp. 72 and 86.

during this period confined itself in a large measure to translations from these journals or to reviews of French translations.[1]

On account of the position of authority in matters social, political, and literary, which France had acquired in Germany as well as on the continent generally, the French language had become the second mother-tongue among the Germans. English, on the other hand, was a language little known in Germany until the rapidly growing interest in English literature made its acquirement among the cultured a necessity. With the general interest in Pope aroused, it then became a question of either reading him in the French or translating him from French translations into German. It was by the latter method that the first German translation of Pope, that of "The Rape of the Lock," appeared in 1739 in prose by an unknown translator.[2]

By the title of the work the author conveys the impression that he had made the translation directly from the English, and in the introduction he says nothing to the contrary. But there is every evidence that he had nothing before him except the French prose translation of 1728.[3] A comparison of the two works makes this at once apparent. The Frenchman prides himself in his introduction on his faithfulness to the English[4] but takes great liberties with his text. Whole lines are omitted, other ideas added, and the sense of the English is often badly distorted. In all of these deviations the German follows his French model religiously. His meager introduction also contains nothing not found in the introduction of the French work.

Two years later was published a translation of the "Essay on Man" under similar circumstances.[5] According to the introduction it is the work of the leisure hours of a busy public official who lays

[1] Cf., e.g., the early criticisms of Pope in "Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen," Leipzig; and the "Frankfurter gelehrte Zeitungen."

[2] "Der merkwürdige Haar-Locken-Raub des Herrn Pope, aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche übersetzt" (Dresden), 1739.

[3] "La Boucle de Cheveux enlevée, poëme héroïcomique de M. Pope. Traduit de l'Anglois, par M.L.D.F. À Paris, 1728."

[4] "La traduction," he says, "est très littérale. On n'a rien ajouté, ni rien retouché et si elle renferme quelque différences, elle sont légères et dans les régles" (p. 11).

[5] "Des Ritters Alexander Pope Versuch an dem Menschen, in vier Sitten-Briefen an Henrich St. Jean, Grafen von Bolingbroke über die Natur und den Zustand des Menschen. Zuerst aus dem Englischen in das Frantzösische, durch den Hn. Abt. Du Resnel, und nunmehr in das Teutsche übersetzet. Nebst einigen andern Uebersetzungen. Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Frantz Varrentrapp, 1741."

no claim to scholarship. He says that he may not always have written in the pure Saxon dialect and his datives and ablatives may not always be correct, but that his chief aim was to reproduce the beauty of the thought rather than that of the language. He claims no knowledge of English, giving as his only source Du Resnel's French translation.[1]

This work of Du Resnel, to which was added a translation of the "Essay on Criticism," owing to the smoothness of its verse, was undoubtedly the most widely read translation on the continent during the two decades following its appearance. It was only after a wider acquaintance with the original and after the weakness of Crousaz' attack upon Pope had become generally known, a weakness which was due to some extent to this French translation which Crousaz had used, that the public became aware of the extreme liberties which Du Resnel had taken with Pope's text. To adapt Pope's two Essays to his French readers Du Resnel felt himself compelled to make many changes. Passages too harsh for the aesthetic French ear were entirely omitted, others were rearranged or expanded, and he occasionally found himself obliged to supply the necessary transitions which he felt were lacking in the original, so that the number of alexandrine lines in his version is more than half as large again as the number of pentameter lines in Pope.

The German translator follows his French model very closely. He not only reproduces the lengthy preface of Du Resnel, but also prints the French text of the "Essay" opposite his own. Like his model, he uses the rhymed alexandrine and limits himself exactly to the number of lines in the French. As a translation of Pope the work was, of course, of little value. The unscientific method of this unknown translator did not, even in that less critical age, pass without its due censure.[2]

The gross faults of the French translations, particularly of "The Rape of the Lock" of 1728, upon which, as we have seen, the first German translation of that work was based, became the subject of

[1] "Les Principes de la Morale et du Goût, en Deux Poëmes, traduits de l'anglois de M. Pope, par M. Du Resnel, Abbé de Sept-Fountaines, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. À Paris, 1737."

[2] Cf., e.g., "Göttinger gel. Anzeigen," 1741, p. 597 f.; and "Freymüthige Nachrichten," Zürich, I (1744), 373.

extensive comment by Frau Gottsched in the introduction to her translation of "The Rape of the Lock," published in 1744,[1] and in the footnotes of her text she gives numerous illustrations of the liberties which the anonymous Frenchman had taken with Pope's work. Six or seven years before, she tells us, she had been induced to begin a translation of Pope's mock-heroic from the above-mentioned French translation and that she had finished four cantos before she finally secured an English edition. "Aber wie erstaunte ich," she exclaims," und wie sehr reute mich meine Zeit und Mühe, als ich sah, wie weit wir von dieses grossen Dichters Feuer, Scharfsinningkeit, kurzen nachdrücklichen Satiren, und edlen poetischen Beschreibungen entfernt waren." In her chagrin she denounces all French translations as unreliable and advises all who wish to save themselves time and trouble to avoid them. In view of the decided leaning of Gottsched toward French literature, it is somewhat surprising to note the fervor with which she defends her own country against what she regards as the conceited and overrated French, and this at a time when the relative merits of French and English literature were being bitterly contested by Gottsched and his opponents.[2]

It was some time after the disheartening experience with this French translation that Frau Gottsched took up the work again and translated the final canto from the English. This, she tells us, proved so much easier and so much more successful that she decided to translate the entire work from the English.

When we take into consideration how early the translation was made and the difficulties of the task, we must regard it as a very creditable effort. She was unfortunate in choosing the somewhat heavy alexandrines for the light content of Pope's mock-heroic; but this fault must be ascribed to the fashion of the day rather than

[1] "Herrn Alexander Popens Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht. Aus dem Englischen in deutsche Verse übersetzt, von Luisen Adelgunden Victorien Gottschedinn. Nebst einem Anhange zwoer freyen Uebersetzungen aus dem Französischen. Leipzig, in Bernhard Christoph Breitkopfs Verlag. 1744."

[2] "Man wundert sich nämlich gar sehr," she says, "dass die Deutschen einmal anfangen, die so lange vergrösserte und von uns blindlings geglaubte Grösse der französischen Verdienste zu untersuchen, und es frey herauszusagen: man fände dass sie auch schwache Menschen sind, und es habe unserm Vaterlande an grossen Männern niemals gefehlet, fehle ihm auch voritzo nicht an solchen, die es mit allen gallischen Sternen erster Grösze gar wohl aufnehmen, und selbige gar verdunkeln können. Das ist nun freylich ein verwägner Eingriff in den bisherigen ruhigen Besitz des französischen Vorzuges vor den Deutschen!"

to any lack in herself of a sense of poetic fitness. Her lines are rhythmic and generally poetic. She attempts to imitate, often successfully, Pope's compressed style without committing the glaring improprieties in language of which so many other translators of Pope were guilty. However, in spite of her effort to follow her text closely, she is sometimes guilty of inaccuracies.[1]

The same year in which this work came from the press, a long and scathing criticism of it appeared in the "Züricher Freymüthigen Nachrichten,"[2] a journal with which Bodmer was closely connected. The reviewer refused to recognize even the slightest merit in the work and used it, apparently, merely as a pretext for an attack upon the hostile party, an excellent illustration of the general character of the criticism during this period of literary readjustment in Germany, where sane and unbiased judgment often gave way to personal vilification.[3]

In 1772, after the death of Frau Gottsched, a revised edition of the work was published by an unknown editor.[4] It had been the desire of the translator before her death to correct the numerous mistakes which she acknowledged had crept into her translation, but this she was unable to carry out. It was felt that the work possessed sufficient merit to warrant the contemplated revised edition. The editor accordingly subjected it to a thorough revision in which he sought to avoid most of the features which had been found objectionable.

The French influence shows itself not only in these translations from the French, but also in several German publications of French versions. Here belongs the translation of the "Essay on Man" by Baron de Schleinitz, published in Helmstedt in 1749.[5] Ostensibly the author's purpose was to produce a verse translation of Pope's

[1] As, e.g., when she translates: "For life predestined to the gnomes embrace" (Canto I, 80) by "Sind schon lebend bösen Gnomen zur Umarmung ausgesetzt" (p. 5); "mystic order" (I, 122) by "verborgne Ordnung" (p. 7); "well-dressed youths" (II, 5) by "goldne Stutzer" (p. 9); and "the finny prey" (II, 26) by "leichtes Fussvolk" (p. 10).

[2] I, 278 f. and 283 ff.

[3] Cf. the much more favorable review in "Zuverlässige Nachrichten," Leipzig, VI (1745), 219–28.

[4] "Herrn Alexander Popens Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht. Aus dem Englischen in deutsche Verse übersetzet, von Luisen Adelgunden Victorien Gottschedinn. In dieser Zweyten Auflage durchaus verbessert, und beinahe ganz umgearbeitet. Leipzig, 1772, bey Bernhard Christoph Breitkopfen und Sohne."

[5] "Essai sur l'Homme de Monsieur Pope. À Helmstedt, chez Jean Drimborn, 1749."

Essay that would avoid the serious faults of Du Resnel's work; really, however, it seems to have been to furnish himself with a pretext for an elaborate dedication to the reigning family of Brunswick. After the usual encomiums upon Pope and an acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Brockes, whose translation he regards as the best that had up to that time been produced in any language, he reviews at great length the faults of the popular French version of Du Resnel. Turning now to his translation, we find that he escaped but few of Du Resnel's shortcomings and produced none of his excellencies. We look in vain for Pope's "traits hardis," his "pensées extraordinaires" and "ces expressions singulières qui frappent" which he missed in Du Resnel's rendering. He freely adds ideas of his own and expands Pope's thoughts so that the number of his alexandrine lines is nearly three times the number in the English.[1]

One of the earliest translations of "Eloise to Abelard" published in Germany appeared likewise in the French language. It formed part of a collection of translations in French of a number of English authors, published according to the title-page in Berlin in 1751.[2]

[1] There was also a Latin translation made in Germany a few years before with the following title: "Alexandri Pope, Equitis Anglicani & Poetae incomparabilis Commentatis de Homine Poetica, ex Anglico Idiomate, in Latinum translata & Carmine Heroico expressa, Notisque subiunctis illustrata, per Joh. Joachimum Gottlob Am-Ende, Bonarum Artium Magistrum ac Diaconum Graeffenhaynensem." Vitemberg, 1743. That the work appeared the year before is shown by two reviews: "Zuverlässige Nachr.," Leipzig, III (1742), 815–22, and "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," Hamburg, 1742, No. 177, November 7. Pope, who was ever on the alert to increase his popularity abroad, had previously to this employed Dobson, who had gained considerable reputation through his translation of Prior's "Solomon," to prepare a Latin verse translation of the Essay. After completing half the work, however, he gave up his task. Pope's further attempt to procure someone who could turn it into Latin prose seemed equally unsuccessful. When, therefore, a copy of this Wittenberg translation was sent to him by the author, Am-Ende, at Hagedorn's suggestion (cf. Friedrich von Hagedorn's "Poetische Werke," hrsg. von Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800. Fünfter Theil, p. 60, note), he examined it, no doubt, with considerable interest. Pope had considered all foreign translations with which he was acquainted unsatisfactory in that either the sense or the poetry was lost in them. This Latin translation was no exception in this regard, for while he pronounced it a very faithful rendering, he thought it inelegant. (Cf. "The Works of Alexander Pope," edited by Elwin, London, 1871, II, 267, note.)

[2] Mélange de différentes Pièces de Vers et de Prose traduites de l'Anglois, d'après Mdmes Elize Haywood et Suzanne Centlivre. Mrs. Pope, Southern et autres. A Berlin, 1751." 3 vols. "Héloïse à Abailard," Vol. 2, pp. 1–41. (Cf. "Lessings Schriften," Lachmann-Muncker Ausg., IV, 261.)

A collection of Pope's Works in French with Amsterdam and Leipzig upon the title-page seems to have had extensive circulation in Germany. It was published first in two volumes under the title: "Oeuvres diverses de M. Pope. À Amsterdam et à Leipzig, chez Arkstée et Merkus 1749." Vol. I contains Du Resnel's verse translation of the "Essay on Man," and the "Essay on Criticism," and "La Boucle de Cheveux enlevée. Poëme Héroïcomique, trad. en vers Francois par M. . . . ." Vol. II contains the same

There is but one other translation to be mentioned which was directly based upon a French text, namely a version in alexandrines of "Eloise to Abelard" published in 1760.[1] The anonymous author places parallel to his text a French rendering which had come from the press the year before.[2] This French text seems to have been his only guide, for he follows closely its extremely free paraphrase of Pope's work.

After the middle of the century the German language began again to assume a position of respectability as a literary language, so that the demand for French translations of foreign works was no longer felt. A more general knowledge of the English language, as a result of a rapidly growing interest in English literature, made it likewise unnecessary to use the unscientific expedient of translating English works from the French.

2. *Hamburg and the Early Pope Translations*

Of all the cities in Germany, Hamburg was the first to show a prominent interest in English literature. The commercial importance of the city brought her merchants frequently to the English capital, and for the same reason English business men were accustomed to visit the German port. Amid these intimate commercial relations, it could hardly have remained uninformed of the important literary events across the channel, especially since it had comparatively easy access to English publications. Hamburg thus early became the chief distributing point of English literary works in Germany.[3] It was here that the English moral weeklies of Addison

works in prose together with the "Moral Epistles." The "Berlinischen wöchentlichen Berichte der merkwürdigsten Begebenheiten des Reichs der Wissenschaften und Künsten" for the year 1749, p. 213, commends the publishers and suggests that the other works of Pope be added to this edition. "Ein so sinnreicher Schriftsteller, als Hr. Pope," the review continues, "verdienet von jedermann gelesen zu werden; und es ist besser, dass wir von ihm eine vollständige getreue Uebersetzung haben, als dass aus selbigen einige Brocken abgeborget, und in deutsch gebrochenen Gedichten vorgeleget und vor deutschen Wiz und was neues verkauft werden." This suggestion was carried out; an enlarged edition of the work was published 1754 in 6 vols., another in 1758 in 7 vols. and an 8-vol. edition containing the complete works of Pope in 1767.

[1] "Brief der Heloise an den Abelard. Eine freie Uebersetzung aus dem Herrn Pope. Gotha bey Christian Mevius, 1760."

[2] "Lettre D'Héloïse à Abélard. Traduction libre de M. Pope. Par M.C. . . . . Au Paraclet, 1759."

[3] Bodmer, e.g., was indebted to Hagedorn (in Hamburg) for a number of English works. Cf. "Litterarische Pamphlete aus der Schweiz. Nebst Briefen an Bodmern." Zürich, 1781, p. 101.

and Steele were eagerly read almost immediately upon their publication and where their first German imitations appeared. It was in Hamburg, too, where "Robinson Crusoe" made its first appearance in German dress, which started the flood of "Robinsonaden" in Germany that has not yet subsided. Here also Thomson's "Seasons" was first translated and exerted its earliest influence upon German poetry.

It was upon this already much traveled literary route that Pope first entered Germany directly from England through Brockes' translation of the "Essay on Man." Brockes was among the first important literary men of Germany to show a decided interest in English literature. He was one of the leaders in the "Patriotischen Gesellschaft," an interested reader of the English "Spectator" and a contributor to the "Patriot" (1724–27), one of the most important German imitations of the English moral weeklies. His translation appeared in 1740, but he had long before been a close student of Pope whose influence is clearly reflected in the early issues of his "Irdischen Vergnügen in Gott."

Brockes was considered, on account of his fame as a poet and his reputation as a translator,[1] the one best fitted for translating Pope. As early as 1737, in a somewhat extensive review in the "Frankfurter gelehrten Zeitungen"[2] of several French translations from Pope, the reviewer, after calling attention to the excellent work of the English poet and deploring in contrast to this the degenerate condition of German literature,[3] gives a resumé of the "Essay on Man" and continues: "Schöne Lehren einer unbetrüglichen Weltweissheit! würdige Früchten eines wohlgeübten Verstandes. Es wäre zu wünschen, dass eine Feder, die so richtig in der Uebersetzung und so zierlich in ihren Ausdrücken, als des Herrn Brocks seine wäre, dieses schöne Gedicht in Teutscher Sprach heraus geben möchte."

Encouragement of this kind finally persuaded Brockes to undertake the translation, which he completed probably early in 1739. In the "Hamburgischen Berichten von gelehrten Sachen" of this year,[4] B. J. Zinck, a young scholar and at that time tutor in Brockes'

[1] Especially his translation of Marino's "Strage degli Innocenti," 1715.

[2] II, 433 ff.

[3] "Bey uns herrscht ein dürftiger Zwang. Wir denken aus Noth. Wir schreiben aus Armuth und machen grosse Bücher, die niemand lieset" (p. 435).

[4] No. 74, pp. 633–39.

family at Ritzbüttel, published a preliminary announcement of this work of Brockes, stating that the latter had undertaken it both for his own edification and for the benefit of his countrymen, and that it had been completed some time since. This announcement is accompanied by a summary of the excellences of Pope's "Essay" and of its contents.

The work which came from the press early the following year (1740)[1] contains besides the English and German texts of Pope's "Essay" other translations, including several extracts from Thomson and Milton. To these translations of Brockes was added Zinck's translation of Warburton's "Defense" of Pope's "Essay" against the charges of Crousaz, the appearance of which with this first German translation of the "Essay" was especially timely, since Crousaz' attack upon Pope's philosophical system in the "Essay on Man" had been given wide circulation upon the continent.[2]

Of considerable importance also was the general introduction by Zinck, in which he gave a brief biography of Pope and a somewhat extensive criticism of his works. He regarded Pope as a keen philosopher and one of the most graceful and correct of poets, who had excelled all of his predecessors in the skill with which he had united metaphysics and poetry.

The numerous reviews which followed reiterated in a general way this criticism of Zinck and the majority of them speak favorably of Brockes' translation,[3] while a few, like the "Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen,"[4] carefully avoid a discussion of its merits in their notices of the work. But even at this early date, the time of Brockes'

[1] The complete title is: "Hrn. B. H. Brockes, Lti. Com. Pal. Caes. Rathsherrn der Stadt Hamburg, und p. t. Amtmanns zu Ritzbüttel, aus dem Englischen übersetzter Versuch vom Menschen, des Herrn Alexander Pope, Esq., nebst verschiedenen andern Uebersetzungen und einigen Gedichten. Nebst einer Vorrede und einem Anhange von Briefen, worinnen die Einwürfe des Hrn. C. . . . . wider den Essay on Man beantwortet werden, aus der History of the Works of the Learned übersetzt von B. J. Zinck. Hamburg, verlegts Christian Harold, 1740."

[2] This Defense consisted of five letters and was published serially without the author's name in "The History of the Works of the Learned" beginning December, 1738. These were later expanded into six letters and appeared in book form in 1740. The first work of Crousaz against Pope was published in 1737, under the title: "Examen de l'Essay de Monsieur Pope Sur L'Homme. Par Monsieur de Crousaz, Membre des Académies Royales, etc. À Lausanne, chez Marc-Mich. Bousquet & Comp. Et se vent à Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier, 1737."

[3] See especially, "Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitungen des Hamb. Correspondenten," 1741, No. 112; and "Franckfurtische gelehrte Zeitungen," VI (1741), 385 ff.

[4] 1740, p. 458.

greatest popularity as a poet, critics were not lacking who were fearless enough to call the attention of the public to some of the weaknesses of this translation.[1]

Brockes was unfortunate in choosing the extremely long meter of eight feet, which often led him to make meaningless additions of his own to complete the lines. He frequently lacks clearness and successfully conceals every one of the much admired characteristics of Pope's style. The very fact that this extremely prosy translation was the work of one who, by a large following, was considered the greatest German poet of his day shows us the extreme crudity of the German poetic language of this time.[2]

Along with Brockes and Zinck, Hagedorn was equally active in Hamburg in furthering this growing interest in English literature. Through his connection with Brockes, Fabricius, Richey, and other promoters of the "Hamburger Patriot," his attention had been early directed toward the English moral philosophers and moral weeklies. His two years' residence in England (1729–31) naturally developed his knowledge and appreciation of English literature and of Pope in particular, who was at this time the most prominent literary figure in England. That the impression which Pope made upon the young poet was deep and lasting is shown by the distinct influence which the former exerted upon Hagedorn's later works.

In the dispute in regard to Pope's orthodoxy precipitated by Crousaz' charges, Pope found his friends in Germany, especially those in Hamburg, among his staunchest defenders. Pope had published in 1738 his "Universal Prayer," in which he attempted to show his doctrine to be based upon free will, not upon fatalism as his critics had concluded from the "Essay on Man." This poem was thus eagerly seized upon by his German supporters in his defense.

[1] "Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und Wachsthum der Wissenschaften," Leipzig, II (1741), 197 ff.

[2] Scarcely had Brockes' translation come from the press when in one of the reviews of this work ("Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1742, No. 112) another similar effort was brought to the notice of the public. With the review was printed a translation of a few pages from the beginning of Epistle I. This "Probe" is a distinct advance over Brockes. The unknown translator uses the rhymed alexandrine resembling Pope's couplets more closely than do Brockes' lines and seeks to limit, after Pope's manner, the thought to the couplet. But in his struggle for rhyme and meter he frequently deviates from the sense of the original. He received, apparently, little encouragement since his complete translation seems never to have been published.

The "Universal Prayer" was accordingly translated by Hagedorn and printed separately in 1742. Of the numerous versions of the poem which appeared in Germany during this century this was the most popular. It found wide circulation both through the numerous editions of Hagedorn's works and through reprints appearing in a number of journals in different parts of Germany.[1] This popularity was well deserved, for in spite of his disregard for the metrical simplicity and occasionally the thought of the original, he succeeded admirably in reproducing the spirit of Pope's poem. The essential changes which Hagedorn made in Pope's text were intended to protect the latter from the charges which had been made against him. The last line of the first stanza of the poem: "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord" was thus rendered by "Gott, dem alle Götter weichen" in order to remove from the line the suspicion of blasphemy which the original might convey. The editor of the "Hamburger Staats- und Gelehrten Zeitungen," in the introduction to his reprint, excuses Hagedorn's change of such "bedenkliche Stellen" as this and thinks that the author himself would never regret these changes. Indeed, he says, Pope, if he read the German version, ought to feel delighted to find a poem of his translated according to the principles of translation which he himself followed.

Altona, but a short distance from Hamburg, shared with the latter this general interest in English literature. It was here that in 1744 was made the first translation of the "Messiah" by Elias Caspar Reichards.[2] The Iversche Buchhandlung of Altona was particularly active during these early decades of English influence in

[1] A separate print of it in quarto in the city library of Zürich bears the following title: "Allgemeines Gebeth, in einer freyen Uebersetzung aus dem Pope. Hamburg, gedruckt mit Johann Georg Piscators Schriften." With other poems of Hagedorn it appeared first in his "Moralischen Gedichten," Hamburg, 1750, pp. 1 ff., where the date of the translation is given as 1742. In the latter year it was reprinted in a moral weekly of Hamburg, "Der Bewunderer" (Stück 46), evidently without Hagedorn's permission (cf. Stück 53 of the same journal). The following year it was copied in the "Hamburger Staats- u. gel. Ztgn." (St. 60), and in the "Franckfurtischen gel. Zeitungen" (VIII, 189 ff.) In 1754 it appeared again in the "Neuesten Sammlungen vermischter Schriften," Zürich, I, 65–76. To justify his reprint of the poem the editor of the latter work says: "Es verdient . . . . dass es weit bekannt sey. Man wird uns also nicht ohne Dank aufnemmen, dasz wir es hier in dieser Sammlung aufbehalten und weiter herum streuen."

[2] "Elias Caspar Reichards, öffentlichen Lehrers der Beredsamkeit und Dichtkunst an dem Königl. academischen Gymnasio zu Altona, Proben deutscher Gedichte. Nebst einigen Uebersetzungen. Altona" (Preface dated 1744). "Messias. Eine geistliche Ekloge. Nach Anleitung verschiedener Stellen des Propheten Jesaiä in Nachahmung des Polio, eines Virgilianischen Shäfergedichtes, aufgesetzt," pp. 190–99.

Germany in the spreading of this interest in English literature. The journals which came from time to time from its press, as, for example, the "Nordischen Beyträge" and the "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz" worked hand in hand with the various Hamburg journals in the extension of the knowledge of English literary works throughout Germany. Some of the journals were still essentially moralizing in tone, after the manner of the moral weekly, and they drew much of their material from English didactic writers. This explains, no doubt, the appearance in the latter magazine of translations of several of Pope's Epistles and the "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady."[1] The translations are mere literal prose renderings and give the reader no idea of the real Pope.

From the Iversche Buchhandlung came also (1758–64) the first and only German translation of Pope's complete works in the eighteenth century. By 1758 all of the important works of Pope had been translated, but these translations were, for the most part, either inferior or absolutely unreliable. In view of the wide circle of readers which Pope had in Germany, it was thought a highly desirable as well as profitable undertaking to furnish these German readers of Pope a complete and uniform translation. This work was undertaken by Johann Jacob Dusch, Professor of the English and German languages at the Gymnasium of Altona and known among his contemporaries as the author of numerous didactic poems in imitation of Pope, Thomson, and Young. The translation was made in prose and was based upon Warburton's edition of 1752.

The first volume came from the press in 1758 without the name of the translator.[2] A review of this volume appeared in the "Züricher

[1] "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz. In der Commission der Iverschen Buchhandlung." Altona, 1758. Erstes Quartal, "Vom Gebrauch der Reichthümer an Lord Bathurst," p, 65–80; "Von der Eitelkeit im Aufwande an Richard Grafen von Burlington," pp. 129–39; "Elegie zum Andenken eines unglücklichen Frauenzimmers," pp. 172–75. Zweytes Quartal, "Von der Erkenntniss und den Charakteren der Menschen," pp. 193–204.

Shortly before this, a prose translation had been published of Epistles I, II, and IV, and of a letter of Berckley to Pope dated Oct. 22, 1717, in Göttingen in a collection of moralistic works drawn from the English Moral weeklies, Mrs. Rowe, Pope, and a number of German sources. The collection bears the title: "Meisterstücke moralischer Abhandlungen Englischer und Deutscher Sittenlehrer. Zweyte Auflage. Göttingen, bey Victorinns Bossiegel," 1754–57. 5 Sammlungen in 1 vol. I have been unable to find any trace of the first edition of this work.

[2] "Herrn Alexander Pope Esq. sämmtliche Werke. Mit Wilh. Warburtons Commentar und Anmerkungen aus dessen neuester und bester Ausgabe übersetzt. Altona, bey David Iversen." Erster Band, 1758; zweyter Bd. 1759; dritter Bd., 1761; vierter Bd., 1763; fünfter Bd. 1764.

Freymüthigen Nachrichten" which speaks of it in most favorable terms, regarding it as the beginning of a translation which expressed faithfully the genius and the distinguishing beauties of Pope's immortal works, so that the insects which had so industriously "metamorphosirt" Pope in the past could now tranquilly be forgotten.[1]

But this was by no means the prevailing opinion of Dusch's work. In the first issue of the "Berliner Literaturbriefe"[2] Lessing called attention to its essential weakness, resulting in the bitterest controversy between Dusch and his Hamburg and Altona friends on the one hand and the Berlin critics, Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai on the other. Lessing, himself a close reader of English literature, saw clearly the pernicious influence which the numerous inferior translations that were being scattered broadcast over Germany exerted upon the very movement which they were intended to foster. In his opinion Dusch belonged to this class of translators. "Was haben sie nicht schon alles übersetzt," he says in the above review, "und was werden sie nicht noch übersetzen! Eben itzt habe ich einen vor mir, der sich an einen englischen Dichter—rathen Sie einmal an welchen!—gemacht hat. O Sie können es doch nicht errathen!—An Pope."

Lessing had for several years been a student of Pope and in his criticism of Dusch's translation he shows us how clearly he comprehended the fundamental character of Pope's poetry. His criticism of Pope, although commonplace today, was far from being so to the Germans of his day. The greatest contribution of Pope lies, in his opinion, in what might be called the mechanics of poetry; his essential aim being to put the most cogent thought into the fewest and most musical words, and rhyme being with him by no means a negligible matter. Pope cannot therefore, he thinks, be reproduced in prose, as Dusch has done, without gross misrepresentation.[3]

[1] "Freymüthige Nachrichten von neuen Büchern, und anderen zur Gelehrtheit gehörigen Sachen," Zürich, 1759, p. 181.

[2] Zweyter Brief, Jan. 4, 1759. Cf. Lessings Schriften, *op. cit.*, VIII, 5–7.

[3] "Einen Dichter, dessen grosses, ich will nicht sagen grösztes, Verdienst in dem war, was wir das Mechanische der Poesie nennen; dessen ganze Mühe dahin ging, den reichsten, triftigsten Sinn in die wenigsten, wohlklingensten Worte zu legen; dem der Reim keine Kleinigkeit war—einen solchen Dichter in Prosa zu übersetzen, heiszt ihn ärger entstellen, als man den Euklides entstellen würde, wenn man ihn in Verse übersetzte."

In the introduction to the first volume of the translation, Dusch flattered himself upon his perfect understanding of his author and upon his own poetic gift to aid him in reproducing, at least in some measure, the clarity and poetic fire of the original. Lessing, however, convincingly shows the translation to lack the very qualities which Dusch claimed for it. Indeed, he points out how in various places he had absolutely misunderstood his author.

In 1758 Moses Mendelssohn, the friend of Lessing, had begun in the "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften,"[1] an extensive review of Warton's "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope,"[2] which was continued the following year.[3] This continuation was prefaced by a scathing review of the first volume of Dusch's translation, in which he repeated in all essentials the previous criticism of Lessing. Like him, he attempted to show the inadequacy of turning Pope into prose and produced an additional list of faulty translations. At the same time he gave, in his review of Warton's "Essay," an application of his theory of translation by turning into German verse numerous citations which Warton had made from Pope.[4]

These reviews of Lessing and Mendelssohn were instantly followed by numerous replies either by Dusch himself or were inspired by him against what he regarded as an unjust criticism by the anonymous Berlin critics.[5] He insisted upon the fact that Pope could not be translated satisfactorily into German verse, citing as evidence the numerous unreadable verse translations that already existed of the various works of Pope, and in contrast to these the general excellence of Drollinger's prose version of the "Essay on Criticism." The verse translations of Pope which Mendelssohn made in his review he condemns both for their inaccuracy and for their ineffectiveness. Beauty of thought and musical harmony in a foreign

[1] IV (1758), 500–32. [2] Vol. I, London, 1756.

[3] Pp. 627–69. Cf. "Mendelssohn's gesammelte Schriften," Leipzig, 1844, IV, 388–439.

[4] It is in this connection that Mendelssohn made his translation of "The Dying Christian to his Soul," which on account of its general excellence was later reprinted (see below, p. 42).

[5] "Hamburger Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitungen," Vol. 1759, March 24 and June 29; "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," 1759, pp. 378–85. The translation, Vol. II, "An den Leser," pp. 3–10. "Briefe an Freunde und Freundinnen über verschiedene kritische, freundschaftliche, und andere vermischte Materien." [By Dusch], Altona, bey David Iversen, 1759, pp. 209 ff. "Das Dorf. Ein Gedicht von Joh. Jac. Dusch, der sch. Wissensch. Prof., Altona, bey Iversen, 1760." "An den Leser," pp. 5–14.

author he insists cannot both be reproduced with equal fidelity in a translation, hence if one must be neglected at the expense of the other it should be the latter. He is unwilling to concede the incorrectness of certain passages with which his first critic, Lessing, had found fault and makes a foolish attempt to defend his translation of these passages.[1]

To the personal invective which characterized most of these replies the Berlin critics paid but little attention. They regarded this as merely a challenge to produce further proof of the carelessness with which he had translated Pope and of his ignorance of the English language. Thus, immediately after the appearance of the second volume of the translation in 1759 appeared a review of it in the "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften"[2] which called attention to the numerous errors in the work.[3]

If these criticisms were naturally ineffective in changing the essential character of the rest of this work, they were at least responsible for the greater care used in the preparation of the later volumes. For Pope these discussions resulted in a direct gain, for they not only called wide attention to him in Germany but they also warned his German readers against this and similar translations which failed to reproduce his distinguishing characteristics.

3. *Translations Growing Out of the Bodmer-Gottsched Controversy*

We have seen the important part which northern Germany played in the dissemination of English literary influence in Germany beginning about the third decade of the eighteenth century. A similar movement was going on at the same time in distant Switzerland which was even more important because more aggressive than this,

[1] E.g., in the following taken from "The Author's Preface": "it is very unreasonable that people should expect us to be scholars, and yet be angry to find us so," he renders "scholars" by "Schüler"; and in the "Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" he translates "Virgil who copies Theocritus" by "Virgil der den Theokrit ausschreibt."

[2] V, 93–104. Cf. also the further brief discussions of the work by Lessing in "Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend," Lessings Schriften, *op. cit.*, VIII, 63 f., and pp. 94 f. Also "Fabeln," Berlin, 1759, Einleitung.

[3] Errors like the following occur: "Nor hallowed dirge be muttered o'er thy tomb" (Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, l. 62) he translates "und kein geheiligter Koth auf dein Grab gestreut ist" (I, 222); "The Wife of Bath" becomes "Die Badefrau" (I, 99); "A Steed that carries double when there's need" (The Happy Life of a Country Parson, l. 324) occurs as "ein Pferd das Doppelbier holet, wenn es nöthig ist" (II, 180); "And best distinguished by black, brown or fair" (Moral Essays, Epistle II, l. 4) is translated by "und schwarz, braun oder schön" (III, 247).

and which, through open conflict with existing ideals and conditions, hastened the process of literary regeneration that was necessary and inevitable. In this contest the Swiss school with Bodmer and Breitinger at its head and others like Drollinger and Haller as well as many in Germany in active sympathy with them, sought their chief defense in English literary precedent. It was Milton around whom the conflict was at first concentrated, but other English writers like Shakespeare, Thomson, and Pope were soon forced to become the innocent participants in the struggle. Although essential differences exist between Milton and Shakespeare on the one hand and Pope on the other, the work of the latter was eagerly quoted by the Swiss in support of their literary theories, for Pope was considered, both in England and France and even by the school of Gottsched, an acknowledged literary authority.

It was for this reason that a translation of Pope's "Essay on Criticism" found a place beside Bodmer's translation of the first book of "Paradise Lost" in the "Sammlung critischer Schriften," published 1741–44 in Zürich and aimed primarily at the doctrines of the Leipzig school.[1] These translations with a few original German productions of high standard were to show the practical application of the theory contained in the critical and polemical articles. They felt it to be a useless waste of time to spend years in developing a literary taste which had already been found and could be acquired in a short time by a close study of the many excellent foreign literary models.[2]

Karl Friedrich Drollinger (1688–1742), the first translator of the "Essay on Criticism," although a German by birth, through his long residence in Basel came to identify himself closely with the school of

[1] "Sammlung critischer, poetischer, und anderer geistvollen Schriften, zur Verbesserung des Urtheils und des Wizes in den Wercken der Wolredenkeit und der Poesie." Zürich, bey Conrad Orell und Comp., 1741–44. The translation of the "Essay on Criticism" appears in Stück I, pp. 49–84 under the title: "Alexander Popen Versuch von den Eigenschaften eines Kunstrichters durch Hrn. Hofrath Drollinger übersetzt."

[2] "Warum solten wir," says the anonymous critic in the introduction (p. 9), "so viel Jahre zubringen den Geschmack zu suchen, der doch schon gefunden ist? Die Betrachtungen der Schriften der vortrefflichen ausländischen Scribenten sowohl der alten als der neuen, wohlüberlegte Anmerkungen darüber, wovon sie selbst schon gründliche Lehrbücher geschrieben haben, lehren uns viele Sachen, auf welche das eigne Erfinden den fertigsten Geist sehr langsam und spät geführt hätte; man kan sich in einem Tage derer Kunst- und Handgriffe bemächtigen, welche den Erfindern viele Jahre Arbeit und Nachsuchen gekostet haben."

Bodmer. He was indeed one of the earliest in Switzerland to interest himself in English literature and to show the benefit of this influence both in the style and content of his own writings. In common with the rest of the Swiss school, he became a sworn enemy to rhyme and translated the "Essay" in prose. Only two brief passages appear in alexandrines,[1] the first of which, where Pope criticizes the "expected rimes," could hardly have been reproduced without this device. The translation is accurate, but the form in which it was cast, its crude language characteristic of that period, and the fact that it first appeared in a work intensely partisan, prevented its becoming as popular as it undoubtedly would have become under more favorable conditions. Nevertheless, the "Essay on Criticism," as the result of this translation, formed the subject of several extensive reviews. Thus one of the Hamburg journals[2] speaks of it as a work that above all others deserved to be translated into German, and says that the German public should consider itself especially fortunate that Pope's "Essay" had fallen into the hands of one so skilful as to make of it, to a certain degree, a German original. "He who would know," the reviewer continues, "the true character of an honest and sound critic, let him read this work." He then gives the content of it at considerable length. A similar criticism appeared in the "Franckfurtischen gelehrten Zeitungen."[3]

Drollinger's translation was reprinted in 1753 when Wieland, who was at that time living in Switzerland and closely associated with Bodmer, published a new edition of the "Streitschriften." With slight changes in the text, chiefly in spelling and punctuation, it appeared also in the various editions of Drollinger's poems first published the year after his death by his friend J. J. Spreng, who added to it extensive notes and citations from German and foreign authors.[4]

Unlike Milton and Shakespeare, Pope was studied and admired by both of the two great literary factions. I have referred to the eagerness with which Bodmer and his followers quoted Pope in

[1] Ll. 350–53 and 366–69.

[2] "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1741, Nos. 116, 131, 171, and 203.

[3] 1741, pp. 431 ff.

[4] For the complete titles of the several editions of Drollinger's "Gedichte" see Carl Graner, Die Uebersetzungen von Pope's "Essay on Criticism," *op. cit.*, p. 80.

support of their theories. But essentially Pope's poetic doctrines were more nearly in accord with those of Gottsched, since both developed under a strong French influence. Since, therefore, the first translation of the "Essay on Criticism" was published, as we have seen, under conditions which made it impossible for the Leipzig school to accept it, there was need for a second translation which should have the unqualified approval of Gottsched. Such a translation was prepared by G. E. Müller and published with some work of his own in 1745.[1]

In the introduction, containing a brief biography of Pope, Müller refers to the latter as "der Horaz der Britten," regarding him as equal to the Latin author in the keenness of his criticism and superior to him as a poet. The biography, he states, had been finished as early as 1737, disclaiming, therefore, all indebtedness to a similar account published with Brockes's translation of the "Essay on Man," while the translation itself, he says, had been begun still earlier, in 1736. He prides himself, therefore, on being the first German translator of the "Essay on Criticism." As to his translation, he promises a line-for-line rendering of the English in which the reader will find both thought and expression faithfully reproduced. Even the external appearance of the work, he thinks, is worthy of the English author and shows the respect due to the immortal memory of the greatest European poet of his time. An examination of his text reveals, however, none of the promised excellencies. His attempt to translate Pope line for line in alexandrines led him into the grossest inaccuracies and obscurities, leaving no trace of Pope's clarity of expression and poetic harmony. Bobertag in his article "Zu Popes Essay on Criticism"[2] justly remarks that Pope should be thought fortunate never to have read this translation.[3]

[1] "Versuch über die Critik aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope. Nebst einem Versuche einer Critik über die deutschen Dichter, auch einer Zugabe einiger, kleineren Schriften, von M. Gottfried Ephraim Müller. Dreszden, 1745, bey Georg Conrad. Walther, Königl. Hof-Buchhändler." W. Heinsius, Allg. Bücher-Lexikon, cites another edition bearing the same date with Bremen upon the title-page.

[2] "Englische Studien," III (1880), 79.

[3] "Grade seine trefflichste eigenschaft, die klarheit," he continues, "ist in dem deutschen gewande so in ihr gegentheil verkehrt, dass kein mensch namentlich den lezten passus verstehen kann. Man bringt hier gar kein licht heraus, nicht einmal ein dunkles, kurz Müller . . . . hat sein vorbild in vielen stellen gar nicht verstanden."

Gottsched favored the work with an extensive criticism,[1] and while he was not particularly lavish in his praise of it, yet he said nothing at which the translator could have taken offense. He complimented him for the conscientiousness with which he had done his work and for using neither the poetic form of the lazy (Bodmer's and Drollinger's prose) nor the too long metrical form where a dwarf often stands between twenty giants (Brockes' translation of the "Essay on Man"). He pointed out an inaccuracy in the translation of the very first couplet, but excused it on the ground that he himself could have expressed it in two lines no better.[2] Entirely different from Gottsched's lukewarm praise is the review in the Züricher "Freymüthigen Nachrichten"[3] where Müller's translation is made the subject of the most stinging sarcasm. Although inspired by bitter party spirit, it was, as we have seen, not entirely unjustified.

Of Pope's famous satire "The Dunciad," there was, apart from his collected works, but a single German translation in the period under discussion. This lack of interest must not be ascribed to any special aversion in Germany to this particular species of literature. Indeed the many attempts at satire which were made in Germany at this time, inferior though they are, prove quite the contrary. The reason is inherent in the very nature of satire. Its numerous subtle local allusions, its covert attack upon the peculiar weaknesses either of special individuals or of parties are what give it life and interest. Remove it either in time or place from the conditions which gave it birth and much of this interest is lost. It is entirely reasonable, therefore, that the German public with its lack of intimate knowledge of English social and literary conditions should manifest but a slight interest in this work of Pope.

The translation of "The Dunciad" was published in Zürich in 1747, the work of Johann Jakob Bodmer, who, for reasons which will appear presently, concealed his identity under the name of J. D.

[1] "Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste." Leipzig, I (1745), 252 ff.

[2] It is interesting to note what Gottsched had to say in regard to Drollinger's translation: "Uns wundert aber, warum er [Müller] von der drollingerischen Uebersetzung dieses critischen Gedichtes nichts gedacht: doch vielleicht hat er sie nicht nennen mögen, weil sie das Unglück gehabt, in einer Sammlung zu erscheinen, die ehrliebende Leute zu kennen, oder zu nennen ein Bedenken tragen."

[3] II (1745), 245–48.

Oberek.[1] Bodmer had for years been interested in the satirical works of Swift and Butler, having published the first two books of "Hudibras" in 1739. During his quarrel with Gottsched he was particularly attracted to "The Dunciad" because he saw in the relation depicted there between Pope and his Dunces a singular parallel to the relation between himself and the school of Gottsched. He conceived, moreover, a plan by which Pope's satire might be turned effectively against his own enemies. He gives an explanation of his plan in his introduction in the form of an epistle, "An meine Freunde die Obotriten." The German "Schöpse" he thinks have many things in common with the English Dunces. They are as numerous, they are gifted with the same talents, they have been schooled in the same school with Theobald and Cibber, their works are as long and tedious as those of their English brethren. His first thought was to accompany the translation of Pope's satire with copious notes in which every English Dunce should be made to resign his place in favor of a German. He then proceeds to give a number of illustrations of his method. Thus Pope's lines—

> She saw old Pryn in restless Daniel shine,
> And Eusden eke out Blackmore's endless line;
> She saw slow Philips creep like Tate's poor page,
> And all the Mighty Mad in Dennis rage. (Book I, 101–4.)

he gives as follows:

> Sie sah den alten Tiz im fleissgen T———r;
> Sah K——— B——— Vers noch länger strecken;
> Sah Stoppens Blatt mit Weisens langsam kriechen;
> Den Unsinn in Person in Krügern rasen.

However, he met with considerable difficulty in carrying out his plan. He could find, he says, in Germany no publisher of Curl's type, who was in the habit of publishing the inferior work of third-rate poets under the name of some great author. Then, too, often two or more names had suggested themselves for the same place. Since he did not wish to deprive a single "Obotriten" of the honor which he could rightly demand, he decided to think the matter over

[1] "Alexander Popens Duncias mit Historischen Noten und einem Schreiben des Uebersetzers an die Obotriten." Zürich, bey Conrad Orell und Comp., 1747.

and get, if possible, suggestions from his friends in Silesia and Saxony.[1] It was evidently Bodmer's intention to carry out his scheme in a later edition of the work, but this was not published, so that his projected German adaptation never appeared.

Bodmer's translation is based on one of the numerous early editions of "The Dunciad" where the work consisted of three books only. In 1742 Pope changed the work considerably and added a fourth book. The few notes which accompany Bodmer's translation were taken from the English edition, but these were by no means sufficient to make the work intelligible to the great majority of his German readers.[2] The translation itself was far from being as successful as Bodmer's prose version of Milton's "Paradise Lost" of fifteen years before. The reason for this was partly due to Bodmer's personality. The religious epic appealed to him strongly, as shown by his own numerous attempts in that species of literature, while he was attracted to Pope's satire largely through external circumstances. But the more important reason is to be found in the peculiar difficulties which the translator of satire encounters. An intimate knowledge not only of the English language but of English literary history and English manners is absolutely indispensable to the successful translator of "The Dunciad." The language of satire is highly idiomatic and the satirist frequently hides his keenest thrusts beneath some nicely chosen adjective or adverb. It is such subtleties as these that, although felt by the translator, are often hard to reproduce in another language. Against these difficulties Bodmer could not successfully cope. He often omits important adjectives and sometimes entire phrases and adds, occasionally, descriptive words of

[1] That he actually wrote to his friends for such suggestions is shown by his letter to Sulzer, September 12, 1747: "Ich übergebe Ihnen hier eine Anzahl Dunciaden selbige an meine dasigen Freunde zu vertheilen. Ich wollte gerne, wenn man mir dazu mit genugsamen Nachrichten behülflich wäre, den Einfall, in dem Briefe des Uebersetzers an seine Freunde, die Obotriten, gewissermassen weiter treiben; zwar nicht dass ich die Namen der deutschen Schöpse in den Text setzen wollte, sondern nur in die Noten, um dan zugleich die Uebereinstimmung zwischen den deutschen und englischen Stümpern anzuzeigen."—"Briefe der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, Gessner. Aus Gleims lit. Nachlasse," von W. Körte. Zürich, 1804, p. 69.

[2] Giseke, who himself was much influenced by English literature, regrets this weakness of the work in a letter to Bodmer (November 25, 1747): "Ich bedaure," he says, "dass die Sorge das Werk zu theuer zu machen nicht erlaubt haben wird, so viel Anmerkungen hinzufügen, dass es auch für die in der englischen kritischen Geschichte unerfahrenen Leser verständlich genug geworden wäre."—"Litt. Pamphlete aus der Schweiz, nebst Briefen an Bodmern," Zürich, 1781, p. 117.

his own. He sometimes deviates from his text deliberately to make Pope's lines intelligible to his readers, as when, for example, he translates "solid pudding" (Book I, l. 54) by "vollkommene Schinken," or the lines:

> Till genial Jacob, or a warm third day
> Call forth each mass, a poem, or a play. (Book I, ll. 57–58.)

by

> Bisz ein Geburtstag oder hitzges Fieber
> Jedweden Klosz, Lied oder Comödie
> Befruchtend in das Reich der Wesen rufen.

His choice of blank verse for the translation was determined, no doubt, by his great interest in Milton and his handling of it is fairly skilful when we consider the fact that this was one of the earliest attempts in the use of this meter in Germany.

4. *Later Translations and the Rationalistic Undercurrent*

It has been said that, owing to the new literary movement during the last half of the eighteenth century which reached its climax in the "Storm and Stress," the interest for Pope in Germany passed away almost completely.[1] This statement requires, as we shall see, important modifications. The highly finished style of Pope had always remained the subject of admiration, and there were many who, like Nicolai, were little affected by the antirationalistic tendencies. Others again, as in the case of Wieland, while accepting some of the new doctrines, retained many of the old. These men in all essentials continued even into the nineteenth century the literary principles which predominated before the "Storm and Stress." It is this rationalistic undercurrent, which runs thus side by side with the new movement, that kept alive the interest in Pope. The most obvious proof of this continued interest is the large number of translations which appeared down to the close of the century.

Of the foreign influences which contributed to the German Aufklärung, that of Pope is by no means to be neglected. Lessing and Mendelssohn, among the chief representatives of the movement, learned much from him in spite of their attempt to prove the weakness of his philosophical system.[2] Although often illogical and contra-

[1] Above, p. 1.

[2] In "Pope ein Metaphysiker!" Danzig, 1755. "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 409 ff.

dictory, through the exquisite poetic form of his works he did more than anyone else to popularize the philosophy of the English rationalists on the continent. Many thus became acquainted with the "Essay on Man" without ever having even heard of Shaftesbury or Bolingbroke.

It was essentially as a philosopher that Pope was known in Germany during the early decades of his influence. For this reason many felt that the early verse translations had not reproduced the ideas of Pope with sufficient exactness. A prose translation was therefore published serially from 1745 to 1747 in a prominent literary journal of the time which was supposed to answer this purpose.[1] The anonymous translator, Christlob Mylius, was one of the early German Aufklärer, a cousin of Lessing, and during the last years of his life intimately associated with him. Mylius was deeply interested in English philosophy, literature, and science, and the various journals which he edited in whole or in part between 1743 and 1748, show clearly this English influence.[2]

In the introduction to his translation Mylius frankly acknowledges his inability to reproduce the work accurately enough in verse to do justice to Pope, and he thinks it better to give "this treasure of beauties and important teachings" in faithful prose than to withhold from his countrymen the benefit of such an "excellent and at the same time such an instructive and edifying poem." The matter-of-fact unadorned prose of Mylius gives, on the whole, a fairly accurate rendering of Pope's ideas, but disregards completely the poetic qualities of the work.

The popularity of Pope in Germany reached its climax during the sixth decade. His philosophical system had, by this time, been widely discussed in Germany, so that the Berlin Academy felt itself justified in announcing as a subject for the prize essay for the year 1755 whether Pope's famous dictum, "Whatever is, is right," was

[1] "Bemühungen zur Beförderung der Critik und des guten Geschmackes," Halle, Stück 13 (1745), p. 387 ff.; St. 14 (1746), p. 541 ff.; St. 15 (1746), p. 594 ff.; and St. 16 (1747), p. 695 ff.

[2] Thus Lessing, speaking of one of these journals, "Der Freigeist" (Leipzig, 1745), says: "Ich weiss es aus dem Munde des Verfassers, dass er sich nie hingesetzt, ein Blatt von demselben zu machen, ohne vorher einige Stücke aus dem 'Zuschauer' gelesen zu haben." "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, VI, 400. Mylius died in London, on the eve of undertaking a scientific journey to America, the money for which had been subscribed by noted German scientists, with Haller as the leader of the enterprise.

to be accepted or rejected. In this discussion the most famous literary men of the period such as Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Wieland took part. The interest in Pope was further increased by the publication of Warton's "Essay on Pope" (1756) which was reviewed at great length in all of the important German literary journals of the time and which was a few years later translated by Nicolai.[1]

Among the different works of Pope which were translated during this decade the "Essay on Man" continued to occupy the chief place.[2] In spite of the better understanding of Pope's works and the benefit of the experience of previous translators, the majority of these efforts showed little improvement over their predecessors. The first of these was in rhymed alexandrines and appeared in Leipzig in 1756 by an anonymous author.[3] His dedicatory verses were written in rhymed pentameter, one of the early attempts to use this meter in Germany. He followed the English very closely, translating almost line for line. While he was occasionally happy in rendering Pope's couplets, fidelity to the original frequently led him into the use of Anglicisms and awkward expressions, and his language becomes at times quite unintelligible. We are constantly aware that it is a translation that we have before us.[4]

The second of these attempts came a year later (1757) from Switzerland by a follower of the school of Bodmer, Symon Grynäus.[5] He had five years before published a translation of Milton's "Paradise Regained" and minor poems, an effort which clearly showed him

[1] "Sammlung vermischter Schriften," Bd. 6. Berlin, 1763.

[2] This decade produced the first and, outside of Pope's "sämmtliche Werke" by Dusch, the only translation of "January and May" under the following title: "Januarius und Maja. Aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope übersetzet. Leipzig und Stralsund 1754." The work is here faithfully reproduced in prose, but it seems to have had but a limited circulation. Cf. Lessing's review of it. "Schriften," *op. cit.*, V, 213.

[3] "Philosophisches Lehrgedichte vom Menschen aus dem Englischen des Herrn Alexander Pope übersetzt. Leipzig, in der Laukischen Buchhandlung, 1756."

[4] I have, after extensive search, been unable to locate the translation mentioned by Kayser: "Philosophisches Lehrgedicht vom Menschen. Aus dem Englischen von J. G. E. Schmidt; hrsg. von F. G. Freytag. Leipzig, 1756."

[5] "Vier auserlesene Meisterstücke so vieler Englischer Dichter: als Priors Solomon, Popens Messias, Youngs Jüngster Tag, Glovers Leonidas. Welchen annoch beygefüget sind Popens Versuch von dem Menschen, und desselben Hirtengedichte. Alles, seiner Vortrefflichkeit wegen, aus der Ursprache in deutschen hexametrischen Versen übersetzet. Basel, bey Johan Jacob Schorndorff, 1757."

According to Goedeke (IV, 61) another translation of the "Pastorals" was made by Johann Henrich Smid under the title: "Weissagungen der Sibyllen, nebst den Hirtenliedern des Virgil und Pope. Aurich, 1762."

to be rather unfamiliar with the English language. Quite in accord with the principles of his school, he assumes that only that translator can render Pope accurately who discards the use of rhyme. Thus the fifth German translation of Pope's "Essay," along with the "Messias" and "Pastorals" appears, according to the fashion of the day, in the severe and awkward garb of Swiss hexameters. It is difficult to imagine two poetic styles more different than the highly polished couplets of Pope and the heavy, lumbering verses of Grynäus. According to Lessing, who reviewed the work in the "Berliner Litteraturbriefen,"[1] there is little in these lines of Grynäus to distinguish them from ordinary prose. It would be difficult, he thinks, to find any in the world more careless, and the language he regards as "wässrig," "matt," and "weitschweifig."[2]

Between 1757 and 1760 was published a prose translation of a miscellaneous collection from some of the best known English writers. Along with selections from Thomson, Glover, Akenside, Gray and others, were four by Pope, none of which had before appeared in Germany, namely "On Mr. Elijah Fenton," "The Temple of Fame," "Windsor Forest," and "To Mrs. M. B. on Her Birthday."[3] The aim of the translators, according to the "Vorbericht," was to contribute something toward encouraging and improving the literary taste of their countrymen through English works. The translators are especially to be commended for the accuracy with which they sought to reproduce their English models.

In view of the repeated unsuccessful attempts at translating Pope into German, by this time it was thought by many to be an impossible task to give an exact, undiluted rendering of Pope's thoughts and at the same time to reproduce the much admired characteristics of Pope's style in elegant, idiomatic German verse.

[1] May 10, 1759. Cf. "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, VIII, 79 ff.

[2] For other similar criticisms of this work see: "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1759, July 3; also, "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," Altona, 1759. Viertes Quartal, pp. 376 f.

[3] "Vermischte Schriften der Engländer. Rostock und Wismar, bey Joh. Andr. Berger and Jacob Boedner." Erste Sammlung, aus dem Thomson, Glover, Congreve, Rochester, und andern, 1757. Zweyte Sammlung, aus dem Congreve, Pope, und Waller, 1758. Dritte Sammlung, aus dem Thomson, Dodsley, Akenside und Gray. 1760. "Grabschrift auf den Herrn Fenton," p. 164; "Der Tempel des Ruhms," pp. 326–49; "Der Forst zu Windsor an den Lord Landsdown," pp. 352–71; "An die Jungfer M.B. zu ihrem Geburtstage," p. 372.

The translations thus far discussed fulfilled fairly well the first but fell far short in attaining the second and more difficult of these requirements.

In 1759 was published a new translation of the "Essay on Man" by Heinrich Christian Kretsch,[1] which attained the distinction of being the most poetic of any that had thus far appeared. Kretsch himself seems to have been a poet of considerable reputation, one of his reviewers[2] placing him in a class with Haller and in the smoothness and delicacy of his verse even above him. Like several of his predecessors he uses the rhymed alexandrines, which was deemed sufficiently like Pope's verse while it gave the advantage of an extra foot. The English accompanies his translation and he also adds translations of "The Universal Prayer,"[3] the "Messiah" and "The Dying Christian to His Soul." Pope finds in Kretsch an enthusiastic admirer and defender. In his dedicatory verses in the heroic couplet he lauds him as the only one who had been able to express the abstruse teachings of philosophy in beautiful verse, and says that in

[1] "Essay on Man. Der Mensch ein philosophisches Gedicht von Alexander Pope. Deutsche Uebersetzung mit der engländischen Urschrift nach der lezten vermehrten Ausgabe. Altenburg, in der Richterischen Buchhandlung, 1759."

[2] "Hamburgische Nachrichten," II (1759), 477–80.

[3] First published in Gottsched's "Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste," Leipzig, IX (1750), 182–84.

In Germany the deistic tendency of this poem of Pope remained on the whole unsuspected and it was read by many as one of the most sublime expressions of the orthodox faith. In Switzerland, whose literature was still permeated by a strong religious tone, it was especially popular. The circulation of Hagedorn's translation here has already been discussed. Another version in hexameter, along with "The Dying Christian to his Soul," several of Pope's Epitaphs and a list of moral and religious precepts, selected chiefly from the "Essay on Man," appeared in "Auserlesene Poesien aus den meisten und besten Englischen Dichtern. Hierbevor der Frau Rowe Andachts-Uebungen beygefügt, nun aber besonders gedruckt, verbessert und vermehrt. Zürich, bey Heidegger und Compagnie, 1761," pp. 5–21 and p. 128. As stated in this title these poems of Pope appeared in "Geheiligte Andachtsübungen in Betrachtung, Gebet, Lobpreisung und Herzens-Gesprächen von der gottseligen und sinnreichen Frau Rowe auf ihre Ansuchung übersehen und herausgegeben von I. Watts, Th.D., etc. Wie auch einen Anhang poetischer Stücke von Milton, Dryden, Prior, Pope, Watts, Young und anderen." Erfuhrt 1754. A second edition appeared the same year with Frankfurt and Leipzig upon the title-page, and a revised edition in Bern, 1756. In regard to Lessing's and Weisse's connection with the work see "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, V, 373.

A much better translation in the meter of the original, of which I have found no mention in any bibliographical work, is in a little work entitled: "Zwey kleine Gedichte. Herrn Diacon Lavater in Zürich gewidmet, 1770." The poems are prefaced by a caption of four lines from the "Essay on Man" (Ep. I, 285 ff.); this is followed by "Grab und Ewigkeit," a poem in the meter and general tone of Pope's "Universal Prayer;" then follows "Allgemeines Gebet von Pope. Deo opt. Max. Eine neue Uebersetzung, 1770." The work is to be found in the Stadtbibliothek of Zürich.

spite of the severe conflict that had been and was still being waged for and against him, his work would be read long after the writings of his adversaries were utterly forgotten.

With the exception of Dusch's translation of Pope's works, this work of Kretsch was more widely reviewed than any other translation of Pope during the eighteenth century. The large majority of these reviews are favorable, commending especially the smoothness of the verse and the clearness with which he reproduced the English.[1] One of Gottsched's journals[2] calls it a translation with which every friend of Pope has reason to be satisfied. The reviewer in the "Hamburgischen Nachrichten" thinks that after Pope has been "translated and criticized to death" Kretsch's rendering makes further translation of these works unnecessary. Not all, however, praised Kretsch's work as unreservedly as this reviewer. Several of the reviews in the Altona and Hamburg journals[3] that had clearly been inspired by Dusch regarded Kretsch's attempt, considering his recognized ability as a poet and the unwearied patience and industry which he had expended upon it, as the best evidence of the impossibility of rendering Pope adequately in verse. While it is clear that these criticisms were made not without bias, Kretsch's translation had its shortcomings. To gain clarity and smoothness he was often compelled to expand Pope's lines to twice the length of the original, while occasionally ideas of his own were used to complete the lines. But in spite of this, it remained the most widely read German translation of the "Essay" in the century and found readers in foreign countries as well.

In 1762 was published in Amsterdam a polyglot edition of the "Essay on Man" containing, besides the English, the Latin translation of Am-Ende, the Italian of Castiglioni, Du Resnel's French, Kretsch's German, and the French prose version of Silhouette.[4]

[1] "Göttinger gel. Anzeigen," 1759, pp. 807–8; "Deutsche Bibl. d. sch. Wiss.," IV (1770), 627 f.

[2] "Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit," Leipzig, 1759, pp. 705–58.

[3] "Freymütige Briefe über die neuesten Werke aus den Wissenschaften in und ausser Deutschland," Hamb. u. Leipz., 1759, pp. 3–11; "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1759, July 4; "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," Altona, 1759, pp. 371–77.

[4] "Essai sur l'homme, poëme philosophique par Alexander Pope, en cinq langues, savoir: Anglois, Latin, Italien, François, & Allemand. À Amsterdam, chez Zacharie Chatelain, Libraire, 1762."

These the editor regards as the best translations in these languages, Du Resnel's version being included on account of its graceful verse and Silhouette's because of its faithfulness to the original. The second edition of this work was published at Strassburg in 1772, but without Silhouette's version, and the third edition in 1801 at Parma with the title and a brief introduction in Italian. The purpose of this work was, according to the Strassburg editor, both to furnish a convenient means of learning these languages and to supply at the same time the most necessary knowledge for educating the heart and ornamenting the mind.[1]

The years 1762 to 1764 brought forth the first German reprint of Pope's works by Nicolai, a work which supplied a long-felt need.[2] The numerous translations that had been made of the various works of Pope were at best unsatisfactory. The knowledge of the English language had been rapidly extended in Germany during the last ten years, while the English works printed abroad were expensive and still difficult to acquire. This edition of Nicolai is a close imitation of the 10 volume Warburton pocket edition (London, 1757), and included all the notes and commentaries. It was received with general favor among the readers of Pope in Germany.[3] The original intention of the editor was to bring out from time to time reprints of other English authors such as Milton, Addison, Thomson, Shakespeare and Young, a plan which seems never to have been carried out.[4]

It is interesting to note how unreservedly Pope's philosophy, as expounded in the "Essay on Man," was accepted in Germany long after Lessing and Mendelssohn had exposed its weakness. As late

[1] According to Kayser and Heinsius another translation was published in Jena the year as Kretsch's under the following title: "Der Mensch, ein philosophisches dicht. Deutsche Uebersetzung mit der Englischen Urschrift." This, after extensive search, I have been unable to locate, nor have I found it mentioned in any of the important contemporary journals.

[2] "The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. Berlin. Printed for Frederick Nicolai, Bookseller." Vols. 1–2, 1762; 3–6, 1763; 7–10, 1764.

[3] Cf. "Kritische und Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den neuesten Schriften für Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften." Jena u. Leipzig, II (1762), 240 f., and "Altonaischer Gelehrter Mecurius," Altona, I (1763), 48.

[4] The general plan is stated in the following paragraph from the "Booksellers advertisment" which prefaced the work: "English Literature having found these many years ago, so much lovers in Germany and the adjacent countries, I doubt not, the design i [sic!] have form'd to print neat Pocket-editions of the English Classical Writers, will be very acceptable to the learned world. I thought best to begin my task with the Edition of Mr. Pope's Works, this author being so universally esteemed by all those that have any taste of Poetry or Learning."

as 1772 a learned divine of Halle, Johann Jacob Harder, felt himself called upon to make a new translation of the "Essay," since none of his predecessors had translated it "so that it could be the handbook of a thinking man." In his opinion Pope, of all philosophers, saw most clearly the mainsprings of human action and pointed out in his "Essay on Man" the only rational way to virtue and happiness.

Klotz, the well-known editor of the "Deutschen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften," stood sponser for the work and said in his introduction that in spite of an occasional lack of harmony in the lines, it deserved, on account of other qualities, a place beside its competitors. Harder proposed to reproduce in his translation Pope in all his sententious brevity, something which, he thinks, no previous translator of Pope had been able to accomplish. It must be acknowledged that he succeeded remarkably well in this respect, for he reproduced Pope's couplets almost line for line. But to raise his work distinctively above that of his predecessors was clearly beyond his ability, for he lacked the essential characteristic of a Pope translator, that which Kretsch to a considerable degree possessed, namely, the power of poetic expression. His work was received, therefore, indifferently by an age the poetic standards of which were rapidly being raised far above the prosy level of Brockes and Bodmer. One of Harder's critics,[1] after speaking of the mistreatment Pope had received at the hands of his translators, sarcastically remarks that Harder, too, would have to answer on the final judgment day on Parnassus and that Pope, if he could see himself in this garb, would certainly recall his famous dictum, "Whatever is, is right."[2]

The severity of this criticism probably finds explanation in the fact that another translator of Pope's "Essay," Johann Georg Schlosser, had an interest in the journal. Schlosser, although a lawyer by profession, was a great lover of polite literature, and was associated with many of the most noted literary men during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He was a friend of Goethe, became in 1773 his brother-in-law, and was associated with Goethe, Herder, Merck, and others, in the publication of the "Frankfurter gelehrten

[1] "Frankf. gel. Anz.," I (1772), 718 f.

[2] But see also the more favorable comments in the "Neuen Hallischen gelehrten Zeitungen," VI (1771), 753; and "Almanach d. d. Musen," Leipzig, 1773, p. 132.

Anzeigen" of 1772. Schlosser had, some ten years before the appearance of his translation in 1776, been engaged in writing in English heroic couplets in imitation of Pope a refutation of Pope's philosophy as set forth in the "Essay on Man," in which he attempted to show that man could be unhappy in spite of the perfection of the universe as a whole, and that revealed religion, disregarded by Pope, which shows man to be the final aim of creation, offered the only true comfort. Four books of the work were at that time completed and translated by him into German prose. Ten years later, after he had become much more conservative in his view of life and felt himself unable to complete the work, he made merely a rough draft of the fifth and final book in German and turned over the manuscript together with a prose translation of Pope's "Essay" to a friend, who published both together in one volume anonymously.[1] This translation of the "Essay" which was appended to the "Anti-Pope" probably for purposes of comparison, while written in clear, vigorous prose, cannot be said to add anything of importance to the numerous translations already in existence. The time had passed when prose, whatever its particular merits, was accepted as a satisfactory vehicle for translating any of Pope's works.[2]

The storm of criticism which Dusch's translation of Pope's works had called forth had done much to curtail its circulation. At any rate, during the twenty years following its issue no second edition of the work was published. In 1778, after the history of its first publication had generally been forgotten, a new edition was offered to the public.[3] According to a statement by the editor[4] this was a part of a comprehensive scheme of a society in Mannheim,[5] whereby all the works of the most noted foreign literary men were to be made

[1] "Anti-Pope oder Versuch über den natürlichen Menschen. Nebst einer neuen prosaichen Uebersetzung von Pope's Versuch über den Menschen." Leipzig, 1776, in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung. The book was also published with the same title and date but different pagination in Bern, by Beat Ludwig Wallhard.

[2] In a review in "Almanach d. d. Musen," Leipzig, 1777, p. 118, this translation was regarded as the best that had thus far appeared.

[3] "Des Alexander Pope Esq. sämmtliche Werke mit Wilhelm Warburtons Commentar und Anmerkungen," Bd. I–VII, Strasburg, druckts Heitz und Dannbach, 1778; Bd. VIII, Mannheim, 1779.

[4] "Nachricht an das Publikum," Bd. VIII.

[5] The "Deutsche Gesellschaft." It numbered among its members Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, and Schiller. Cf. B. Seuffert, Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft in Mannheim, "Anz. f. d. Altertum," VI (1880), 276 ff.

easily accessible to the German public. The best of the older translations were to be used and if necessary improved, and where translations did not exist new ones were to be made. The plan, which included about fifteen of the best known English writers, was never fully carried out. Pope had the honor of being the first of the foreign writers to be edited. The edition was an exact reprint of Dusch's work with all its mistakes. A long list of corrections and improvements were added, however, in the last volume[1] by Professor G. Eckert, who had the editing of this particular work in charge. These corrections were inserted in the text itself in the new edition that followed shortly after[2] and to which had been added by the editor a translation of Pope's correspondence, omitted by Dusch.[3]

The four translations of the "Essay on Man" which followed Schlosser's during the next fifteen years may likewise be regarded as contributing little to what had already been accomplished. The first of these is in prose by Benignus Pfeüfer from the Italian of Anton Philipps Adami, and was published in 1783.[4] With the

[1] Bd. VIII, "Verbesserungen," pp. 239 ff.

[2] Mannheim, 1780–85, in 13 vols.

[3] This was the only translation of Pope's "Letters" made during the eighteenth century that may be regarded as of any importance, although a number of individual letters or small collections had been published during this period. These are as follows: "Ein curiöser Brief des Herrn Pope's an den Hertzog von Buckingham" in: "Eine Sammlung allerhand auserlesner Moralischer und Satyrischer Meister-Stücke, aus dem Englischen übersetzt." Andere Probe, Berlin und Leipzig, bey Johann Andreas Rüdigern, 1783, pp. 235–244. "Pope im 48sten Brief an D. Arbuthnot" in: "Freymüthige Nachrichten," etc., Zürich, II, 195–96. "Abgesonderte Gedanken aus Pope's Briefen" in: "Die neusten Sammlungen vermischter Schriften," Zürich, bey Johann Kaspar Ziegler, 1754, II, 263–93. "Miscellaneous Letters. Vermischte Briefe aus den besten Eng. Schriftstellern in ihrer Originalsprache, nebst beygefügter deutscher Uebersetzung, mit einem Anhange von Kaufmannsbriefen, ehemals von Herrn Theodor Arnold, bey dieser zweyten Auflage aber aufs neue übersetzt und zum Theil mit bessern Originalen versehen von M. J. J. Ebert. Leipzig und Züllichau, in der Waysenhaus und Frommannischen Handlung. 1763." About 30 letters from Pope are included here. This was, no doubt, a textbook intended primarily for Ebert's English classes at the Carolinum in Braunschweig, where Pope generally constituted a part of the curriculum. Cf. "Gelehrte Beyträge zu den Braunschweigischen Anzeigen," Bd. III (1763), St. 28: "Der Hr. Prof. Ord. Ebert wird in diesem halben Jahre, da er in dem vorigen mit denen, die die Anfangsgründe der Englischen Sprache gehört haben, auserlesene Stücke aus dem Tatler, Spectator, nebst einigen Popischen Briefen gelesen, darin fortfahren, und darauf zu leichtern poetischen Stücken übergehen." Kayser also quotes the following, which I have been unable to locate: "Popes Freundschaftlicher und literarischer Briefwechsel aus dem Englischen von G. K. S. Strebel. Nürnberg, 1761."

[4] "Grundsätze der Moral, oder Alexanders Poppe [sic!] Versuch über den Menschen aus dem Italienischen Antons Philipps Adami ins Teutsche übersetzt von Benignus Pfeüfer. Bamberg, bey Vinzenz Dederich, Buchhändler. 1783." According to Kayser the work also appeared the same year with Frankfurt u. Leipzig upon the title-page. I have been unable to find such a copy. Adami's translation appeared in Padua, 1765.

exception of the anonymous verse translation of 1741, made from the French, this is the most distorted version of Pope's "Essay" that appeared in Germany. The translator, as he confesses in his introduction, knows no English and is not even familiar with Pope's name.

The second appeared the same year in Hamburg with Jakob Mumsen as its author.[1] We have here the first attempt at translating the "Essay on Man" in blank verse. When we consider, however, the great progress that had by this time been made in Germany in the use of this meter, Mumsen's use of it is clumsy indeed. Besides his very rough lines, his translation is not always as exact as the words in his title "eine genauere Uebersetzung" would lead us to expect, while at times his meaning is concealed by his awkward constructions. A revised edition appeared in 1809 in which the author claims to have corrected the inaccuracies of the first edition. But his corrections were few and were confined to rather unimportant details, so that the chief weakness of the work, its meter, remained practically unchanged.[2]

In 1790 another blank verse translation, of a similar character, which had evidently been sent to the editor of the "Neuen Teutschen Merkur" for criticism, was reviewed in that journal.[3] Owing, no doubt, to the severity of the review, the complete translation never appeared in print. The fact is of special interest since Wieland was the reviewer and since he incidentally states the principles which in his opinion should guide every translator. He should follow the original closely but never to the extent of deviating from the idiom

[1] "Versuch über den Menschen von Alexander Pope. Eine genauere Uebersetzung. Hamburg, bey Hoffmann, 1783."

[2] His ignorance of the essential laws of rhythm in blank verse may be seen, for example, in his translation of the following lines:

> Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
> Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade!
> Or ask of yonder argent fields above
> Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove! (Epistle I, ll. 39–42.)

> Frag deine Mutter Erd, warum die Eichen
> Viel höher wachsen als das Kraut, das sie
> Beschatten? Spähe nach in jenen Silber-
> Gefilden drüben, warum Jupiters
> Trabanten kleiner sind als ihr Planet? (Epistle I, ll. 49–53.)

Both editions were unfavorably reviewed. Cf. e.g., "Allgemeines Verzeichniss neuer Bücher mit kurzen Anmerkungen," Leipzig, VIII (1784), 600; and "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände," Dritter Jahrgang (1809), Uebersicht der neusten Lit. No. 16, p. 63.

[3] LXX, 200–9.

of his own langauge, or of misrepresenting the spirit or character of his author before his readers. Not infrequently, he thinks, it is necessary in justice to his author for purposes either of clarity or elegance to avoid his constructions, reproducing the original in less or in two or three times as many words. The style and the language of the author should be clearly distinguished and the former should be followed only in so far as is possible without violating the grammar, the usage and other peculiar characteristics of the language into which one translates. This, in his opinion, is a principle especially to be observed in Pope, whose unusually condensed style is a universally admired characteristic, and this is the principle which he finds his translator has most flagrantly violated.

This is likewise the fault of the translation in rhymed alexandrines which was published anonymously the following year.[1] The translator, according to his introduction, clearly sees the difficulty of his task and understands the principles according to which he must proceed. But in following them out he fails utterly. His translation is inaccurate and lacks clearness and harmony. Indeed, some of his passages are quite unintelligible apart from the English. At the close of his work he adds "Das allgemeine Gebet" and notes on the "Essay on Man." These are largely his own, either explaining the text or comparing the ideas of Pope with those of other writers.

Far more successful was the work of Friedrich Heinrich Bothe, a young writer of some promise, and known perhaps better as the translator of a collection of English Ballads, published in 1795, the year following the publication of his Pope translation. In 1793 Bothe had printed, through Gleim's encouragement and at his expense, the first epistle of the "Essay on Man," together with a few translations from the Greek.[2] The "Probe" was favorably reviewed in the "Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung"[3] where he received important suggestions for improving what he had published and sufficient

[1] "Alexander Popes Versuch über den Menschen. Leipzig, bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf und Compagnie, 1791." This is not Mumsen's translation, as Goedeke (VIII, 715) suggests.

[2] "Probe einer Verdeutschung von Popens Versuch über den Menschen. Nebst einer Uebersetzung der Kriegslieder des Tyrtäus, von Friedrich Heinrich Bothe. Berlin, 1793."

[3] 1793, cols. 310–12. Also "Neue Bibl. d. schönen Wiss.," LI (1794), 275.

encouragement to finish the work. The complete translation in which he had made use of the hints which had been given him appeared the following year and was dedicated to his patron Gleim.[1] It was accompanied by the English and by copious notes, partly his own, partly translated from the English edition which he used.[2]

Bothe, like Kretsch, had considerable talent as a versifier. Unlike any of the other translators of the "Essay on Man" in this century, he made use of the verse of the original interspersed with longer or shorter lines and occasionally other rhyme schemes. He introduced this variety, according to his introduction, because he felt the iambic pentameter to be too monotonous and solemn for a poetic epistle. But the more important reason was, no doubt, the difficulty of finding always the required rhyme, a problem which, as he himself acknowledged, caused him much trouble. Bothe is sometimes very happy in rendering Pope's lines, and excels Kretsch in adhering more closely to Pope's meter and style. Only occasionally is he inaccurate and prosy and compelled for metrical reasons to expand Pope's ideas unduly. He, himself, lays no claim to a perfect reproduction of Pope, but in spite of these deficiencies this must be regarded as the best German translation of the "Essay on Man" which the eighteenth century produced.[3]

We have still to add the blank verse translation of Broxtermann, published in 1798, a work which had no special merits above those

[1] "Alexander Pope's Versuch über den Menschen in vier Episteln an den Lord St. John von Bolingbroke. Englisch und deutsch mit Anmerkungen. Nebst den Kriegsliedern des Tyrtäus. Von Friedrich Heinrich Bothe. Halle in der Curtschen Buchhandlung, 1794."

[2] Pope's "Works," London, 1787.

[3] The work was critically reviewed in the "Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung," 1795, cols. 557–60.

In 1794 were published two other unimportant translations, neither of which I was able to locate in the leading libraries of Germany: "Versuch über den Menschen; eine genaue Uebersetzung. Wien, Schaumberg und Comp., 1794." (Cf. Goed. VII, 697.) Whether this is a new translation, or merely a reprint of one of the many already discussed, I am unable to say. The other is a prose translation by G. F. Niemeyer in "Sammlung aus einigen der berühmtesten englischen Dichter, nämlich Pope, Milton, Dryden, Waller, Prior, Congreve, Gay, Young, Thomson, Gray, Akenside, Addison, Shakespeare, übersetzt von dem Verfasser des Greises an den Jüngling." Vol. I, Hannover, Ritscher, 1794. According to a review in the "Neuen allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek" (XIX, Kiel, 1795, pp. 187 ff.), this volume is devoted to Pope and contains translations of the "Essay on Man," "Eloisa to Abelard," and "Sappho to Phaon." The reviewer thinks Pope, on account of his choice diction and beautiful harmony, to be the last poet who could be satisfactorily rendered in prose.

already reviewed.[1] The cause for its existence was to furnish an enterprising editor with material for the first volume of a contemplated series of translations of foreign didactic and narrative poems. The chief merit of the work is the fidelity with which the English is reproduced, its chief weakness the utter lack of every spark of poetry, both in its diction and in its meter.[2]

Besides the prose translation of Dusch in Pope's "Sämmtlichen Werken" (1758–64), no other complete German translation of the "Essay on Criticism" appeared until Eschenburg's was published in 1795.[3] J. J. Eschenburg (1743–1820) was one of the leading literary mediators between England and Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the importance of his services in this direction has by no means been fully recognized. Born and reared in Hamburg at a time when English influence began to make itself strongly felt there, he later attended the University of Göttingen, known at this time for its strong interest in things English, and subsequently accepted a professorship in literature and philosophy in Braunschweig, where he, enjoying the friendship of such men as Ebert and Zachariä, was surrounded by a decidedly English literary atmosphere. As a result of this, Eschenburg acquired a wide acquaintance with English literature, which soon became evident through his extensive activities in this field. In addition to his well-known Shakespeare translation, he became also the chief interpreter to the Germans of his day of the more recent English aesthetic

[1] "Alexander Pope's Versuch über den Menschen an St. John Lord Bolingbroke. Eine metrische Uebersetzung, mit den nöthigsten Anmerkungen und Wilhelm Warburtons Commentar. Von T. W. Broxtermann. Osnabrück, in der Hofbuchhandlung bei Karl und Comp., 1799." The work has a second title-page: "Blüthen des Auslandes. Eine Sammlung von Uebersetzungen vorzüglicher besonders didactischer und erzählender Gedichte. Erstes Bändchen. Popens Versuch über den Menschen. Osnabrück, etc., 1798."

[2] There were in addition to these translations also two English editions of the "Essay on Man," which were published in Germany, apart from the collected works: "An Essay on Man. By Alexander Pope, Esq. A new edition, corrected. Mentz, printed for J. F. Schiller, 1786." Also: "A Philosophical Essay on Man, in four Epistles to H. John, Lord Bolingbroke, by Alex. Pope. Mit Bezeichungen der Aussprache und Erklärung der Wörter, zum Selbstunterricht von J. H. Emmert, Professor zu Tübingen. Erfurt bey W. Hennings. 1797." Pope's "Essay on Man" thus became, along with Young's "Night Thoughts," Thomson's "Seasons," and Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," an elementary textbook in Germany for students of English.

[3] "Pope's Versuch über die Kritik, verdeutscht von J. J. Eschenburg. Berlinisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks. Berlin, bei Friedrich Maurer," I (1795), 189–95; 270–83; 384–91. Two other editions of this translation with the English text were published in Wien in 1799 and 1800.

criticism by his annotated translations of the works of Daniel Webb, John Brown, Bishop Hurd, and Charles Burney. He was the first editor of the Hamburg "Unterhaltungen,"[1] a magazine reflecting the deep interest of its editor in English literature, and later published his "Brittischen Museum für die Deutschen"[2] and its successor, "Annalen der Brittischen Litteratur,"[3] which were devoted exclusively to English literature and the material for which was entirely drawn from English literary journals and critical works. His "Entwurf einer Theorie und Litteratur der schönen Wissenschaften"[4] also shows an intimate knowledge of English criticism and the "Beispielsammlung zur Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften,"[5] which was intended to furnish the illustrative material for the "Entwurf," contains many selections from English literature. Pope seems to have been his favorite, for he quotes him more frequently than any other author.[6]

In view of Eschenburg's reputation as an English scholar and a critic, and the general excellence of his Shakespeare translation, we should expect from him a translation of the "Essay on Criticism" far above the standard set by the translators of the "Essay on Man." In this we are disappointed. It is difficult to understand how Eschenburg, who himself claimed to be somewhat of a poet, could produce a work which in poetic expression and rhythm was so inferior as this translation, especially when we consider the time in which it appeared. He makes the mistake of using blank verse, which at its best would tend to destroy an essential characteristic of Pope's style, his sententiousness. He uses a blank verse, more-

[1] For the years 1766 and 1767 (4 vols.). The magazine was continued by Wittenberg and Ebeling to 1770.

[2] Leipzig, 1777–80, 6 vols.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1781.

[4] Berlin u. Stettin, 1783.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1788–95.

[6] On account of the importance of the work, it will not be out of place to cite the works of Pope which he here reprints. Vol. I (1788), pp. 148–72, "January and May"; pp. 270–74, "The Temple of Fame" (vss. 137–243); pp. 418–21, "Winter." Vol. II (1788), pp. 38–39, "On a Certain Lady at Court" and "Epitaph. On Mr. Elijah Fenton"; pp. 165–169, "Prologue to the Satires"; pp. 291–300, "Essay on Man" (Ep. III, vss. 109–268) and "Moral Essays" (Ep. I, vss. 99–173). Vol. III (1789), pp. 116–20, "Essay on Criticism" (vss. 68–200); pp. 253–56, "Windsor Forest" (vss. 147–258); pp. 407–10, "To Miss Blount, with the Works of Voiture." Vol. V (1790), pp. 403–9, "The Rape of the Lock" (Canto III). Vol. VI (1791), pp. 241–65, "Eloisa an Abälard nach Pope," by Eschenburg, both English and German; pp. 380–84, "Ode for Music on St. Cecelia's Day." Vol. VIII (1795), pp. 117–23, Pope's letter to Hugh Bethel, June 17, 1728, and one to Dr. Arbuthnot, July 26, 1734.

over, that rises little above the level of mere prose. Like many of the translators of the "Essay on Man," he attempts a line-for-line reproduction, and to attain to this literalness he finds himself compelled to sacrifice Pope's poetic qualities.[1] Only rarely is he guilty of inexactness, however, as for example when he translates Pope's "wits" (vs. 38) by "poet," or "open vowels" (vs. 345) by "Gleichlaut."[2]

There was a similar attempt at the close of the century to revive an interest in two other works of Pope that, on account of changed literary ideals, had for several decades been practically forgotten. These are the "Rape of the Lock" and the "Moral Essays." After Zachariä's admirable imitations of Pope's mock-heroic about the middle of the century,[3] the species degenerated into insipid trivialities which soon became disgusting to the public. It was due to this as well as to a growing interest for a literature of a deeper moral and emotional content that the interest in the mock-heroic gradually died out. The only translation of Pope's "Rape of the Lock" which appeared in Germany during the last half of the century is no contradiction to this statement, for it is nothing more than a distorted shadow of Pope's work.

This was published in 1797 by G. Merkel.[4] It is interesting to note the unqualified admiration this translator still has for Pope at

[1] The following lines from the beginning of the "Essay" will illustrate this weakness:

Schwer ists zu sagen, ob mehr Ungeschick
Wer schlecht schreibt, oder schlecht beurtheilt, zeigt.
Doch, minder sündiget, wer die Geduld
Ermüdet, als, wer den Geschmack verfälscht.
Wie Jener, sünd'gen Wenige; wie Dieser,
Verfälschen Viele. Gegen Einen, der
Schlecht schreibt, urtheilen zehn verkehrt; sonst macht
Ein Dichterling allein sich lächerlich;
Jetzt macht er viele Narr'n in Prosa mehr.

[2] In the "Wiener Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1794" (pp. 21–25) was published a "Probe einer Uebersetzung von Popens Versuch über die Kritik" by J. F. Ratschky. It is a translation of the first 45 lines of the Essay in alexandrines.

In addition to this should be mentioned the Latin version: "Alexandri Pope de Arte Critica Liber. Essay on Criticism. Poema Anglicum carmine latino reddere tentavit Jo. Jac. Collenbusch, Ecclesiastes Breckerfeldensis. Dessau 1782." The English text accompanies the translation and the main purpose of the work, according to the introduction, was to furnish a convenient text for those wishing to combine the study of Latin and English.

There appeared also the following German reprint of the Essay in English: "An Essay on Criticism. Written in the year 1719. By Alexander Pope Esq." Halle, printed by J. J. Gebauer, 1758.

[3] The best of these, "Der Renommist" was published in 1744.

[4] "Der Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht von A. Pope, frey und metrisch übersetzt von G. Merkel. Leipzig, bey Joh. Gottlob Feind, 1797."

the very close of the century. Voltaire's statement made in 1726, in which he calls Pope the greatest poet not only of England but of the whole world, he thinks could still be accepted in its widest significance, if Germany had no Wieland. Goethe and Schiller do not seem to enter his mind in this connection.

He knows, he says, of but a single translation of the "Rape of the Lock," namely the prose version of Dusch in the collected works of Pope. He tries to account for this by the fact that this kind of work presents greater difficulties in translation than any other. Wit, he thinks, is of all products of the human spirit the most fleeting. To make a work like the "Rape of the Lock" intelligible, therefore, without a commentary, it must be modernized. This is the principle upon which he proceeds in his translation. The result is that he distorts the meaning in Pope's poem beyond recognition. To make his work the more interesting to his German readers, he substitutes German names for the English, while in other parts he drags in German names for no purpose whatever. He adds much material of his own and freely omits or changes the text. But instead of clarifying Pope's work for his German readers, the translator reduces it to a chaotic mass of meaningless hexameters.[1]

A translation of four of Pope's Epistles in 1800[2] shows a similar attempt to awaken an interest in a species of literature all but dead. These efforts, however, especially the numerous translations of the "Essay on Man" which had appeared during the last quarter of the century furnish excellent evidence of the tenacity with which no inconsiderable part of the cultured German public still clung to ideals essentially in opposition to the prevailing literary taste of the time.

[1] Mention should also be made here of the translation of two passages of the poem under the title: "Proben einer neuen Uebersetzung von Pope's 'Lockenraub'" by an anonymous author signing himself "D." The parts translated were Canto I, vss. 47–142, and Canto III, vss. 19–100: "Deutsche Monatschrift," Leipzig, I (1798), 89–96.

[2] "Moral Essays in Four Epistles to several Persons. By Alexander Pope, Esq., with explanatory Notes. Vienna, printed for R. Sammer, Bookseller, 1800." With a second title: "Moralische Versuche in vier Briefen an verschiedene Personen. Aus dem Englischen des Alexander Pope übersetzt, mit erläuternden Anmerkungen. Wien bey Rudolph Sammer, Buchhändler, 1800." The work is anonymous and contains no introduction. It is in prose, both the English and the German text being given of the first four Moral Epistles.

A translation of Epistle I was also made by Samuel Gottlieb Bürde and published in the "Schlesischen Monatschrift," I (1792), 281–91.

5. *Pope and the Beginnings of German Romanticism*

While the translations just discussed were primarily produced and read by men who represented the declining rationalistic movement, Pope was not without interest for those who stood for the new literary ideals. In England, Byron's great interest in Pope is the most notable example. Among the German writers of the Storm and Stress movement a prominent illustration is found in Lenz, who was at the same time a most extravagant worshiper of Shakespeare. Before going to Strassburg he had translated the "Essay on Criticism" and while there he read before the famous literary coterie which had gathered there in the years 1770 and 1771 a translation of Pope's first "Dialogue" from the "Epilogue to the Satires," presenting it as a model for satire. In the preface to this translation he calls Pope a writer from whom one could never arise without feeling himself larger, nobler, and freer.[1]

But there are also several works of Pope which, on account of their emotional or lyric content, were in perfect accord with the romantic tendencies of the last half of the century. These are principally "Eloise to Abelard" and the "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady," but there should also be added here, on account of their lyric qualities, the two odes, "On St. Cecilia's Day" and "The Dying Christian to His Soul." These pieces, all of them composed in the author's earlier years, found little favor in Germany until the eighth decade when the Storm and Stress movement was well under way, showing in this respect a decided contrast to his other works.

The translation of "Eloise to Abelard" made from a French version and published in 1760 has already been mentioned.[2] Five years before this a prose rendering of the poem from the original, together with a translation of an English version of the correspondence between Eloise and Abelard,[3] was published in Berlin and

[1] Lenz sought a publisher for his translation of the "Essay on Criticism" in Berlin on his way to Strassburg, but without success. Neither of the translations appeared in print. Cf. Karl H. Clarke, Lenz' Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen, "Zs. f. vergl. Litg.," Neue Folge, X (1896), 413 ff.

[2] Above, p. 9.

[3] The anonymous author merely states that his source for these Letters is English. It is probably Hughes's translation from the French made in 1714, which is also regarded as Pope's source.

Potsdam.[1] The translator attempts to reproduce the original closely, but his lack of perfect familiarity with the English language is everywhere apparent.[2] The extremely wooden prose into which the work was cast robbed it of all its original beauty, so that it received but little attention.[3] This was likewise the fate of a Swiss translation in blank verse published in 1768 anonymously.[4] Although not always accurate, it expresses far better the high poetic quality which Pope's work possesses and deserved on this account more general recognition.

The individualistic tendencies of the latter part of the century, along with the growing insistence upon a deeper emotional content in literature, aroused a new interest in the lyric. The German Volkslied and the English ballad became the object of serious study, so that the trifling and insipid verses of the Anacreontic poets were rapidly being supplanted in the early seventies by a more serious and soulful expression in the lyrics of men like Hölty, the Stolbergs, Matthias Claudius, and especially Goethe. It is due chiefly to this movement that the lyrical pieces of Pope were at this time beginning to receive greater attention.

Schmid's "Anthologie" for the year 1771 brought forth reprints of both Mendelssohn's and Kretsch's translations of "The Dying

[1] "Die Geschichte und Briefe des Abelards und der Eloise, in welchen ihr Unglück und die verdrieszlichen Folgen ihrer Liebe beschrieben sind. Nebst einem Gedichte Eloise an Abelard von Alexander Pope. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Berlin und Potsdam, bey Christian Friedrich Voss, 1755."

Ramler in a letter to Gleim, September 14, 1748, refers to a translation that had appeared in a moral weekly published in Jena. This I have been unable to trace. Ramler says: "Es ist auch in Jena eine Wochenschrift herausgekommen: die Wochenschrift nach der Mode genannt. . . . . Die Uebersetzungen sind das eintzige Gute an dieser Chartesque. Plutarch von der Neugierigkeit, Popens Brief der Eloise an den Abelard und ein Traum von dem Nachruhm aus dem Englischen Schwätzer sind von diesem deutschen Schwätzer übersetzt." Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler, hrsg. von Carl Schüdekopf. Bd. I, Tübingen, 1906.

[2] Mistakes like the following occur: "to the hollow wind" (l. 156) = "dem hohlen Wege" (p. 233); "And swelling organs lift the rising soul" (l. 272) = "und aufgeblasne Segel die empörte Seele erheben" (p. 239); "In each low wind methinks a Spirit calls, and more than Echoes talk along the walls" (ll. 305–6) = "In jedem sanften Winde ruft ein Geist, und etwas mehr. Denn der Wiederhall redet längst den Mauern" (p. 241).

[3] The contemporary journals generally ignored it, although Lessing published a notice of it in the "Berlinischen privilegierten Zeitung," 1755, St. 45. Cf. "Schriften," *op. cit.* 7, 23. In this he merely calls attention to the story of the two lovers, but makes no comment on the translation.

[4] "Poetische Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen und nach dem Englischen. Zürich bey Füesslin und Compagnie, 1766." The copy which I have examined is in the Stadtbibliothek of Zürich. The copy in the British Museum lacks the title-page, but is the same in every other respect. In the printed catalogue the probable date of the work is erroneously given as 1780.

Christian to His Soul"[1] and the following year an anonymous rendering of the somewhat frivolous "To Lady Wortly Montague."[2] Herder likewise was attracted to "The Dying Christian to His Soul" and published two years later a reproduction of it which appeared in a number of reprints, the one most widely circulated being that in Schmid's "Almanach der deutschen Musen."[3] With slight changes this version was set to music by Freiherr von Dalberg and performed with considerable success.[4] This translation of Herder's was followed in 1793 by another by Bürde, the translator of Milton's "Paradise Lost."[5] The popularity of Dryden's "Alexander's Feast," which had been successfully produced in Germany in Händel's musical setting, attracted attention likewise to Congreve's "To Harmony," and Pope's "On St. Cecilia's Day," which treated the same subject. As early as 1758 Christian Felix Weisse published a translation of Pope's ode in the appendix to his "Scherzhaften Gedichten," and it appeared again together with translations of Dryden's and Congreve's odes in later editions of his poems.[6]

Another attempt at translating this work of Pope with but indifferent success appeared in the "Teutschen Merkur" of 1796.[7] More happy in overcoming the special difficulties which the changing movement of this ode imposed upon the translator was Kosegarten, who, like Weisse, reproduced also the odes of Dryden and Congreve.[8]

It is somewhat surprising that Pope's "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady" was not more popular in Germany during the last quarter of the century when literature was so generally characterized by the expression of emotion and sentiment. The character of the "unfortunate lady" is thoroughly romantic and Pope produced nothing which in genuine tenderness and pathos exceeds this poem. The only translation that was made of it in Germany during this

[1] II, 344 f. [2] III, 334.

[3] Leipzig, 1776, p. 191.

[4] In regard to the various reprints of this translation both with the musical setting and without, cf. "Herders Werke," D.N.L., 74, p. 446, note.

[5] Voss's "Musenalmanach," 1793, pp. 67 f.

[6] In his "Kleinen lyrischen Gedichten," Leipzig, 1772, sec. ed. Wien, 1793. For "Popens Ode auf die Musik" see former ed., III, 173 ff.

[7] II, 97 ff. The translation is signed "D.M."

[8] "Rhapsodien von Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten." Leipzig, 3 Bde., 1790–1801. III, 14 ff., "Preisz der Tonkunst. Nach Pope."

period was that of G. L. Spalding[1] whose extremely stiff and halting alexandrines could convey to his German readers no notion of the beauty of the English poem.[2]

The love of the morbidly sentimental, which found its expression at this time in the numerous imitations of Goethe's "Werther" and of works like Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," awakened likewise an interest in Pope's "Eloise to Abelard." This work, published as early as 1717, makes Pope one of the forerunners of the Romanticists, for its spirit was essentially out of harmony with the age which produced it and forecast, through its genuine emotional content, the coming of a new era. It is no doubt on account of its decidedly romantic tendencies that Pope came later to look with disfavor upon this remarkable work of his earlier years. In Germany the period of greatest popularity of "Eloise to Abelard" falls into the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. During the twenty-five years between 1779 and 1804 no less than ten different translations of the poem were published, while the two most important of them, those of Eschenburg and Bürger, were several times reprinted.

Eschenburg's "Eloise an Abelard" in blank verse, published in his "Brittischen Museum für die Deutschen" in 1779,[3] was the first German translation of the work that attracted any considerable number of readers. We have already seen the method which Eschenburg followed in his Pope translations. Possessing a critical rather than a poetical faculty, he adhered closely to the thoughts of his author, often at the expense of smoothness of verse and choice of expression. This we saw was the weakness of his "Versuch über die Kritik." However, in his "Eloise an Abelard" he avoided most of

[1] First printed in Voss's "Musenalmanach," 1793, pp. 51 ff., and again in Spalding's "Versuch didaktischer Gedichte," Berlin, 1804, pp. 64 ff. In regard to a criticism of this translation, cf. "Neue Bibl. d. sch. Wiss.," 1793, XL, 114.

[2] Here are also to be included a few of the less important translations made from Pope. These are: "Grabeschrift, nach Pope" ("Well then, poor G. lies under ground"), by L. Herz, "Wiener Musenalmanach," 1792, p. 34; and by the same: "Uebersetzung des ersten Psalms zum Gebrauche junger Mädchen. Nach Pope," *ibid.*, 1793, p. 90. "Der Werth nach Pope," Schiller's "Musenalmanach," 1799, p. 173. About twenty of Pope's shorter poems were reprinted in Jos. Retzer's "Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces of the Most Eminent English Poets," 6 vols. Vienna, 1783–86.

[3] V, 345 ff. It appeared again with the English text in Eschenburg's "Beispielsammlung"; see above, p. 38. With the original and Bürger's translation it was reprinted in Wien, 1799, and again with the English, Wien, 1800. (Cf. Goedeke, VII, 715.)

these glaring faults in his blank verse and reproduced with considerable success the solemn cadence of Pope's verse and the deep passion that speaks through his lines.

This translation of Eschenburg was followed in 1784 by another in prose.[1] In a short preface the editor regards this work of Pope as one of those to which every new translation brings new interest. "Unvergesslich," he says, "sind in der Geschichte Abelard und Eloise. Unvergesslich ist in Europens Dichtkunst Popens vortreffliche Heroide, die er in Eloisens Seele dichtete." The translator, who signs himself "v.A.," he regards as a man of more than ordinary genius.[2] However, this prose translation, although carefully done, did not bring the new interest which was promised, because it failed to give the reader an adequate idea of the high poetic qualities of the work.[3]

Of all the German translators of Pope during this century Bürger possessed the greatest poetic gifts. His "Heloise an Abelard" stands out distinctly from among the other Pope translations of this period.[4] The tragic passion of the work no doubt attracted him, for that was the sort of subject in which he felt himself master. It is hardly to be expected that a poet like Bürger, with his love for rhetorical flights, would reproduce a work of this sort without coloring it with his own peculiar poetic genius. His method of translation was, therefore, entirely different from that of Eschenburg. He had no special regard for the letter of his original, his chief aim being rather to reproduce in his own way the same passionate emotions which Pope had put into his poem. He never hesitated, if it suited

[1] "Eloise an Abelard, nach Pope." Für Aeltere Litteratur und Neuere Lectüre. Quartal Schrift. Leipzig, hrsg. von Canzler und Meiszner, II, 37 ff.

[2] I have been unable to find any reference to the previous separate print of this translation which the editor mentions in the preface.

[3] A translation of the "Messiah," likewise in prose, was published the same year under the following title: "Der Messias, eine geistige Ekloge. In einer Nachahmung des Pollio des Virgils. Uebersetzt aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope." Preface signed "L.W.H.T." and dated Braunschweig, 1784. The English text accompanies the German.

[4] First published in Göttinger "Musenalmanach," 1793, pp. 3–32. The work was practically completed as early as 1791. In a letter to A. W. Schlegel, dated October 31 of that year, Bürger says: "Meine Reimkunst in der Nusz ist auch fertig; sowie auch Popens Heloise an Abelard fast zu Ende gediehen ist. Letzteres ist ein gar feines Werklein."—"Briefe von und an Gottfried August Bürger." Hrsg. von A. Strodtmann, Berlin, 1874. IV, 136. With a free prose translation by J. Rothstein and one in French by Colardeau it was reprinted by Orell, Füssli und Compagnie, 1803.

his purpose, to rearrange, to omit entirely, or to expand Pope's thoughts, so that the translation is much longer than the original poem. He used Pope's own method of translation, to a certain extent making of the English work a German original.[1] Some of his friends to whom he sent his translation before it was published felt that he had overstepped the limits of the translator by injecting into it too much of himself. Thus Caroline Böhmer writes to F. L. W. Meyer: "Eloise ist ein paarmal Bürger geworden."[2] Georg Forster in a letter to Bürger praises the work highly and thinks that he has overcome very successfully the difficulties which face the German translator of English works. "Nach den Abänderungen die wir wünschen," he continues, "wird Ihre Arbeit unter den poetischen Uebersetzungen immer um die Oberstelle ringen."[3] Similar praise was likewise given in a review in the "Neuen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften." "Die Fülle des Ausdrucks," the reviewer says, "der Wohlklang der Versification, der rasche Gang durch die mannichfaltigsten Empfindungen erheben diese Heroide zu der Klasse der besten Werke dieses Dichters und so mit zu dem Vorzüglichsten, was unsre Sprache in dieser Gattung besitzt."[4]

During the same year another translation in alexandrines by E. A. Schmid was published in the "Neuen Teutschen Merkur."[5] The work, however, is of no special merit for it not only fails to reproduce at all adequately the deep emotional quality of the work, but the translator is frequently compelled for the sake of rhyme to omit some of the most striking figures of the poem.[6]

In spite of the great variety of translations that had already appeared, the great popularity of "Eloise to Abelard" during the early years of the Romantic school brought forth a number of new versions including one in Latin hexameter by G. L. Spalding, whose own work shows him to have been an industrious student of Pope.[7]

[1] While Bürger was at work upon his translation of Homer, Pope's translation was the subject of frequent comment between himself and his friends. Cf. "Briefe," etc., *op. cit.*, I, 324; II, 187; III, 67 and 143.

[2] G. Waitz, "Caroline," Leipzig, 1871, I, 99.

[3] "Briefe," etc., *op. cit.*, IV, 207.

[4] XL (1793), 93.

[5] LXXIX, 378–407.

[6] According to Goedeke (VII, 715) another metrical translation appeared in "Ubiens Musentafel," 1799.

[7] "Eloisa Abelardo" in "Versuch didaktischer Gedichte," Berlin, 1804, pp. 212 ff.

The best of these translations is that by Sophie Mereau (Brentano), who was able to combine with considerable success poetic form and fidelity to the original.[1]

CONCLUSION

The close connection between the literary doctrines for which Pope stood and those of the French classical school, represented chiefly by Boileau, assured an immediate and wide popularity of Pope in France. Through the numerous translations and criticisms of his work which appeared there as a result of this popularity, Pope first became generally known on the continent. On this account a number of the early German Pope translations were made indirectly from the French.

There were, however, two German literary centers that had maintained since the third decade a direct literary connection with England, chiefly through their interest in the English moral weeklies. These were Hamburg and Zürich. From these centers came the first German translations of Pope made directly from the English. In Hamburg it was Brockes who first interested himself prominently in Pope and who in his translation of the "Essay on Man" produced the first of a series of Pope translations which came from northern Germany. In Switzerland the Bodmer-Gottsched controversy materially furthered this interest in Pope in that both parties sought to justify their literary doctrines by his example. It was due to this dispute that the first German reproduction of the "Essay on Criticism" and "The Dunciad" were made.

The climax of Pope's popularity came in the sixth decade when Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai became his chief interpreters. The translations made during the latter half of the century owe their existence chiefly to the two more or less clearly defined literary currents which ran through this period. The declining Rationalistic movement perpetuated the interest in those works of Pope which, like the "Essay on Man" and the "Essay on Criticism," represented best those literary doctrines. The rising Romantic movement, on the other hand, sought by numerous translations to popularize those works of Pope which on account of their Romantic tendencies had, up

[1] "Kalathiskos von Sophie Mereau," Erstes Bändchen, Berlin, 1801, pp. 105–32.

to this time, aroused little or no interest. The majority of the translations of the most important of these, "Eloise to Abelard," fell thus into the last years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century.

The translations themselves were, for the most part, inferior in character, the reasons being: first, the general ignorance of the English language, especially during the earlier years of the period; secondly, the undeveloped state of the German poetic language; thirdly, the special difficulties which Pope offered to his German translators, such as his extreme brevity and his polished diction, which were difficult to imitate and without which his thoughts often appeared commonplace.

These numerous efforts to reproduce the much admired characteristics of Pope's style contributed no inconsiderable share to the rapid development which the German poetic language underwent during the last half of the century.

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THE SPENSERIAN STANZA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY[1]

For the seventeenth century I was able to find in the regular Spenserian stanza only 18 poems by 5 men; in the eighteenth century my list includes 57 poems by 38 known poets and 8 anonymous writers. It has so often been said that Thomson's "Castle of Indolence"[2] in 1748, or, at the very earliest, Akenside's "Virtuoso,"[3] or Shenstone's "Schoolmistress" in 1737 were the first instances of the Spenserian stanza in the eighteenth century, that it is worth while to speak in detail of the Spenserian poems of the first half of the century.

In 1702, Edward Bysshe, Gentleman, wrote in his *Art of English Poetry*, p. 33: "Spencer has composed his 'Fairy Queen' in Stanzas of 9 Verses, where the 1st rhymes to the 3d, the 2d to the 4th, 5th, and 7th; and the 6th to the two last. But this Stanza is very difficult to maintain, and the unlucky choice of it reduc'd him often to the necessity of making use of many exploded Words; nor has he, I think, been follow'd in it by any of the Moderns."

I have not seen the first edition, but the second edition, 1705, "corrected and improved," seems to have its changes chiefly in the third part, the "Collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Sublime Thoughts." In 1705, at any rate, Bysshe was fairly within bounds in his statement that Spenser had not been followed "by any of the Moderns," for Dr. Samuel Woodford in 1679 was, so far as I know, the latest user of the regular Spenserian stanza. About 1705, however, Alexander Pope wrote the five stanzas of his "Spenserian Imitation, The Alley." It is commonly considered burlesque; to call it serious is too much, but it is also too much to say that it

[1] See *Modern Philology*, IV, 639, April, 1907, for "The Spenserian Stanza before 1700."

[2] Thomson's "revival in the 'Castle of Indolence' of the Spenserian stanza," Austin Dobson in Chambers' *Encyclopaedia of English Lit.*, II, 11*a*, 1903.

[3] Akenside "published the 'Virtuoso,' a poem in Spenserian stanzas, which preceded in publicity both Thomson's and Shenstone's efforts in that form, the honor of reviving which should therefore rest with Akenside."—Edmund Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Lit.*, 311. Mr. Gosse had forgotten that on p. 138 he had said that Croxall had "issued two cantos in imitation of the 'Fairy Queen.'"

ridicules Spenser. The truth is, as we shall see, when we come to the comments on Spenser, that Pope, like many another youthful poet, experimented with various meters, and in the end used the form which best suited his habit of mind: Coleridge, for example, who certainly possessed some of the poetical qualities which Pope has been accused of lacking, also tried the Spenserian stanza in his youth, tried it only once, and without conspicuous success. Pope's stanzas seem to have been first published in 1727, so that they were preceded in print by those of Samuel Croxall, D.D., who in 1713 published a poem in the regular Spenserian stanza, entitled: "An Original Canto of Spencer: Design'd as Part of his 'Fairy Queen,' but never printed. Now made public by Nestor Ironside, Esq." Though this poem was dated 1714, the *Examiner* of December 18, 1713, animadverted upon it, and called forth on December 19, 1713, the "Examiner Examin'd." In 1714, Nestor Ironside put forth "Another Original Canto," etc., while the "Original Canto" went into its second and third editions. Later in 1714 appeared "An Ode, humbly inscrib'd to the King, occasion'd by his Majesty's most auspicious accession and arrival, written in the stanza and measure of Spencer. By Mr. Croxall," who naïvely subscribed himself "Author of the Two Original Cantos," etc. Although these "Original Cantos" were frankly satirical, the "Ode to the King" was an entirely serious poem, in which allegory was made to serve, not satire, but flattery.

A year later, in 1715, John Hughes published an edition of Spenser, the first since 1679, and which seems to have sufficed until 1750, when a second edition appeared. There may have been some connection between Croxall and Hughes, but I have not been able to trace it.

After Croxall's poems of 1714, the next poems in the regular stanza are William Thompson's in 1736, more than twenty years later; at no other time in the eighteenth century, however, was there a gap of more than eight years. Professor Phelps, who called attention to Thompson in 1893, in his *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, has pointed out not only Thompson's importance as a pioneer in Romanticism, but also that he has substantial claims upon our attention as a graceful poet and a genuine lover of nature.

Thompson's "Epithalamium on the Royal Nuptials of May, 1736," and "The Nativity, a College Exercise" are both entirely serious poems, without a hint of satire and with many beautiful, melodious stanzas. Mark Akenside's "Virtuoso," therefore, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1737, was preceded, as we have seen, by at least six poems in the regular stanza. Akenside was followed in the same year by Shenstone, whose "Schoolmistress" was then printed in imperfect form, and completed in 1742. In 1739 appeared two poems, the "Abuse of Travelling," which we know is by Gilbert West, and "A Canto of the Fairy Queen," which seems to be his. In 1747, Robert Bedingfield, Dr. Gloster Ridley, and Christopher Pitt all published Spenserian imitations, so that James Thomson's "Castle of Indolence" (the longest Spenserian poem of the century), had a fairly long list of recent predecessors.

The "Castle of Indolence," it will be remembered, came out only four years after Pope's death, at a time when Pope's influence was presumably at its height; yet the poem was immediately popular, for the *London Magazine* for September, 1748, noted the appearance of the second edition. Moreover, Thomson was far from being the only Spenserian who was read in those days: Dodsley's famous *Collection*, the first three volumes of which appeared in January, 1748, and which went through five editions in ten years, contained Shenstone's "Schoolmistress," Gilbert West's "Abuse of Travelling," Gloster Ridley's "Psyche," Bedingfield's "Education of Achilles," and the elder William Melmoth's "Transformation of Lycon and Euphormio." The first half of the eighteenth century, then, the period when the vogue of the heroic couplet was surely at its highest, produced 18 poems in the stanza of Spenser—exactly as many as I have been able to find in the entire seventeenth century; and these 18 poems were by 13 poets, as against 5 in the seventeenth century. What is still more to the point, the poems of Akenside, Shenstone, and James Thomson are still known by reputation, and those of William Thompson ought to be, while not one of the seventeenth-century poems is known except to the special student.

Along with these fairly numerous poems in the regular stanza were many imitations, some of which are especially interesting. In 1706, Prior, in his "Ode to the Queen," invented one which in its

structure seems characteristically Classical. It is composed of two heroic quatrains and a couplet, with the second line of the couplet an Alexandrine. In the course of the century, 23 poets wrote 34 poems in this stanza, so that it was at times nearly as popular as the regular stanza, although it by no means displaced it. Samuel Wesley, the younger, between 1724 and 1735, wrote three poems in this stanza. In 1741, Samuel Boyse, one of the literary vagabonds of his day, wrote in it 140 stanzas of "Cambuscan; or the Squire's Tale of Chaucer." George Ogle continued "Cambuscan" for 74 stanzas, "from the 4th Book of Spenser's 'Fairy Queen'"; and in 1785, Joseph Sterling added another 97 stanzas. Ogle's paraphrase is one of the very few attempts in the eighteenth century to "modernize" Spenser, and is the only one of technical interest.[1]

[1] Of Ogle's 74 stanzas, 73 are paraphrases of the "Fairy Queen," IV, ii, 35–54; IV, iii, 1–52; and IV, iv, 1, so that only one stanza (his last) is entirely his own. In a third of the stanzas, Ogle uses Spenser's Alexandrines with slight changes; only eight of them does he take unchanged. And so it is with the stanzas as wholes: Spenser's ideas are there, but phrasing and cadence are gone for the most part. In 14 stanzas there is no trace of Spenser's lines; in 13, only three lines can by any stretch be called Spenser's, and in only 17 stanzas does Ogle borrow more than three lines. In fact, of the more than 650 lines, only 42 are taken unchanged; in a dozen the order only is altered; in 86 only one word is changed; that is to say, only about 2½ per cent of Ogle's lines owe their form to Spenser. Some of Ogle's changes were mere substitutions of modern for archaic words, as in

Pardon to grant, and rigor to abate
for Spenser's
To graunt her boone, and rigour to abate,

or

And chang'd, at Pleasure, for those Sons of thine,
for Spenser's
And chaung'd at pleasure for those impes of thine.

Others seem matters of cadence, like

And know the utmost measure of their date
for Spenser's
And know the measure of their utmost date,

or

And each to other seem'd the vict'ry there to yield
for Spenser's
And each to other seemd the victorie to yield.

Most of them, however, were injections of eighteenth-century taste, as in

Tost like the vessel on the surging wave
for
Tossing them like a boate amid the mayne,

or

Soon as the face of Heav'n was streak'd with red,
for
So soon as heavens window shewed light.

In 1774, and again in 1783, there were anonymous attempts to turn Spenser into blank verse. Of the later of these, the *Monthly Review* for October, 1785, wrote:

"An attempt of this kind may be intended to render Spenser . . . . more agreeable, by breaking the tedious uniformity of the stanza, of which most readers are apt to complain.

"The pause is not sufficiently marked, nor sufficiently varied; which renders the blank verse as tiresome as the stanza, the kind of poetry which, after all, will be found the most proper for Spenser's thoughts and descriptions."

In 1747 appeared in this stanza anonymously "A New Canto of Spencer's 'Fairy Queen,'" ascribed to John Upton who published an edition of Spencer in 1758. Samuel Boyse also was not too careful in his language, for in 1748 he wrote in this ten-line stanza "Irene, an Heroic Ode in the Stanza of Spencer." In 1749, Gilbert West used the stanza, which he called "Decades," to translate Pindar's "First Pythian Ode," which seems to have inspired an anonymous translator, the next year, of Pindar's "Eighth Isthmian."

Besides this popular one of Prior's, there were 13 other ten-line stanzas in the eighteenth century, which were modeled on Spenser's. Akenside invented one, rhyming *ababccdeed* which he used in three "Odes,"[56] and which at least three other poets copied in short poems. Thomas Chatterton used repeatedly one which rhymes *ababbcbcdd*, and which he probably invented, although William Browne of Tavistock had used the rhyme scheme without the concluding Alexandrine.[56]

Of nine-line variations of Spenser's stanza, there were 18 stanza-forms, in 22 poems by 14 poets. The only one used by more than two poets rhymes *ababcdcdd;* I found it first in Robert Lloyd's "Progress of Envy," March, 1751.[56] Lloyd was followed by Robert Ferguson in 1773, and by Thomas Dermody in 1792. Lloyd prefaced his poem with this statement:

> As I did not suppose that Imitators were bound to transcribe the Faults as well as Excellencies of their Originals, I made no Scruple of making a slight Alteration in Spenser's Stanza, which is universally condemned for the Redundancy of its correspondent Rhymes. . . . . I have, in general, rather wished to fall into Spenser's Way of Thinking than his Manner of cloathing his Sentiments, because I think his Imagery infinitely superior to his Stile.

In 1767, Walter Harte tried an interesting variation which runs *ababbcdcd*, but he tried it in only one short poem and so far as I know has not been imitated. In 1785, an anonymous poet in the *London Magazine* published a poem which rhymed *ababbcbcb;* perhaps the five *b*-rhymes had something to do with his stopping at the end of the fourth stanza.[56] The most surprising of these nine-line stanzas, *abbaccddc*, William Sotheby used, and apparently

invented, in 1798 for the 910 stanzas of his translation of Wieland's "Oberon." Wieland's poem is in octosyllabic couplets, but if "Oberon" suggested the "Fairy Queen," it is strange that Sotheby should have devised so strange a variation of Spenser's stanza, when he had the sanction not only of the "Fairy Queen," but of the "Castle of Indolence" and the "Minstrel." Only one poet—Thomas Park, in eight "Stanzas on the Death of Dame Morris" in 1797—used the Spenserian rhyme-scheme, but with a septenary instead of an Alexandrine.[1] All of these nine-line variations come after 1750, and very few of them had been used in the seventeenth century. The most notable omission is that the eighteenth century did not once, so far as I know, use the *ottava rima* with an added Alexandrine.

After the true Spenserian stanza, and the ten-line variation of Prior, comes in point of use the *ababcc* stanza with its last line lengthened. At various times through the century 16 poets wrote 30 poems, all short, the two longest late in the century by Anna Seward and Robert Southey, having each 47 stanzas.[2] As in the case of the seventeenth century, some of the variations of this *ababcc* stanza are interesting. In 1731, in *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands*, published at Oxford by J. Husbands, are three poems by an anonymous poet or poets, in which the sixth line is a septenary. These poems are fairly long, running 26, 19, and 19 stanzas.[3] William Whitehead seems to have invented the formula *ababcc* in 1744, and
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was followed by Vansittart, an anonymous "Hymen," and Anna Seward. In other stanzas also one occasionally finds a series of tetrameter lines concluded by a pentameter and an Alexandrine.

In its variations and imitations of Spenser's stanza, the seventeenth century had shown little fondness for the linking of the quatrains, and the eighteenth century for the most part followed the

[1] In 1818, Shelley, in his "Stanzas Written in Dejection," reduced the first eight lines to tetrameters; and in 1827, William and Mary Howitt, in their "Stanzas to Bernard Barton," reduced the first eight lines to trimeters.

[2] The only really extended poem in this stanza, that I know of, is Francis Hodgson's "The Friend, a Poem," 1818, which has 423 stanzas.

[3] The only other instances of this stanza I have found are five poems by Oscar Wilde, written about 1880; they are all distinctly longer than the eighteenth-century poems, for "Panthea" has 30 stanzas, the "Garden of Eros" 46, "The Burden of Itys" 58, "Humanidad" 73, and "Charmides" 101.

taste of the seventeenth. But toward the close of the eighteenth century, the vogue of the regular Spenserian stanza, assisted perhaps by the rapidly growing practice of the Italian sonnet, seems to have made it clear that the final Alexandrine was not the only element of charm in Spenser's stanza.

With this review of the principal poems both in the true stanza and in its most used imitations, we can turn to the various eighteenth-century criticisms of Spenser's stanza, to see how nearly use followed prescription. After Bysshe's comment of 1705, already quoted, came Prior's. In the Preface to his "Ode humbly address'd to the Queen; written in imitation of Spenser's Style," 1706, he said in part:

> As to the Style, the Choice I made of following the Ode in Latin, determin'd me in English to the Stanza; and herein it was impossible not to have a Mind to follow our great Countryman SPENSER, which I have done (as well at least as I could) in the Manner of my Expression, and the Turn of my Number: Having only added one Verse to his Stanza, which I thought made the Number more Harmonious; and avoided such of his Words, as I found obsolete. I have however retain'd some few of them, to make the Colouring look more like Spenser's. Behest, Command; Band, Army; Prowess, Strength; I weet, I know; I ween, I think; whilom, heretofore; and Two or Three more of that Kind, which I hope the Ladies will Pardon me, and not judge my Muse less handsome, though for once she appears in a Farthingal. I have also in Spenser's Manner, used Caesar for Emperor, Boya for Bavaria, Bavar for that Prince, Ister for Danube, Iberia for Spain, &c. . . . .
>
> My two great Examples, HORACE and SPENSER, in many Things resemble each other: Both have a Height of Imagination, and a Majesty of Expression in describing the Sublime; and both know to temper those Talents, and sweeten the Description, so as to make it Lovely as well as Pompous: Both have equally that agreeable Manner of mixing Morality with their Story, and that Curiosa Felicitas in the Choice of their Diction, which every Writer aims at, and so very few have reach'd: Both are particularly fine in their Images and Knowing in their Numbers. . . . .

Prior's criticism is both acute and sympathetic; it was no small matter, in 1706, for a prominent Classicist to link Horace and Spenser, and to pick out as their chief excellences "that Curiosa Felicitas in the Choice of their Diction, which every Writer aims at, and so very few have reach'd; Both are particularly fine in their Images, and Knowing in their Numbers." It is to be noted, too, that Prior

has no hint of condescension in his attitude toward Spenser. He does not enter into any explanation as to why he thought the extra line made "the Number more harmonious"; but we shall find that a chief objection to Spenser's stanza was the four lines rhyming together, which the independent quatrains avoided.

The next few passages, with some others in this chapter, are obviously so slight as to seem hardly worth quoting. They are all short, however, so that it seems best to give them, if only for the sake of completeness, and to show that some possible sources have not been overlooked. In February, 1707, Samuel Cobb referred to Prior's "Ode," in the Prefatory Discourse to his *Poems on Several Occasions*. Talking of the battle of Ramillies, he said:

> There are several others on that Subject, and some will bear the Test; one particularly, written in imitation of the Style of Spencer; and goes under the name of Mr. Prior; I have not read it through, but *ex pede Herculem*. He is a gentleman who cannot write ill. Yet some of our criticks have fell upon it, as the Viper did on the File, to the Detriment of their Teeth.[1]

In 1709 we get a faint allusion to Spenser in the Preface to John Reynolds' "Death, a Philosophical Poem," in which he asked:

> Or has the Ruggedness and Antique Dress of Dr. Henry More's Philosophical Essays discourag'd others from attempting anything in the like kind?

In his third edition, in 1735, Reynolds changed his sentence to read:

> Dr. H. More has attempted some Philosophical odes; but the antique dress and measures, that he has chosen, it is to be feared, have prejudiced his own, and discouraged others.

In 1709 also appeared "Licentia Poetica discuss'd: or, the true test of poetry," a poem, with preface and notes, by William Coward, M.D. In one passage Dr. Coward says:

> Spencer, in this unfortunately Great,
> New Schemes erected, old ones to defeat.
> But, like *Miltonian Verse*, they pleased but few,
> And those Perhaps, because the Schemes were New.

To these lines Coward appended this note:

> It was fit I should name some Poem of this Nation, which is Spenser's "Fairy Queen," wrote in Imitation of the Old Latin Poets, with Hexameter

[1] Quoted from 3d ed., 1710.

and Pentameter Verses, which some in this present Age pretend to imitate. But the Grace of that Poem seems to consist more in the Design, than Curiosity of Rhyme, or Expressions.

In 1715, John Hughes prefixed to his edition of Spenser some "Remarks on the 'Faerie Queene'" in which he wrote:

As to the stanza in which the "Faerie Queene" is written, though the author cannot be commended in the choice of it, yet it is much more harmonious in its kind than the heroick verse of that age; it is almost the same with what the Italians call their *ottava rima*, which is used both by Ariosto and Tasso, but improved by Spenser, with the addition of a line more in the close, of the length of our Alexandrines. The defect of it in long or narrative poems is apparent; the same measure, closed always by a full stop, in the same place, by which every stanza is made as it were a distinct paragraph, grows tiresome by continual repetition, and frequently breaks the sense, when it ought to be carried on without interruption. With this exception the reader will, however, find it harmonious, full of well-sounding epithets, and of such elegant turns on the thought and words, that Dryden himself owned he learned these graces of verse chiefly from our author and does not scruple to say, that "in this particular, only Virgil surpassed him among the Romans, and only Mr. Waller among the English."

Obviously Hughes does very little more than echo Bysshe's comment of a few years earlier; even his mistaken explanation of where Spenser got his stanza might have been deduced from Bysshe. Hughes sent a copy of his "Remarks" to Pope, who wrote in acknowledgment:

Spenser has been ever a favorite poet to me; he is like a mistress whose faults we see, but love her with them all.[1]

Years later, Spence, in his *Anecdotes*, records Pope as saying:

After my reading a Canto of Spenser two or three days ago to an old lady between seventy and eighty, she said that I had been showing her a collection of pictures. She said very right; and I know not how it is, but there is something in Spenser that pleases one as strongly in one's old age as it did in one's youth. I read the "Faerie Queene" when I was about twelve, with a vast deal of delight; and I think it gave me as much when I read it over about a year or two ago.[2]

These two statements, more than a quarter of a century apart and undoubtedly sincere, are of especial interest as coming from the most skilful wielder of the strict heroic couplet. Pope knew what

[1] Works, XI, 120.

[2] Ed. of 1820, pp. 86–87, 1743–44.

he could do best, in what direction his peculiar genius lay; but he showed himself none the less capable of enjoying work of a very different kind.

In 1718, in the Preface to "Solomon," a long poem in heroic couplets, Prior commented as follows on the difference between couplet and stanza:

> I would say one word of the measure in which this, and most poems of this age are written. Heroic with continued rhime, as Donne and his contemporaries used it, carrying the sense of one verse most commonly into another, was found too dissolute and wild, and came very often too near prose. As Davenant and Waller corrected, and Dryden perfected it; it is too confined: it cuts off the sense at the end of every first line which must always rhime to the next following; and consequently produces too frequent an identity in the sound, and brings every couplet to the point of an epigram. It is indeed too broken and weak, to convey the sentiments and represent the images proper for Epic. And as it tires the writer while he composes, it must do the same to the reader while he repeats; especially in a poem of any considerable length.
>
> If striking out into blank verse, as Milton did (and in this kind Mr. Philips, had he lived, would have excelled) or running the thought into Alternate or Stanza, which allows a greater variety, and still preserves the dignity of the verse, as Spenser and Fairfax have done; if either of these, I say, be a proper remedy for my poetical complaint, or if any other may be found, I dare not determine; I am only enquiring, in order to be better informed. . . . . But once more: he that writes in rhimes, dances in fetters: and as his chain is more extended, he may certainly take longer steps.

By "heroic with continued rhime" Prior meant what we usually call enjambed or run-on couplets. Theoretically, to "run on" couplets is to take a form admirably adapted to express concise, sententious, or witty ideas, and to ignore the primary function of the couplet rhyme; Prior saw this clearly, as he also saw that strict use "brings every couplet to the point of an epigram." But Prior had what seems to have been the peculiarly characteristic attitude of the early eighteenth century. An age of reason, reacting extremely from an age of, in literature at least, fantastic license, sought above all things for finality and authority. Charles II and his court had passed their exile in France at a time when French literature was in the hands of dogmatists who spoke with unlimited assumption of authority. At the Restoration Englishmen found in this authority more and more of a refuge. After so much turmoil, and in literature

so much metaphysical preciosity, solid, tangible, reasonable authority, especially when upheld by men of such force as Dryden, Addison, Swift, and Pope's circle, carried a weight that we, the inheritors of a century of Romanticism, can appreciate, or even understand, only with difficulty. Even the greater men deferred to authority, and bent their judgment to its decrees. But deference of judgment does not, except in the weak, result in suppression of tastes and likings. At most it colors one's phrasing, and obscures without obliterating. Some of the eighteenth-century writers were silent, either as being wholly in accord with the dogmas of the age, or as discreet conformists. Others, like Dr. Johnson, and Prior in the passages just quoted, spoke "under correction"; still others, especially in matters of taste rather than of reason, spoke apologetically. It is on record that Sir Walter Scott even was half ashamed of his fondness for folk-lore and ballads, until he chanced to hear that the Germans had taken up the subject seriously. The temptation is strong, therefore, to maintain that the witnesses I have to offer of Spenser's popularity in the eighteenth century are largely what the lawyers call "unwilling witnesses," who give evidence reluctantly, and whose testimony is therefore worth somewhat more than its face value. But it is surely not too much to point out that the increase in the reading public was great enough to make a market for many kinds of literature, and thus to encourage the writing of many kinds. Consequently the tendency which finally blossomed into the Romanticism of the first quarter of the eighteenth century had room in which to exist and grow alongside of Classicism. My main contention, which this history of the Spenserian stanza is designed to illustrate, is that, almost from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Romantic tendency was never extinguished, or even suppressed, but was during the first half of the century only less prominent than the Classic spirit, and after 1750 received more and more open encouragement and recognition.

Between 1740 and 1750,[1] William Thompson, who has already

[1] Ralph Straus, in his bibliography of Dodsley's publications (*Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher, and Playwright*, 1910, p. 331) records Thompson's "Hymn to May" as published on April 28, 1746. The copy in the British Museum has the date trimmed off, and the Catalogue conjectures "1740?" The copy in the Bodleian is reported "n.d.," though whether or not the title-page is perfect, I do not know.

been mentioned, published a "Hymn to May" with a preface which began:

As Spenser is the most descriptive and florid of all our English writers, I attempted to imitate his manner, in the following vernal Poem. I have been very sparing of the antiquated words, which are too frequent in most of the imitations of this author; however, I have introduced a few here and there, which are explained at the bottom of each page where they occur. Shakespeare is the Poet of Nature, in adapting the affections and passions to his characters; and Spenser in describing her delightful scenes and rural beauties. His lines are most musically sweet; and his descriptions most delicately abundant, even to a wantonness of painting: but still it is the music and painting of Nature. We find no ambitious ornaments, or epigrammatical turns, in his writings, but a beautiful simplicity; which pleases far above the glitter of pointed wit. I endeavored to avoid the affectation of the one, without any hopes of attaining the graces of the other kind of writing. . . . .

A modern writer has, I know, objected against running the verse into alternate and stanza: but Mr. Prior's authority is sufficient for me, who observes that it allows a greater variety, and still preserves the dignity of the verse. As I professed myself in this Canto to take Spenser for my model, I chose the stanza; which I think adds both a sweetness and solemnity at the same time to subjects of this rural and flowery nature. The most descriptive of our old Poets have always used it, from Chaucer down to Fairfax, and even long after him. I followed Fletcher's measure in his "Purple Island"; a poem, printed at Cambridge in 12 Cantos, in quarto, scarce heard of in this age, yet the best in the allegorical way (next to the "Fairy Queen"), in the English language. The Alexandrine line, I think, is peculiarly graceful at the end, and is an improvement on Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. . . . .[1]

Thompson possibly refers to Dr. Samuel Woodford, who, in the preface to his "Paraphrase upon the Canticles," 1679, says:

If therefore Ourselves or the French will use Blank Verse, either in an Heroick Poem, where they should be, I think, Couplets, as in Mr. Cowley's

[1] The "Purple Island" seems always to have found a few appreciative readers. Warton referred to it in his *Observations* of 1754, and in 1758, James Hervey wrote to a friend: "You some time ago sent me a poem, with which I was much delighted, notwithstanding the uncouth metre and obsolete words; I mean Fletcher's "Purple Island." . . . . I wish any bookseller could be prevailed with to reprint the "Purple Island," and add to it "Christ's Victory," etc., in one neat volume. I believe it would sell, if properly revised and altered. . . . . Had I been in perfect health . . . . I question whether I should not have retouched the poetry, changed several of the obsolete words, illustrated the obscure passages by occasional notes, and run the risk of publishing the whole at my own expense." (Hervey's *Works*, Edinburgh, 1769, Letter CCVI, p. 696*b*.) Even Goldsmith quoted Fletcher approvingly. I do not know whether or not any of these men had anything to do with an ed. of Fletcher in 1789.

Davideis (for the Quadrains of Sir Wm. Davenant, and the Stanza of 9 in Spenser's "Fairy Queen," which are but an Improvement of the Ottava Rima, to instance in no more, seem not to me so proper), ... let us give it the Character, as to its Form, which it anciently had. . . . .

Here at least is objection to alternate and stanza, but if it is urged that an author of 1679 was not likely to be thought "modern" after 1740, let us turn to Edward Bysshe's *Art of Poetry*, 1702. He speaks of Chaucer's *Troilus*, Spenser's "Fairy Queen," and of the Italians, and adds:

> But this is now wholly laid aside, and Davenant, who compos'd his Gondibert in Stanzas of 4 Verses in alternate Rhyme, was the last that follow'd their example of intermingling Rhymes in Heroick Poems.

Bysshe's statement sounds like a bungling echo of Woodford, and perhaps, as found in a popular treatise, would be likely to attract Thompson's attention. Professor Phelps (*Eng. Rom. Movement*, p. 59) thinks that the "modern writer" was Dr. Johnson, who criticized the Spenserians in *The Rambler* in May, 1751. But reference to Johnson's remarks (pp. 17 f. below) will show that he says nothing of objections to "alternate and stanza."

The first eighteenth-century writer to tell us at any length of his experience with Spenser was William Shenstone, who wrote to his friend Richard Graves as follows:

> "THE DAY BEFORE CHRISTMAS," [1741?]
>
> Some time ago, I read Spenser's "Fairy Queen"; and, when I had finished, thought it a proper time to make some additions and corrections, in my trifling imitation of him, the "School-mistress." His subject is certainly bad, and his action inexpressibly confused; but there are some particulars in him that charm one. Those which afford the greatest scope for a ludicrous imitation are, his simplicity and obsolete phrase; and yet these are what give one a very singular pleasure in the perusal. The burlesque which they occasion is of quite a different kind to that of Philips's "Shilling," Cotton's "Travestie," "Hudibras," or Swift's works; but I need not tell *you* this.
>
> JANUARY 19, 1741–42
>
> The true burlesque of Spenser (whose characteristic is simplicity) seems to consist in a *simple* representation of such things as one laughs to *see* or to *observe* one's self, rather than in any *monstrous* contrast betwixt the thoughts and words. I cannot help thinking that my added stanzas have more of his manner than what you saw before, which you are not a judge of, till you have read him.

JUNE, 1742

. . . . I am glad you are reading Spenser; though his plan is detestable, and his *invention* less wonderful than most people imagine, who do not much consider the obviousness of allegory; yet, I think, a person of your disposition must take great delight in his *simplicity*, his good-nature, &c. Did you observe a stanza that begins a canto somewhere, "Nought is there under heav'n's wide hollowness That breeds," &c.[1]

When I bought him first, I read a page or two of the "Fairy Queen," and cared not to proceed. After that, Pope's "Alley" made me consider him ludicrously; and in that light, I think, one may read him with pleasure. I am now (as Ch———m—ley with ———), from trifling and laughing at him, really in love with him. I think even the metre pretty (though I shall never use it in earnest); and that the last Alexandrine has an extreme majesty. . . . . Does not this line strike you (I do not justly remember what canto it is in); "Brave thoughts and noble deeds did *evermore* inspire."[2] Perhaps it is my fancy only that is enchanted with the running of it.

[Undated, but ? 1742]

I dare say it must be incorrect; for I have added eight or ten stanzas within this fortnight. But inaccuracy is more excusable in ludicrous poetry than in any other. If it strikes *any*, it must be people of *taste;* for people of *wit* without taste (which comprehends the larger part of the critical tribe) will unavoidably despise it. I have been at some pains to secure myself from A. Philips's misfortune, of mere *childishness*, "little charm of placid mien," &c. I have added a ludicrous index, purely to shew (fools) that I am in jest: and my motto, "O qua sol habitabiles illustrat oras, maxime principum," is calculated for the same purpose. You cannot conceive how large the number is of those that mistake burlesque for the very foolishness it exposes (which observation I made once at the Rehearsal, at Tom Thumb, at Chrononhotonthologos; all which are pieces of elegant humour). I have some mind to pursue this caution further; and advertise it, "The School-mistress, &c." A very childish performance everybody knows (novorum more). But if a person seriously calls this, or rather, burlesque, a childish or low species of poetry, he says wrong. For the most regular and formal poetry may be called trifling, folly, and weakness, in comparison of what is written with a more *manly* spirit in ridicule of it.

NOVEMBER 22, 1745

I have read Spenser once again, and I have added full as much more to my "School-mistress," in regard to *number of lines; something* in point of *matter* (or *manner* rather) *which* does not displease me.

[1] I, iii, 1; the second line reads, "That moves," etc.

[2] IV, x, 26, line 9.

1746, "ineunte anno"

I thank you for your perusal of that trivial poem. If I were going to print it, I should give way to your remarks *implicitly*, and would not *dare* to do otherwise. But so long as I keep it in manuscript, you will pardon my silly prejudices if I chuse to read and shew it with the addition of most of my new stanzas. I own I have a fondness for several, imagining them to be *more* Spenser's way, yet more independent on the antique phrase, than any part of the poem; and, on that account, I cannot yet prevail on myself to banish *them* entirely; but were I to print, I should (with *some* reluctance) give way to your sentiments (which I know are just), namely, that they render the work too diffuse and flimzy, and seem rather excrescences than essential parts of it.[1]

Professor Phelps has already called attention to the way in which Shenstone, drawn to Spenser by Pope's imitation, gradually came to change from parody to sincere imitation, though I think Professor Phelps has made rather more than is fair of Shenstone's reluctance to take himself or Spenser seriously. The passages given above (all but the last two are quoted by Professor Phelps) furnish another instance of the half-conscious struggle between an actual taste for what we now call Romantic things, and the deference due such autocratic oracles of "authority" as Pope. Robust, hearty John Dryden, at a time when pseudo-Classical dogma was growing more authoritative every day, went through this same struggle, and at the last leaned toward freedom. Thomas Gray living toward the close of pseudo-Classical dominance, also went through his struggles and his compromises. (Has it not often been remarked that the "Elegy" owes its unrivaled popularity to its blend of gently Romantic feeling and Classic expression?) Shenstone and a score of other writers—representative surely of a strong minority of the readers of that day—also wavered between the calls of taste and of authority, and often ended by admitting the rule of authority —but kept their likings.

In 1747, according to Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, I, 653 (ed. of 1812), Dr. Thomas Morell published "Spenser's *Works*, by subscription." Gordon Goodwin, in the *DNB*, records that "Morell is said to have issued by subscription an edition of Spenser's *Works*." Nichols' statement is positive and unhesitating, but I have thus far

[1] All of these citations are from Shenstone's *Letters*, 1769, pp. 61, 63, 66, 69, 120, and 121.

found no other hint of the existence of such an edition. In 1737, however, Morell edited Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which by confusion may possibly have been the basis of Nichols' entry.

In April, 1748, James Thomson wrote to his friend Patterson: "After fourteen or fifteen years the 'Castle of Indolence' comes abroad in a fortnight." At the end of the poem Thomson added this "Advertisement":

> This Poem being writ in the Manner of Spenser, the obsolete Words, and a Simplicity of Diction in some of the Lines, which borders on the Ludicrous, were necessary to make the Imitation more perfect. And the Stile of that admirable Poet, as well as the Measure in which he wrote, are as it were appropriated by Custom to all Allegorical Poems writ in our Language; just as in French the Stile of Marot who lived under Francis I has been used in Tales, and familiar Epistles, by the politest Writers of the Age of Louis XIV.

Both Shenstone and Thomson talk about the "ludicrous" effect of Spenser's diction; and yet both poets wrote perfectly serious, sympathetic poems, and Thomson succeeded better than anyone else, with the possible exceptions of Keats and Tennyson, in equaling Spenser on his own ground. This contradiction between their criticism and their practice seems to me to point inevitably to the conclusion that they were "unwilling witnesses," and that their critical vocabulary was already more hopelessly inadequate than they realized.[1] In November, 1748, Shenstone wrote to Jago:

> Thomson's poem amused me greatly. . . . . I think his plan has faults; particularly that he should have said nothing of the diseases attending laziness in his *first* canto, but reserved them to strike us more affectingly in the last, but on the whole, who would have thought that Thomson could have so well imitated a person remarkable for simplicity both of sentiment and phrase?[2]

In 1750, the Tonsons reissued John Hughes's edition of Spenser's *Works*. Hughes had died in 1720, so a "learned and anonymous author"[3] furnished the "Remarks on Spenser's Poems" in the first volume. In March, 1751, Robert Lloyd published his "Progress of Envy," already referred to, and Gilbert West published the first

[1] An illuminating parallel is Byron; in the early stanzas of "Childe Harold" he mitates Spenser's diction, with ironic effect, but soon drops imitation and takes full advantage of the opportunities of the stanza for pictorial narration.

[2] *Letters*, 1769, p. 174.

[3] See Upton's "Letter," and Warton's *Observations*.

(and only) canto of his poem on "Education" in the regular Spenserian stanza. In May, John Upton addressed to West a "Letter concerning a new edition of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*," in the course of which he said:

Whilst I am in this humour of finding fault, let me consider whether Spenser is altogether blameless for that foolish choice (shall I call it?) of his so frequent returning rhime in a stanza of nine verses. What fetters for neither rhime nor reason has he voluntarily put on? And many a bad spelling, many a lame thought and expression is he forced to introduce, merely for the sake of a jingling termination. Verse does not consist in that tinkling sound of similar endings, which was brought into Italy by Goths and Huns, but in proper measure and cadence, and both letters and words corresponding to the sense. Milton saw and avoided the rock which Spenser split on; in other respects, Spenser's imagination was greater.

In May also, Moses Mendez published his "Seasons. In Imitation of Spenser," and Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the *Rambler* for Tuesday, May 14, attacked the Spenserians. I quote his last three paragraphs:

There are, I think, two schemes of writing, on which the laborious wits of the present time employ their faculties. One is the adaptation of sense to all the rhymes which our language can supply to some word, that makes the burthen of the stanza; but this, as it has been only used in a kind of amorous burlesque, can scarcely be censured with much acrimony. The other is the imitation of Spenser, which, by the influence of some men of learning and genius, seems likely to gain upon the age, and therefore deserves to be more attentively considered.

To imitate the fictions and sentiments of Spenser can incur no reproach, for allegory is perhaps one of the most pleasing vehicles of instruction. But I am very far from extending the same respect to his diction or his stanza. His style was in his own time allowed to be vicious, so darkened with old words and peculiarities of phrase, and so remote from common use, that Johnson boldly pronounces him *to have written no language*. His stanza is at once difficult and unpleasing; tiresome to the ear by its uniformity, and to the attention by its length. It was at first formed in imitation of the Italian poets, without due regard to the genius of our language. The Italians have little variety of termination, and were forced to contrive such a stanza as might admit the greatest number of similar rhymes; but our words end with so much diversity, that it is seldom convenient for us to bring more than two of the same sound together. If it be justly observed by Milton, that rhyme obliges poets to express their thoughts in improper terms, these improprieties must always be multiplied, as the difficulty of rhyme is increased by long concatenations.

The imitators of Spenser are indeed not very rigid censors of themselves, for they seem to conclude, that when they have disfigured their lines with a few obsolete syllables, they have accomplished their design, without considering that they ought not only to admit old words, but to avoid new. The laws of imitation are broken by every word introduced since the time of Spenser, as the character of Hector is violated by quoting Aristotle in the play. It would indeed be difficult to exclude from a long poem all modern phrases, though it is easy to sprinkle it with gleanings of antiquity. Perhaps, however, the style of Spenser might by long labor be justly copied; but life is surely given us for higher purposes than to gather what our ancestors have wisely thrown away, and to learn what is of no value, but because it has been forgotten.

Late in the year, Brindley published an edition of the *Fairy Queen* in three quarto volumes, with notes by Thomas Birch. Early in 1754 (Lowndes says wrongly 1752), Thomas Warton published his "Observations on the 'Fairy Queen' of Spenser" in which he deals at some length with Spenser's stanza and versification. In speaking of Spenser's "loathsome images," Warton says:

The truth is, the strength of our author's imagination could not be suppressed on any subject; and, in some measure, it is owing to the fulness of his stanza, and the reiteration of his rhymes, that he described these offensive objects so minutely.[1]

In Section IV, "Of Spenser's Stanza, Versification, and Language," he said:

Although Spenser's favourite Chaucer had made use of the *ottava rima*, or stanza of eight lines; yet it seems probable that Spenser was principally induced to adopt it, with the addition of one line, from the practice of Ariosto and Tasso, the most fashionable poets of his age. But Spenser, in chusing this stanza, did not sufficiently consider the genius of the English language, which does not easily fall into a frequent repetition of the same termination; a circumstance natural to the Italian, which deals largely in identical cadences.

Besides, it is to be remembered, that Tasso and Ariosto did not embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as Spenser. Their *ottava rima* has only three similar endings, alternately rhyming. The two last lines formed a distinct rhyme. But in Spenser, the second rhyme is repeated four times, and the third three.

This constraint led our author into many absurdities; the most striking and obvious of which seem to be the following.

[1] Ed. of 1807, I, 97.

I. It obliged him to dilate the thing to be expressed, however unimportant, with trifling and tedious circumlocutions, viz.:

> Now hath fair Phoebe, with her silver face,
> Thrice seen the shadows of this nether world,
> Sith last I left that honourable place,
> In which her royal presence is enroll'd. 2.3.44.

That is, "it is three months since I left her palace."

II. It necessitated him, when matter failed towards the close of a stanza, to run into a ridiculous redundancy and repetition of words, viz.:

> In which was nothing pourtrahed nor wrought,
> Nor wrought nor pourtrahed, but easie to be thought. 2.9.33.

III. It forced him, that he might make out his complement of rhymes to introduce a puerile or impertinent idea, viz.:

> Not that proud towre of Troy, though richly *gilt*. 2.9.45.

Being here laid under the compulsion of producing a consonant word to *spilt* and *built*, which are preceding rhymes, he has mechanically given us an image at once little and improper.

To the difficulty of a stanza so injudiciously chosen, I think we may properly impute the great number of his ellipses, some of which will be pointed out at large in another place; and it may be easily conceived, how that constraint which occasioned superfluity, should at the same time be the cause of omission.

Notwithstanding these inconveniencies flow from Spenser's measure, it must yet be owned, that some advantages arise from it; and we may venture to affirm, that the fullness and significancy of Spenser's descriptions is often owing to the prolixity of his stanza, and the multitude of his rhymes. . . . . The discerning reader is desired to consider the following stanza, as an instance of what is here advanced. Guyon is binding Furor.

> With hundred iron chains he did him bind
> And hundred knots, which did him sore constraine;
> Yet his great iron teeth he still did grind,
> And grimly gnash, threatening revenge in vaine:
> His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
> Stared full wide, and threw forth sparks of fire;
> And more for ranke despight, than for great paine,
> Shakt his long locks colour'd like copper wire,
> And bit his tawny beard to shew his raging ire. 2.4.15.

In the subsequent stanza there are some images, which perhaps were produced by a multiplicity of rhymes.

> He all that night, that too long night did passe,
> And now the day out of the ocean-maine
> Began to peep above this earthly masse,

With pearly dew sprinkling the morning grasse;
Then up he rose like heavy lump of leade,
That in his face, as in a looking-glasse,
The signs of anguish one might plainly reade. 3.5.26.

It is indeed surprising, upon the whole, that Spenser should execute a poem of uncommon length, with so much spirit and ease, laden as he was with so many shackles, and embarrassed with so complicated a *bondage* of *riming*. Nor can I recollect, that he has been so careless as to suffer the same word to be repeated as a rhyme to itself, in more than four or five instances; a fault which, if he had more frequently committed, his manifold beauties of versification would have obliged us to overlook. . . . .

Like Dr. Johnson and too many others, Warton is here arguing chiefly a priori. His fault-finding might be appropriate enough if he were dealing with Popean couplets. His praise of Spenser, too, which really hits upon Spenser's peculiar excellences, is obscured by his half-apologetic, timid manner. Appreciation is there, but the possibility of there being two equally admirable but sharply contrasted kinds of writing is only half suspected.

In 1755, in the *Connoisseur* for May 8 (No. 67), Robert Lloyd, who had himself in 1751 perverted Spenser's stanza, turned his ridicule rather cleverly upon the imitators in the following lines:

Others, who aim at fancy, choose
To woo the gentle Spenser's muse.
The poet fixes for his theme
An allegory, or a dream.
Fiction and truth together joins
Thro' a long waste of flimsy lines;
Fondly believes his fancy glows,
And image upon image grows;
Thinks his strong Muse takes wondrous flights,
Whene'er she sings of peerless wights,
Of dens, of palfreys, spells, and knights,
'Till allegory, Spenser's veil,
T' instruct and please in moral tale,
With him 's no veil the truth to shroud,
But one impenetrable cloud.

In this same year, Cornelius Arnold prefaced his satire, "The Mirror; in the manner of Spenser," with the statement that:

He thinks he need not make any Apology for the Stile and Measure of the Verse, they being generally, if not universally allowed, the most suitable for works of this kind.

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When Arnold republished the "Mirror" in his *Poems on Several Occasions* two years later, he expanded his apology to read, in the phrases of his predecessors:

> The Author begs leave to premise, that in this Essay he has retained some few of the old Words of Spenser, and adopted the Simplicity of the Diction in the ludicrous Cast, at the end of most of the Stanzas, to give it somewhat the exterior Air of that great Original, however far short he may have fell of the Spirit.

In May, 1756, William Huggins, who had translated Ariosto and Dante, irritated at the ignorance of Italian which he thought Warton showed in his *Observations*, published the "Observer Observ'd or Remarks on Observations on the 'Faiere Queene' of Spenser by T. Warton." He devoted himself chiefly to criticisms of Warton's Italian parallels, and had very little to say about Spenser.

Late in 1758, the Tonsons, who had published Hughes's edition of Spenser's *Works*, issued an edition of the "Fairy Queen" in two quarto volumes, edited by John Upton. (Lowndes, in addition to this edition, records one published by Tonson in two volumes *octavo*, but I know of no other mention of such an edition.) In the same year William Fadan published an edition of the "Fairy Queen" in four volumes octavo, by Ralph Church. Both of these editions were noticed by the *Critical Review* in 1759: *Upton's* in September in half a page of high praise; *Church's* in February by Goldsmith, who calls Spenser "our old favorite," and quotes approvingly three stanzas from Phineas Fletcher, but says nothing of Spenser's stanza. In 1759 also there appeared "An Impartial Estimate of Mr. Upton's Notes on the 'Fairy Queen,'" which the *Gentleman's Magazine* noticed in April, and again in May. This essay is chiefly devoted to charging Upton with unacknowledged borrowings from Warton's *Observations*.

The close relation between the various manifestations of Romanticism showed itself in 1761 in a translation of Macpherson's "Fragment XIII": "Collect the earth and pile the stones on high," into the pseudo-Spenserian ten-line stanza. In 1782, Andrew Macdonald, apparently influenced both by Beattie's "Minstrel" (as the *Critical Review* for March, 1783, pointed out) and by Ossian, published two poems in the regular stanza, "Minvela" in 19 stanzas, and "Velina"

in 99 stanzas, both called "Fragments." Macpherson's *Ossian* and Gray's *Northern Odes* were signs of the trend of interest, and undoubtedly helped to make the amazing popularity of Percy's *Reliques*. Beattie's "Minstrel," a poem on a northern theme written in the Spenserian stanza, furnishes another instance of how the various streams of Romanticism mingled their currents. While Professor Beers is right in pointing out[1] that there was no organized propaganda of Romanticism (there rarely has been such a thing in the history of English literature—the pre-Raphaelites are almost unique), he seems to me wrong in his implication that the indications of the change were sporadic and unconnected, for where we find one man who shows interest in only one phase of the Romantic revival, we find three who are concerned with two or more phases. Among a host I may cite James Thomson, accurate describer of nature, writer of blank verse and of Spenserian stanzas; William Shenstone, Spenserian, and chief councilor of Dodsley's *Collection* and Percy's *Reliques;* Thomas Edwards, Shaksperian, Spenserian, and sonnetteer; William Julius Mickle, balladist, sonnetteer, and Spenserian.

As has already been said, the eighteenth century as well as the seventeenth seemed chiefly impressed by the allegory of the "Fairy Queen"; and this allegory, because it is both elusive and contradictory, seemed out of keeping with the eighteenth century's rather formal ideas of what an epic should be. Elizabeth Cooper, in the *Muses Library*, 1737, I, 255, blamed Ariosto, for she wrote:

> Had he [Spenser] never debauch'd his Taste with the Extravagancies of Ariosto, He might have vied in Fame (if we may judge by Translations) with the most venerated of the Antients, and deterr'd the most ingenious Moderns from hoping to equal Him.

A reviewer in the *Monthly Review* for January, 1762, in a notice of Macpherson's *Fingal*, had something of the same notion, for he took occasion to say:

> We should, for our own part, almost as soon rank Spenser's "Fairy Queen" among the epic poems, as the celebrated allegorical performance of Ariosto.

Perhaps both of these go back to Dryden's comments that "Ariosto's style is luxurious, without majesty or decency," and that "Tasso

[1] *English Romanticism, Eighteenth Century*, pp. 422–23.

confesses himself too lyrical . . . . beneath the dignity of heroic verse."[1]

In 1767, William Julius Mickle, the translator of the *Lusiads* published anonymously a poem of 136 Spenserian stanzas, called "The Concubine." To a second edition in 1769, he prefixed an "Advertisement" which began: "When this poem was first offered to the public, it was not accompanied with any prefatory address." The last paragraph ran:

> Some reasons, perhaps, may be expected for having adopted the manner of Spenser. To propose a general use of it were indeed highly absurd; yet it may be presumed there are some subjects on which it may be used with advantage. But not to enter upon any formal defence, the Author will only say, that the fulness and wantonness of description, the quaint simplicity, and, above all, the ludicrous, of which the antique phraseology and manner of Spenser are so happily and peculiarly susceptible, inclined him to esteem it not solely as the best, but the only mode of composition adapted to his subject.

This advertisement was slightly changed in an edition of 1771, and still further in 1777, when the poem was published with Mickle's name as "Sir Martyn, a Poem in the Manner of Spenser," with the statement that "this attempt in the Manner of Spenser was first published in 1767, since which time it has passed through some editions under the title of the 'Concubine.'" Mickle, to be sure, has nothing new to say; he clings as his predecessors did to the "ludicrous"; but his references to "the fulness and wantonness of description" and "the quaint simplicity" of Spenser sound less like apology and more like the open praise we are to hear from Beattie.

Thomas Chatterton, however important he may be as a Romanticist, is surprisingly like Spenser's disciples of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in that he experimented with a final Alexandrine in a number of stanza-forms, without once using Spenser's own stanza. The most of his seven imitative stanzas are mere uses of forms familiar to both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the *ababcc*, the rhyme-royal,[2] and Prior's

[1] "Essay on Satire," 1693, *Scott-Saintsb.*, XIII, 15.

[2] Professor Saintsbury, in his *English Prosody*, II, 523, characteristically remarks that Chatterton's "Ballad of Charity" "is the first resurrection for many a day of rhyme-royal with an Alexandrine ending." In January, 1737, the *Gentleman's Magazine* printed two poems in this stanza, "The Country Parson," and "The Country Curate"; the first of these was reprinted in Dodsley's *Collection* in 1758, and in *A Select Collection*

stanza. The total number of stanzas, of various rhyme-schemes, which Chatterton ended with an Alexandrine, number only 259. However, 189, or about three-fourths of these, are in a stanza of Chatterton's own devising, which runs *ababbcbcdd*. Chatterton has kept the linked quatrains, and has merely substituted for Spenser's ninth line a couplet on a new rhyme—a scheme which is halfway between Spenser's stanza and Prior's. Chatterton has not had followers in the use of this stanza, so far as I know, but, though he doubtless invented it for himself, Alexander Scott had used the rhyme-scheme before 1568, William Browne of Tavistock had used it in 1614 in nine stanzas of the fifth eclogue of "The Shepherd's Pipe," and William Lisle, in 1628, wrote a stanza which is Chatterton's exactly.

In September, 1766, Beattie wrote to Dr. Blacklock:

> Not long ago I began a poem in the style and stanza of Spenser, in which I propose to give full scope to my inclination, and be either droll or pathetic, descriptive or sentimental, tender or satirical, as the humor strikes me; for, if I mistake not, the manner which I have adopted admits equally of all these kinds of composition. I have written 150 lines, and am surprised to find the structure of that complicated stanza so little troublesome. I was always fond of it, for I think it the most harmonious that ever was contrived. It admits of more variety of pause than either the couplet or the alternate rhyme; and it concludes with a pomp and majesty of sound, which, to my ear, is wonderfully delightful. It seems also very well adapted to the genius of our language, which, from its irregularity of inflection and number of monosyllables, abounds in diversified terminations, and, consequently renders our poetry susceptible of an endless variety of legitimate rhymes.

When the first book of the "Minstrel" finally appeared, in 1771, Beattie rephrased some of his ideas in his "Preface":

> I have endeavoured to imitate Spenser in the measure of his verse, and in the harmony, simplicity, and variety of his composition. Antique expressions I have avoided; admitting, however, some old words, where they seemed to suit the subject: but I hope none will be found that are now obsolete, or in any degree not intelligible to a reader of English poetry.
>
> To those, who may be disposed to ask, what could induce me to write in so difficult a measure, I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and

of Poems at Edinburgh, in 1768; the second was reprinted as "by Mr. T." in the *London Magazine* for January, 1760. In 1746, Thomas Blacklock's "An Hymn to Divine Love, n imitation of Spenser" appeared in his *Poems on Several Occasions*, at Glasgow.

seems, from its Gothic structure and original, to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the Poem. It admits both simplicity and magnificence of sound and of language, beyond any other stanza that I am acquainted with. It allows the sententiousness of the couplet, as well as the more complex modulation of blank verse. What some critics have remarked of its uniformity growing at last tiresome to the ear, will be found to hold true, only when the poetry is in other respects faulty.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* promptly reviewed the "Minstrel" in May, and with a reviewer's disregard of the author's preface, made the very criticisms which Beattie had tried to forestall. The following are the only points of consequence:

> The author has chosen to write in the stanza which Spenser imitated from the Italian, for which every reader of unvitiated taste will certainly be sorry.
>
> An ear not used to the stanza of Spenser is rather disappointed than gratified by the rhime; and to him that has read it long enough to expect the rhime, it can scarce fail to have become tiresome. . . . the tedious Alexandrine which constantly ends the song, "And like a wounded snake drags its slow length along."
>
> Our author however, has been content to recur to the rudiments of our versification, without recurring also, as many others have done, to the rudiments of our language, he has used neither antiquated dialect nor obsolete terms, and the melody of his verses, taken separately, almost atones for the barbarous dissonance of his stanza.

One significant item in Beattie's preface is his claim for the Spenserian stanza of the "complex modulation of blank verse." At least after 1700, blank verse had never been in total eclipse, as many have believed, but had merely been overshadowed. Throughout the first half of the century, and long before Thomson's *Seasons* or Young's *Night Thoughts*, blank verse had been constantly used for the serious expression of lofty ideas. The influence of Milton grew constantly greater, and appreciation of his verse led to a fondness for his "modulations," which helped materially in encouraging poets to try verse-forms other than the couplet—in particular, the Spenserian stanza and the sonnet. The steadily increasing practice of the sonnet after 1750—and the revival of the sonnet owed more to Milton than to any other ten men—was based as much as on anything else upon the fact that the sonnet offered an escape from the couplet, and, in the Miltonian sonnet especially, allowed and

in part depended upon varied pauses. The eighteenth-century couplet was as rigid a verse-form as England had ever known; the heroic, or elegiac, quatrain did not escape from the tyranny of rather narrow limits; and the anapestic measures so common in the lighter verse of the day seemed obviously to lack dignity. Consequently, the flourishing of blank verse, of the sonnet, and of the roomy, adaptable Spenserian stanza, might, it seems, have been clearly foreseen. As a matter of fact, it was not foreseen, and until recently it has been recognized only grudgingly and imperfectly.

In 1775 an anonymous writer published at Bristol "Clifton, in imitation of Spenser," with a preface in which he remarked:

> . . . . I imitate Spenser whose works are now but seldom read. . . . . The quaintness of his expression, the obsoleteness of his terms and the frequent recurrence of his rhymes are very general objections to one of the greatest poets who ever lived . . . . a thought occurred to me in a pensive walk, and occurred to me in the Stanza of Spenser.

His statement that Spenser's "works are now but seldom read" is not to be taken too seriously; what with an edition in 1750, another of the "Fairy Queen" in 1751, and two in 1758, and the numerous imitations of his stanza (which would surely send some readers to the original), Spenser must have been read fairly often. At least since the days of Horace and Juvenal it has been a literary commonplace to bewail "the degeneracy of modern taste."

The debate about Spenser gradually shifted from his language and his rhymes to the more general question of the use of stanza for long narrative poems. This shifting of the field shows clearly in the *Gentleman's Magazine's* review of a second edition of Hugh Downman's "Land of the Muses," a poem in the Spenserian stanza first published in 1767. A comparison of this review (in March, 1791) with that of the "Minstrel" in 1771, makes it evident that the *Gentleman's Magazine* had changed either its reviewer or its ideas:

> [The "Land of the Muses" is] commonly spoken of in terms of high approbation. We say *commonly*, because there were some, and those people of acknowledged taste, who objected to the obsolete phraseology of Spenser, in imitation of whom it was written. . . . . Whether, however, that obsolete style, and the *octave rhyme* are not better adapted to scenes where Fancy ranges unrestrained, to magic charms, and those ideal beings who people the land of Allegory, and "float in light vision 'round the poet's head"

may admit of some doubt. We own a predilection for those numbers which Spenser so happily adopted, and which possibly may arise merely from his having so successfully used them.

My last quotation for the eighteenth century also questions the use of stanza. In 1795, William Roscoe, in his *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* (I, 279, n. 682, l. 12), wrote:

> Notwithstanding those illustrious authorities [Ariosto and Tasso], it may perhaps be allowable to doubt, whether a series of stanzas be the most eligible mode of narrating an epic, or indeed any other extensive kind of poem. That it is not natural, must be admitted; for naturally we do not apportion the expression of our sentiments into equal divisions; and that which is not natural, cannot in general long be pleasing. Hence the works of Ariosto, of Tasso, and of Spenser, labour under a disadvantage which it requires all the vigour of genius to surmount and this is the more to be regretted, as both the Italian and the English languages admit of compositions in blank verse, productive of every variety of harmony.

In much reading of minor poets, I have found those of the seventeenth century rather more constantly interesting and various than those of the eighteenth; perhaps the reason is that in the seventeenth century the English muse was more often lyrical. In the eighteenth century the prevalence of the couplet meant more logic, more intellect untouched by deep feeling; and yet the eighteenth century's devotion to Spenser was more constant, more fruitful, and found a more responsive audience than before. It is perhaps remarkable that in 1648, at the height of the Puritan movement, Robert Herrick should have published his wonderful lyrics, and that they should have gone almost without comment for more than a hundred years. But it is surely much more remarkable that in 1748, the "Castle of Indolence"—the most Spenserian poem between Spenser and Keats—should have appeared at the height of Pope's influence, and should have been eagerly read and admired. Herrick fell on evil times, as one may easily see, and Thomson ought also, so far as a-priori conjecture goes, to have found his readers in later generations than his own. That Thomson was immediately liked is the best evidence that the influence of Pope and Johnson was not overwhelming.

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STAGE DECORATION AND THE UNITY OF PLACE IN FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The simultaneous stage setting of the Middle Ages, with its freedom in regard to the number and situation of scenes, which was in vogue in Paris in the early years of the seventeenth century, was in direct opposition to the rule of the unity of place. The Middle Ages and classicism were at swords' points. Practice was arrayed against theory. When Corneille began to produce plays, he accepted the time-honored system of stage decoration; and, as he said, he followed Hardy and common-sense. There is little reason for believing that the appearance of the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne had changed at any time from the moment the Confrérie de la Passion took possession of it until at least 1637. Bapst is of the opinion that this theater had stage settings as long as the Confrérie had the management of it; but that from 1578, when other troupes rented it, no real scenery was set until Hardy's comedians began to play on its stage.[1] He argues that these comedians, who rented it from 1578 on, were nomadic; and he asks what they could do on their journeys with scenes at all large. Yet Scarron describes how the later wandering troupes carried scenery on their carts; and it must be remembered that it was almost invariably the practice of the professional drama to employ scenery, although the literary drama of the Renaissance may not have been produced with stage setting.[2] However, even in the representations of plays in colleges, scenery was improvised, if we may take as evidence the passage in Sorel's *Francion* in which he describes such a stage as follows: "Jamais vous ne vîtes rien de si mal ordonné que notre théâtre. Pour représenter une fontaine, on avait mis celle de la cuisine, sans la cacher de toile ni de branches, et l'on avait attaché les arbres au ciel parmi les nues."[3]

It is hard to believe that the custom of setting the stage suddenly died out for a quarter of a century at the Hôtel de Bourgogne only to

[1] Bapst, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre*, Paris, 1893, p. 148.

[2] Scarron, *Le roman comique*, p. 1.

[3] Sorel, *Histoire comique de Francion*, 1856, p. 140.

be revived by the troupe to which Hardy was attached. Even if the players of this period did not own scenery, what of that which belonged to the Hôtel de Bourgogne up to 1578? Surely it was not destroyed. It is natural to suppose that such settings were considered an asset, an important part of the theater, and were rented by those troupes which played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne from 1578 to 1599. The professional drama of the period would be practically unintelligible without the aid of scenery; and we are not to conjecture that the plays given from 1578 to the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Paris theater belonged to the scholastic drama of the followers of the Pléiade.

An important source of information concerning stage decoration in France in the second third of the seventeenth century is the *Mémoire* of Mahelot and Laurent.[1] This document, consisting of 94 folios, is entitled: *Mémoire de plusieurs décorations qui serve (sic) aux pieces contenues en ce présent livre, commancé par Laurent Mahelot et continué par Michel Laurent en l'année 1673.* Nothing certain is known of Mahelot and Laurent; but it is generally supposed that they were stage carpenters of the Hôtel de Bourgogne at different periods.[2] Mahelot could not have begun the *Mémoire* before 1633, since the second play whose setting it records is not anterior to that date. The handwriting changes for the first time on folio 81, and all the decorations described up to that point belong to plays produced before or during the year 1636, or possibly one produced in 1637, namely *Le berger fidelle.* Beauchamps cites six plays of this name, and Dacier suggests that the pastoral dated 1637 is the play whose setting is given.[3] The last description recorded in the first handwriting is that of *Iphis et Iante,* by Benserade, which was represented in 1636. The next description in the new handwriting is the setting of *Suréna,* produced in 1674. Thus the second part of the *Mémoire* could not have been begun before 1674; and the date 1673, given by the manuscript itself as the year in which Laurent continued the work of Mahelot, is slightly inaccurate. The first thing which Laurent did in taking up this task was to indicate the scenery for Corneille's plays produced after 1636, including the *Cid.* Therefore,

[1] Dacier, *La mise-en-scène à Paris au XVII^e siècle. Mémoire de Laurent Mahelot et Michel Laurent.* (Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France,* Vol. XXVIII.)

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 107.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

it seems that Mahelot had ceased to keep his record about the time that the *Cid* was given, for he does not describe the setting of any play produced after 1637. Had he kept up the *Mémoire*, we should have found the descriptions of Corneille's plays in his handwriting. It is evidently to supply this lacuna that Laurent begins in 1674 to bring the manuscript up to date. Thus about thirty-seven years pass between the work of Mahelot and that of Laurent.

The memoranda of the first part of the *Mémoire* are sufficient proof that the simultaneous stage setting was the rule until at least 1637. Even Corneille's *Illusion comique* (1636) requires a multiple setting consisting of a palace in the center of the stage; on one side, a cave in a mountain; and on the other side, a park. A slight modification of this system could be made by setting a scene only in some particular act, as in Mairet's *Criséide et Arimante*, in which the "tomb and the altar appear only in the fifth act," according to Mahelot's memorandum. Also in *Les galanteries du duc d'Ossone* by Mairet there is found a procedure which may have been the beginning of the new method of changing the scene. In the second act the stage direction says: "Comme il est entré, la toile se tire qui représente la façade d'une maison, et le dedans du cabinet paroist." A second room is also disclosed in the same scene, as is shown by the direction: "Icy la seconde toile se tire, et Flavie paroist sur son lict." These two scenes, being placed side by side for dramatic purposes, form a simultaneous setting. In the next act the setting changes back to the original scene, for the direction reads: "Icy les deux toiles se ferment et Emilie paroist dans la rue." Such a procedure is not new on the French stage, for curtains were drawn on the mediaeval stage in order to hide such an event as the birth of a child; but in this play the curtain is used to disclose a new scene and this indicates the beginning of a new method of stage setting.

Another instance in which these two methods were combined is mentioned by d'Aubignac in regard to a performance of *Pirame et Thisbé*. In this case the wall which separated the two lovers was made to disappear in order that the actors might see each other, and in order to allow the space on each side of the wall to represent the two rooms of the hero and heroine.[1]

[1] D'Aubignac, *La pratique du théâtre*, Amsterdam, 1715, Vol. I, p. 92.

Yet in spite of these possible modifications and exceptions, it does not seem to have been the regular practice to change scenery after the opening of a play; and one is inclined to question Danheisser's[1] theory that if the settings did not have to be changed at the beginning of each act, the author had observed a certain unity called the *unité de scène* in contradistinction to the later *unité de lieu.* It was quite possible to set at the same time two scenes representing places as far distant as the proverbial Rome and Constantinople, and the two scenes would not necessarily change during the whole play. This setting would not constitute any *unité de scène;* and if there is any distinction to be drawn between the two terms, it is rather that the *unité de scène* was observed in Mairet's *Silvanire,* where the different places represented are not far apart, although it is doubtful if any difference in meaning between the expressions can be pointed out.

Scudéry implies that the *Cid* was produced with a simultaneous setting, as were all the contemporary plays mentioned in the first part of the *Mémoire.* He says in his *Observations* that the same place represented the apartment of the king, that of the infanta, the house of Chimène, and the street, *presque sans changer de face.* The setting for the *Cid* is noted by Laurent in the second part of the *Mémoire* as *une chambre à quatre portes;* but this may well be a later setting, employed in order to conform more closely to the rule of the unity of place. Evidence in favor of this theory as to the changes in the setting, is found in the fact that the setting of Theophile's *Pirame et Thisbé* underwent a similar reduction in the number of scenes. It had been produced originally with the decoration noted by Mahelot as follows: "Il faut au milieu du théâtre un mur de marbre et de pierre fermé; des ballustres; il faut aussi de chasque costé deux ou trois marches pour monter. A un des costez du théâtre, un murier, un tombeau entouré de piramides." When the play was revived in 1682, Laurent records the setting as consisting of the vague *palais à volonté.* However, vague and indefinite scenery, which finally became the rule, was strongly criticized at this period. Scudéry objects that the setting of the *Cid* is so inexact

[1] Danheisser, "Zur Geschichte der Einheiten in Frankreich," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur,* XIV (1892), 48.

that the audience does not always know where the actors are supposed to be. He says in his preface to his *Didon* that it is necessary to please the people sometimes by the diversity of spectacles and by the different faces of the scenery. Rayssiguier expresses the same idea in the preface to his *Aminte*, in which he says that audiences wish to have their eyes pleased by *la diversité et changement de la face du théâtre*. Sarrazin complains in the preface to Scudéry's *Amour tirannique* that the successors of Hardy have made an ambulatory stage, and that one does not know whether the actors are talking in their houses or in the streets. Corneille will later find the vague, single setting a means of concealing violations of the unity of place; but he wrote the *Cid*, as he did all his early plays, for a stage which was to be decorated with simultaneous settings.

After the production of the *Cid*, the dramatists were confronted on the one hand by the system of simultaneous stage decoration, which could be slightly modified by certain changes of scene, and, on the other hand, by the rule of the unity of place. The question was how to reconcile practice with theory. As has been shown, the public then, as always, enjoyed the element of spectacle in drama; and it was difficult to construct plots which would not demand a change of scene in order to be understood. Scudéry, in his *Mort de César*, avoided a palpable change of place by having the stage set with communicating rooms which remained hidden until the action was passing within them.[1] In the preface to *Proserpine*, a play in which the action takes place "au Ciel, en Sicile, et aux Enfers," Claveret makes the amusing statement that the reader can imagine a certain unity of place by conceiving it as a perpendicular line drawn from heaven to Hades. To such an extent was he ready to sacrifice reason for a rule supposed to be founded on reason.[2]

It is probable that *Cinna*, like the *Cid*, was produced at first with the usual simultaneous setting. The direction given by Laurent for this play, *le théâtre est un palais*, means that the drama came to be produced later with one scene; but Corneille implies that there were other scenes at first, when he advises in his *Discours* that the place should not change during an act but in the intermissions, "as happens

[1] Rigal, *Le théâtre français avant la période classique*, Paris, 1901, p. 290.

[2] Arnaud, *Étude sur la vie et les œuvres de l'abbé d'Aubignac*, Paris, 1888, p. 147.

in the first three of *Cinna*," and that these different places should not have different scenery. The fact that in 1660 Corneille was opposed to marking different scenes is strong evidence that scenery was quite in vogue up to that time.

La Mesnardière in his *Poétique*, published in 1640, is very liberal in his interpretation of the unity of place in its relation to scenery. In speaking of "asides" he says:

> Ie n'ignore pas les Raisons qu'alléguent les Poëtes modernes pour excuser cette erreur. Ie sçai qu'ils disent que la Scène étant vn lieu vaste et ample, par exemple, de l'étenduë de la ville de Paris, l'vn des endroits du Théastre peut représenter le Louure et l'autre la Place Royale; et partant qu'il faut supposer qu'encore quê l'vn des Acteurs parle en la présence d'vn autre, celui qui est dans le Louure ne peut toutefois entendre ce que son Compagnon prononce dans vn cartier éloigné, comme dans la Place Royale. . . . . Nous permettons aux Dramatiques d'étendre en ces occasions les bornes de leur Théastre et de partager leur Scène en plusieurs cartiers différens, pourveu qu'ils y fassent écrire, *Cet endroit figure le Louure, et Cy est la Place Royale.*[1]

There is no evidence that this suggestion in regard to the signs was carried out at this date, although they had been used in the Middle Ages, in at least one case, at Rouen in 1474. D'Aubignac says that the first time he read this passage he thought that La Mesnardière was joking in advocating such a procedure.[2] We naturally wonder whether La Mesnardière knew of the signs used on the English stage.

La Mesnardière, as late as 1640, is still advocating the old system which had come down from the Middle Ages, for, as he says, since the stage generally represents a whole city, often a small country, and sometimes a house, it must show as many scenes as it marks different places. It must not present a garden or a forest for the scene of an action which has happened in a palace; and even in this palace, the stage should not show anything happening in the apartment of the king which should take place in the queen's apartment. If the event has happened on the sea-shore, the stage must show a marine scene in one of its façades in order that the action may not be misunderstood. The whole stage should be arranged as follows:

[1] La Mesnardière, *La poétique*, Paris, 1640, p. 269.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

Si l'Auanture s'est passée moitié dans le Palais d'vn Roy en pleusieurs appartemens, et moitié hors de la Maison en beaucoup d'endroits différens; il faut que le grand du Théastre, le προσκήνιον des Grecs, ie veux dire *cette largeur qui limite le parterre* serue pour tous les dehors où ces choses ont été faites, et que les Renfondremens soient divisez en plusieurs Chambres, par les diuers Frontispieces, Portaux, Colonnes, ou Arcades.[1]

Such a stage differs not at all from the setting of the mediaeval stage. It has been believed that scenery ceased to be a matter of importance after the production of the *Cid;* but stage setting is still so important that La Mesnardière even describes how certain single scenes should be constructed. The prison scene—one which dates back centuries in its use—should be mounted so that the prisoner could be contained within and not be allowed to leave its limits. The eyes of the spectator should be able to penetrate its depths, and the darkness and obscurity lit up by a sombre light would make the prison more frightful.[2] Mahelot directs that the prison in Du Ryer's *Clitophon* be set with a large, low, barred opening so that three prisoners may be seen. According to La Mesnardière the same arrangement applies to cave scenes. Their mouths must open on the stage like a door; and if the cave is supposed to be closed, the interior must be made visible by means of a barred opening. Thus the dark cavern will seem more cruel in proportion as it is more closed, darker, and more horrible.

La Mesnardière objects to the custom of re-using scenery which grew up on account of the indigence of the comedians. Each play, he claims, should have its own scenery, and Rome should not be turned into Constantinople and Libya into Norway. He, too, was against the inexactness of stage decoration, and he says it is a mistake to represent what happened in the room of a king as taking place in a scene which is vague and open on all sides like a public square.[3] He bids the dramatist study the scenery and the arrangement of the setting. If the action is what he calls "pacific," his scenery will be composed of palaces and gardens; but if the action represents a tumult, war, and the chase, the dramatist will choose for the place of the action the vastness of fields and forests. Care must be taken to see that a cave scene is not used for a hunting scene; and one must be sure that the beautiful spectacles furnished by perspectives,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 412. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 411 f.

caves, woods, palaces, and other scenes are not contrary to reason or verisimilitude. Thus does he apply the classical test of reason to the construction and arrangement of scenery; but in regard to the interpretation of the rule of the unity of place he is very free. He says that according to the *unité de la scène* the action should not be carried to different climates, but it should be bounded by the extent of a small country.[1] La Mesnardière is interpreting the rule of the unity of place, not in accordance with reason or verisimilitude, but in terms of the contemporary stage decoration. His expression *unité de la scène* is evidence that he was thinking of stage conventions and conditions, and not of the theories of the critics. To observe the unity of time was much easier. Time could be indefinite, and the audience could be deceived; but with the different scenes before the eyes of the spectator, he easily recognized a violation of the unity of place. The system of stage setting was in direct opposition to the rule; and that is one reason why d'Aubignac could say that he knew of only one play which observed the unity of place: Corneille's *Horace*.

By the time that d'Aubignac is writing his *Pratique du théâtre*, the multiple stage decoration has not been discarded, for he criticizes the young poets who are inspired to write a play and place France at one end of the stage, Turkey at the other, and Spain in the middle, while if anyone is supposed to pass over the sea from Denmark to France, the action is indicated by the drawing of a scene. He also points out the mistake of the poets who place on the stage at the same time some characters supposed to be in Spain and others supposed to be in France.[2] The fact that he makes fun of this procedure is evidence that the old system is still used. Otherwise he would not have attacked it. He is evidently thinking of a stage on which several scenes are set at once, and, also, of a change of scene.

D'Aubignac is far more restricted than La Mesnardière in his interpretation of the unity of place. He asserts that the ground on which the actors walk must not change; and that the place represented by the stage cannot be greater than the space in which a man can see another, although recognition may not be possible.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 416 ff.

[2] *Pratique du théâtre*, I, 24 and 95.

However, this does not preclude a change of scenery, which can be managed as follows:

. . . . des-lors qu'on a choisi un Terrain pour commencer quelque action par représentation, il le faut supposer immobile dans tout le reste du Poëme, comme il l'est en effet. Il n'en est pas de même du fond, et des côtez du Théâtre; car comme ils ne figurent que les choses qui environnoient dans la vérité les Personnages agissans, et qui pouvoient recevoir quelque changement, ils peuvent aussi changer en la représentation; et c'est en cela que consistent les changemens de Scènes, et ces Décorations dont la variété ravit toujours le peuple, et même les habiles quand elles sont bien faites. Ainsi nous avons vu sur un Théâtre une façade de temple ornée d'une belle architecture, et puis venant à s'ouvrir, on découvroit en ordre de perspective des colonnes, un autel, et tout le reste des autres ornemens merveilleusement représentez; tellement que le lieu ne changeoit point, et cependant souffroit une belle Décoration.[1]

The Mahelot *Mémoire* records a similar change of scene in Benserade's *Iphis et Iante*, giving the direction: "The temple is closed until the fifth act and opens in the middle of the act." Racine employs the same device in *Athalie*, and Voltaire revives it in his *Mahomet* as late as 1742.

D'Aubignac does not stop with this compromise between a rigorous observance of the unity of place and scenic change, which is so important an element of drama even in his generation. He wishes to preserve at all costs the unity of place, which, he says, "now passes as valid"; but the old system of stage setting so appeals to him that he tries to reconcile it to the rule of the unity of place in the following manner:

. . . . on pourroit feindre un Palais sur le bord de la Mer abandonné à de pauvres gens de la campagne; Un Prince arrivant aux côtes par naufrage, qui le feroit orner de riches tapisseries, lustres, bras dorez, tableaux et autres meubles précieux: Après on y feroit mettre le feu par quelque avanture, et le faisant tomber dans l'embrasement, la Mer paroîtroit derrière, sur laquelle on pourroit encore représenter un combat de Vaisseaux. Si bien que dans cinq changemens de Théâtre, l'Unité du lieu seroit ingénieusement gardée.

Ce n'est pas que le Sol ou l'Aire de l'Avant-Scéne ne puisse changer aussi bien que le fond et les côtez, ou que ce soit seulement en la superficie; car cela se feroit sans perdre l'unité du lieu: Par exemple, ainsi que les Géants porterent dans la Fable Pelion sur Osse: Ou si par un débordement de

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 90.

quelque fleuve, l'Avant-Scéne venoit à être couverte d'eau, ainsi que le Tybre à Rome sous Auguste: Ou enfin si par Magie on faisoit sortir de terre des flames et des braziers ardens, qui tout d'un coup vinssent à couvrir le Sol de l'Avant-Scéne. En toutes ces rencontres donc le lieu recevoit du changement, et même fort notable, sans en violer pourtant l'unité.[1]

It must be confessed that these scenes smack pretty strongly of romantic melodrama to have been devised by a classicist, and they show how strong was the tradition of the multiple stage decoration. On the other hand, d'Aubignac objected to the stage representing a whole town or even showing the different apartments of a palace; and he adds that his objection cannot be answered by saying that to mark the different apartments there may be curtains to shut and draw, for these curtains are fit for nothing but to toss their inventors in.[2] He would have had a hard time in so punishing the inventors of this device, for the use of these curtains dates back to the Middle Ages.

The procedure of changing scenes had evidently come more and more into vogue, for d'Aubignac advises that all permanent scenes to be represented be already placed on the stage when the play begins, in order that the surprise and applause which generally attend such sights may be over before the actors begin to speak. If it is necessary to change the decorations, the shift should be made in the interval between the acts so that the stage hands may have time to get their machine moving.[3] Thus the scenery seems to have been concealed from view before the play began, otherwise d'Aubignac would not have suggested that the scenery be set at the *ouverture du théâtre*, so that the murmurs of the audience might subside before the actors began. As for the dropping of the curtain between the acts, Bapst says that this did not happen until the nineteenth century;[4] but that statement must be modified somewhat. Perhaps as a rule the entr'actes were marked by violin playing and the scene remained in full view of the spectators. D'Aubignac warns poets not to suppose that events have taken place between the acts in the scene shown on the stage, "which is open and exposed to the eyes of the spectators" during the intermissions, for in that case the audience ought to have seen those things which are supposed to have happened.[5] If a change

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 91. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 94. [3] *Ibid.*, I, 326.
[4] Bapst, *op. cit.*, p. 385. [5] D'Aubignac, I, 218.

had to be made in the scenery at any time during the performance, the curtain was dropped. This curtain is described by d'Aubignac as the "toile de devant, qui ne fait point partie de la décoration, et qu'on tire seulement quand on y veut changer quelque chose; afin que le peuple ne s'apperçoive point du désordre qui se fait en ces ajustmens, et qu'il soit plus agréablement surpris en voiant soudainment une nouvelle face du théâtre."[1] Music accompanied this drawing of a curtain to mark a change of scene, for d'Aubignac says sarcastically that to pass from France to Denmark "il ne faut que trois coups d'archet ou tirer le rideau."[2]

An example of a play in which changes of scenery were made during the intermissions is found in Molière's *Don Juan*. Laurent records the setting as follows: first act, a palace; second act, a room and a sea; third act, a wood and a tomb; fourth act, a room; fifth act, the tomb. The setting for the second act—a room and a sea—is practically a simultaneous setting. The decoration for *Andromaque*, given as "a palace with columns and a sea with ships," also the setting for *Iphigénie*, given as "tents and a sea with ships," correspond in a modified way to the simultaneous scenes of the old system. In such scenes as the last, the unity of place is not destroyed by the scenery; and this system is far better suited to preserve the unity of place than the procedure of changing scenes between the acts or at any other time during the performance. This point was brought out very plainly by Cailhava at the end of the eighteenth century. He called attention to the fact that the first act of *Démocrite amoureux* takes place in a wood and the other acts are at the court. Thus, while these two places are not far distant, yet the changes in decoration destroy the illusion. The author of *Isabelle et Gertrude*, however, in making the action take place during the night, part of the time in a dark garden and part of the time in a lighted room, had the theater represent a garden embellished with a boudoir, but placed so that the

[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 182.

[2] Another bit of evidence that the curtain was sometimes lowered between the acts in the next century is furnished by a passage in the *Journal littéraire* (VI, 44) quoted by Arnaud (*op. cit.*, p. 384) as a piece of almost contemporary criticism. Unfortunately, Arnaud does not give the exact date of the passage; but the *Journal littéraire* belongs to the eighteenth century. In criticizing d'Aubignac's rigorous interpretation of the unity of place the *Journal* says: "Pourquoi ne pourrait-on s'imaginer que, pendant que le rideau est baissé, dans l'intervalle d'un acte, on est transporté, avec les acteurs, de la galerie du Louvre aux Tuileries. . . . . "

spectator saw everything which happened on the whole breadth of the stage. Thus, he claims, the illusion was increased instead of being destroyed, as it is when walls and cities disappear at the sound of the stage manager's whistle.[1]

Since the changing of scenery was out of keeping with the unity of place, either the somewhat modified multiple stage setting or the single indefinite scene had to come into use when the rule became binding. It was Corneille who found a way out of the difficulty in the vague and inexact settings which had been so criticized until 1660, the date of his *Discours*. He advocated an indefinite scene—a *lieu théâtral*—which would not be the apartment of any one character, but into which all apartments would open and in which the characters would speak, as if they were in their own rooms. Thus the actors on the stage, instead of going to the apartments of the other characters, could remain on the stage and be sought by the latter. In this way the continuity of scenes would be preserved and the unity of place would be observed.[2] The stage setting of the *Cid* described by Laurent as *une chambre à quatre portes* corresponds exactly to this scheme of a *lieu théâtral*, and perhaps was introduced at Corneille's request. Corneille also advocated naming only the general place in which the action was supposed to happen, as Paris or Rome; and even if two places were necessary to the action, he recommended that they be not marked by different scenery and that they remain unnamed. This expedient, he says, will help to deceive the spectator, who, not seeing the different places marked, will not perceive the change of scene except by critical and malicious reflexion, while in the *Menteur* the different decorations made the change of place only too visible.[3] He admits in the *Examen* of the *Place royale* that he has violated the unity of place by introducing the scene in Angélique's room; but this is necessary because the heroine would not lament in the street. He had used the old system in his early plays, although he had given up the liberty of placing Rome and Constantinople on the stage at the same time. Yet he merely reduced his unity of place to a whole city in these early plays, and

[1] Cailhava, *De l'art de la comédie*, Paris, Vol. I, 242.

[2] Corneille, *Œuvres* (collection des grands écrivains), Paris, 1862, I, 119 f.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

allowed the scene to change. He was guided in this, not by reason, but by theatrical conventions of his time. In the *Examen* of *Andromède*, moreover, Corneille defends his violation of the rule on the ground that such plays, depending for success on their scenery, require the action to be placed in different localities. In fact he declares that a city hardly suffices. Thus the rule of the unity of place seems to have been quite elastic, at least as far as general practice is concerned, up to 1660. The critics could theorize as much as they pleased, but the only limit imposed upon the rule by the playwrights was the limits of a city. It is after this date that the vague *palais à volonté* becomes the more usual scene, but even then it is by no means the only one. Had it been the regular setting before that time, Corneille would hardly have taken the trouble to advocate its use in order to preserve the illusion of the unity of place.

The fact that the later plays of Corneille and the plays of Racine were produced with one scene, coupled with the great reputation of these men, is likely to bring one to the conclusion that in the latter half of the seventeenth century the stage was always set with one vague and unchangeable scene; but such was not the case, as is proved by the second part of the *Mémoire*. On the contrary, there were several methods which grew out of the different ways of combining the old simultaneous setting with the present system of changing scenes. The single scene could be modified in two ways, as has been shown: (1) by following d'Aubignac's suggestion of opening up a temple, a procedure which was carried out by Racine in *Athalie;* or (2) by making the one scene large enough to show two places not far distant, as in the setting of *Andromaque*, which shows a palace with columns and, in the background, a sea with ships. The *Menteur* and *Don Juan*, the latter being recorded after August 25, 1680, are examples of plays in which changes of scene were made between the acts. In 1678, Corneille's *Le comte d'Essex* is presented with a change of scene in the fourth act in which the prison appears. *Jodelet prince*, by Scarron, and a *Mariamne*, of uncertain authorship, recorded by Laurent after 1678, also change the scenery between the acts. *La femme juge et party*, in which the "théâtre est deux maisons sur le devant et le reste une chambre," is an example of the old simultaneous setting still in use at this time, the setting being thus

described by Laurent in 1678. *La dame invisible*, by Th. Corneille and Hauteroche, produced in 1684, requires a street scene for the first act and two separate rooms for the second act, thus showing a combination of the two systems of stage setting. Out of ninety-three plays whose setting is described in the second part of the *Mémoire*, thirty-six employ one of these means to bring about a change of scene. This number does not include the plays which require a public square and houses, although they, too, are merely modifications of the old mediaeval method.

When one calls to mind the famous *pièces à machines*, such as *Andromède* and *La toison d'or*, the ballets, and the representations at court of even classical tragedies, such as *Iphigénie*,[1] it is easily seen that the theater-goer of the latter half of the seventeenth century was not at all unaccustomed to fairly good stage setting and to changes of scenery brought about in one way or another, in spite of the acceptation of the rule of the unity of place. The rule was evidently stronger in theory than in practice. It modified scenery by reducing the number of scenes which might be represented and by reducing the extent of the scene, first to a town and then to a certain part of a town; but, although the single setting appeared for the majority of plays, this majority is not overwhelming, if the *Mémoire* may be taken as evidence. The existence of scenery militated against the acceptation of the rule of the unity of place and robbed it of much of its force even after the contemporary critics asserted that it was accepted.

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[1] See the description of this setting as given in the *Mercure galant* (1675); Lemaître, *Racine*, Paris, 1908, p. 226.

NOTES ON THE *BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME*

I. TOUT CE QUI N'EST POINT VERS, N'EST POINT PROSE

In Act III, scene iii, of Molière's masterpiece, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, there is a passage of considerable interest upon which editors have not agreed. It is our purpose in this note to present a few suggestions which have influenced our decision in favor of one group of editors as opposed to the other. As far as we know, the arguments that we offer have not as yet been put forward in their completeness even by an editor who favors the reading that we feel forced to adopt.

The passage in the original edition of 1671 whose text is adopted by Despois-Mesnard is as follows:

Monsieur Jourdain, puffed with pride at his recently acquired knowledge that the language of ordinary conversation is prose, is endeavoring to impress this fact upon his good wife:

Monsieur Jourdain: Hé non! ce n'est pas cela. Ce que nous disons tous deux, le langage que nous parlons à cette heure?

Madame Jourdain: Hé bien?

Monsieur Jourdain: Comment est-ce que cela s'appelle?

Madame Jourdain: Cela s'appelle comme on veut l'appeler.

Monsieur Jourdain: C'est de la prose, ignorante.

Madame Jourdain: De la prose?

Monsieur Jourdain: Oui, de la prose. Tout ce qui est prose, n'est point vers; et tout ce qui n'est point vers, *n'est point prose.* Heu, voilà ce que c'est d'étudier. Et toi [Nicole], sais-tu bien comme il faut faire pour dire U?

The italics above are ours. From the *prose* of the italicized phrase there is a reference to a footnote in the Despois-Mesnard edition (p. 106 of Vol. VIII) as follows: "N'est point vers, est prose. (1674, 82, 94B, 1734.) Y a-t-il une faute dans l'original? Est-ce Molière qui a voulu que Monsieur Jourdain s'embrouillât ici tout à fait?"

This footnote is doubly interesting. In the first place we see

that no edition is mentioned as having what is a perfectly possible other variant, namely:

et tout ce qui est vers, n'est point prose.

If we ask why, two reasons seem probable. Had this other possible correction been made, the whole phrase would have run:

(A) Tout ce qui est prose, n'est point vers; et tout ce qui est vers, n'est point prose.

This phrase is not as well balanced as:

(B) Tout ce qui est prose, n'est point vers; et tout ce qui n'est point vers, est prose,

which is the reading of 1674 and subsequent editions. Moreover, had the correction been made as in (A) above, the whole phrase would have been just as sensible as what the *maître de philosophie* had said in Act II, scene iv:

Tout ce qui n'est point prose est vers; et tout ce qui n'est point vers est prose.

The only difference is that the negatives are in the second and fourth clauses, instead of being in the first and third.

Now the reading (B) above has one peculiarity that is not immediately apparent. Although it makes sense, the second part is nothing but an inverted repetition of the first:

First: Tout ce qui est prose, *n'est point vers.*
Second: Et tout ce qui *n'est point vers*, est prose.

The italics may help to bring this fact out clearly, and also reveal the peculiar balance of the phrase.

It is of course true that there is some humor in this repetition, Jourdain does not get the whole of what the teacher had said, but what he gets he says twice. Our feeling, however, is that this humor is too veiled to be immediately apparent in dialogue uttered rapidly, and that even when it is grasped, the humorous touch is not as great or vigorous as what stood in the original 1671 edition, namely:

Tout ce qui est prose, n'est point vers; et tout ce qui n'est point vers, n'est point prose.

The nonsense of this is immediately grasped by the average listener or reader, whereas the repetition of a perfectly sensible

remark, as in the text of 1674, etc., lacks the quality and the quantity of spontaneous humor which is the eminent characteristic of Molière.

The second reason why the note in Despois-Mesnard is interesting is this: The editor, M. Mesnard, does not offer his own solution or even suggest his preference. As a result editors have divided themselves into two groups. Among those who have adopted the reading, "n'est point vers, est prose," which, as noted, first appears in the edition of 1674, are: L. Moland, M. Pellisson, G. Vapereau, F. M. Warren, M. Levi, Moriarity, Wilhelm Scheffler, C. Humbert, Adolf Laun, Francis Tarver, Marc Ceppi, Roi-Guitteau, Schele de Vere.

The group that has preferred the reading of the original edition of 1671, "n'est point vers, n'est point prose," includes: Ch. L. Livet, W. Mangold, Platow, Georges Monval, Ernest Thirion, Maurice Albert.

Of these Albert alone calls attention to a similar misquoting by Harpagon in Act III, scene i, of *L'avare*. Valère has just suggested to him the *dire d'un ancien*: "il faut manger pour vivre, et non pas vivre pour manger."

Harpagon: Ah! que cela est bien dit! Approche, que je t'embrasse pour ce mot. Voilà la plus belle sentence que j'aie entendue de ma vie. Il faut vivre pour manger, et non pas manger pour vi . . . . . Non, ce n'est pas cela. Comment est-ce que tu dis?

It is worthy of note that Harpagon, although a shrewd fellow, is yet made to misquote something that has been told him immediately before, all this of course in the interest of humor. May we not think that Molière had a similar humorous purpose when he allows the stupid Jourdain to misquote in such a way that the result is nonsense? Is not such a misquoting the more possible since Jourdain's lesson with the teacher of philosophy had occurred in the previous act? In this connection we quote the note of Thirion before adding to its general argument, some suggestions of our own: "M. Jourdain répète mal la leçon de son maître de philosophie et finit, en s'embrouillant, par dire des choses qui n'ont pas de sens. Certains éditeurs voient ici une faute d'impression; mais rien n'est plus naturel que l'embarras de M. Jourdain à répéter des choses auxquelles il ne comprend goutte."

Thirion is perfectly right in our opinion. Jourdain is incapable of repeating anything that is told him by his several teachers. He mixes everything up. Take as first instance the effort to repeat the description of the pronunciation of U which follows immediately:

Tu allonges les lèvres en dehors, et approches la mâchoire d'en haut de celle d'en bas. [!]

Only the first part of this description, "en allongeant les deux lèvres en dehors," is in the description of U as given by the *maître de philosophie* in Act II, scene iv. The second part is a comical inversion of the description of the vowel E:

Maître de philosophie: La voix E se forme en rapprochant la mâchoire d'en bas de celle d'en haut.

Georges Monval in his edition of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* (note on p. 160), having adopted the reading "n'est point prose" of the original edition, comments on this and on the comical description of U by Jourdain as follows: "Est-il besoin de faire remarquer que M. Jourdain répète tout de travers la leçon du maître de philosophie?"

Not only, however, does Jourdain repeat awry the lesson of the *maître de philosophie*, but he twists around the complimentary phrases in Act IV, scene iv, by which Covielle assumes to translate the Turkish of Cléonte:

Covielle: C'est-à-dire: "Monsieur Jourdain, votre cœur soit toute l'année comme un rosier fleuri."

Jourdain remembers this vaguely in Act V, scene iii, when he tries to use it in a compliment to Dorimène:

Madame, je vous souhaite toute l'année votre rosier fleuri.

Similarly Covielle's rendering (Act IV, scene iv); "que le ciel vous donne la force des lions et la prudence des serpents," becomes completely inverted in Jourdain's compliment to Dorante (Act V, scene iii):

Monsieur, je vous souhaite la force des serpents et la prudence des lions.

This inversion is of the same order as that made by Harpagon in *L'avare* which we have noted above.

Not only is Jourdain incapable of repeating lessons given him orally or compliments which he hears, but he is equally stupid when

he tries to dance, to fence, or even to make the famous third bow to Dorimène. His absurdly literal interpretations of his instructions mark him out the fool that Molière clearly intended. Jourdain is unable to learn any of the things that he tries so hard to learn, and in this fact lies most of the humor of his character, and indeed, to some readers, an element of pathos as well.

Our final thought is this: If the correction from "n'est point prose" of the original 1671 edition to the "est prose" of later editions is to be accepted, the whole statement then becomes the *only* thing of all that Jourdain is taught which he repeats correctly. As such it would stand out in sharp contrast to the many things that he utterly fails to repeat correctly. We cannot think that Molière so intended. Ever alive to the humor of a situation, he surely would not let slip the excellent opportunity afforded by this incident. Once we grant that a nonsensical misquotation is more humorous than a correct repetition, we must, it seems safe to say, prefer the reading of the original edition to the attempt to correct this in any or in all later editions.

An interesting side-light is afforded by the 1671 imitation in England by Ravenscroft, *The Citizen turned Gentleman.* Here in the corresponding passage one reads: "Yes, Prose, all that is prose is not verse and all that is not verse is not prose." The translator appreciated the humor intended sufficiently to prefer its retention to its elimination.

II. CHÂTIMENTS. SOUFFLETS

In Act III, scene ix, Cléonte and Covielle, master and servant, are venting their displeasure at the treatment accorded them by their sweethearts, Lucile and Nicole. Cléonte as the better educated uses the language of his social station which Covielle parodies or imitates in a very humorous manner. Cléonte's words are well chosen and elegant, befitting his superior culture, whereas Covielle's suggest the kitchen:

Cléonte: Tant de larmes que j'ai versées à ses genoux!
Covielle: Tant de seaux d'eau que j'ai tirés au puits pour elle!
Cléonte: Tant d'ardeur que j'ai fait paroître à la chérir plus que moi-même!

Covielle: Tant de chaleur que j'ai soufferte à tourner la broche à sa place!

Cléonte: Elle me fuit avec mépris!

Covielle: Elle me tourne le dos avec effronterie!

Cléonte: C'est une perfidie digne des plus grands *châtiments.*

Covielle: C'est une trahison à mériter mille *soufflets.* etc. etc.

So runs the text of the Despois-Mesnard edition and of all French editions which we have seen. In a group of editions in English, however, the words *châtiments* and *soufflets* have in some mysterious way changed places. This group comprises the editions by Francis Tarver, Schele de Vere, F. M. Warren, and Roi-Guitteau. We have searched in vain for some warrant for this change. No such variant is furnished by the standard edition of Despois-Mesnard and, as far as we know, no such variant exists anywhere. It seems, judging by the context, that the elegant word *châtiments* should naturally belong to the educated master, and that the coarser word *soufflets* should be uttered by the servant. Pending the discovery of some warrant for the changed positions of these words, we believe that we have in these four English editions a typographical error, which was made first in the oldest of the four and repeated in the others through neglect of collating their text carefully with that of the standard edition. If this supposition be correct, we have rather an interesting example of the propagation of an error, and we trust that this note may help in its removal.

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EVERY WOMAN IN HER HUMOR AND *THE DUMB KNIGHT*

"Every Woman in Her Humor."—*Every Woman in Her Humor* was printed in 1609 with the following scant title-page: "Everie Woman in her Humor. London. Printed by E. A. for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be solde at his shop in the *Popes-head-Pallace*, neere the Royall Exchange. 1609." The play, as its name indicates, is an imitation in part of Jonson's two early comedies of humor; and it is frankly indebted for the suggestion of several of its characters and some of its plot, to *Every Man Out of His Humour*. Mr. Bullen, who reprinted the play in his *Collection of Old English Plays*, speaks highly of its merits:

> The jolly fat host, with his cheery cry, "merry hearts live long," is pleasant company; and his wife, the hard-working hostess, constantly repining at her lot, yet seemingly not dissatisfied at heart, has the appearance of being a faithful transcript from life. Cornutus (the hen-pecked citizen) and his gadding wife are familiar figures, but not the less welcome on that account. Getica's anxiety at the loss of her dog is amusingly depicted.

The title-page of the play gives no indication of its authorship, and so far no one has been able to venture a suggestion on this point; even Fleay, with his wide knowledge of the Tudor-Stuart drama, and his extraordinary daring in such matters, has had to confess himself at a loss: "I do not pretend," says he, "to guess at the authorship."[1]

"The Dumb Knight" and Its Two Authors.—*The Dumb Knight* was entered in the Stationers' Registers on October 6, 1608, and was printed shortly after, with the statement that it had been "acted sundry times by the children of his Maiesties Revels." It was the product of two writers, Lewis Machin, who signs the address "To the Understanding Reader," and Gervase Markham, whose name appears on the title-page of some copies.

Of Machin nothing seems to be known, except that his name is affixed to "three Eglogs" at the end of William Barkstead's *Mirrha*,

[1] *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 322.

the Mother of Adonis (1607). Neither Winstanley nor Langbaine tells us anything about him, and *The Dictionary of National Biography* gives merely a passing reference to him in its article on Henry Machin.[1]

Markham was a versatile writer, "whose worth," as his collaborator Machin truly says, "hath been often approved." He is best known, perhaps, as a voluminous author of books on husbandry; but in his long poem, *The Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile* (1595),[2] written in ottava rima and full of rich imagery, he shows himself to be a poet of no mean ability; and in *The Teares of the Beloved* (1600) and *Marie Magdalene's Teares* (1601)[3], he reveals a serious and lofty vein. Grosart says of this poetry: "It is quiet, tranquil, simple, with only now and again a touch of pathos or quaint symbolism. Occasionally, too, there are things that lay hold of and stick to the memory." Markham was not intimately connected with theatrical affairs; and although he later collaborated with William Sampson on another play, *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater: With the Death of faire Marriam, According to Josephus the learned and famous Jewe*,[4] we may suppose that he was relatively unfamiliar with dramatic composition.

A Division of the Work of the Two Authors.—It is easy to distinguish between the work of the two collaborators. One of them, obviously, composed the serious main plot, written in smooth blank verse that is sometimes illuminated by beautiful passages, and is always rich in poetic imagery; the other, obviously, contributed the comic sub-plot, written for the most part in prose, full of coarse humor, and abounding in the most indelicate allusions. But not only are the two plots distinct in manner; they are separate and complete units, dealing each with virtually a different set of characters. Furthermore, they are inadequately and inartistically

[1] Fleay, with unusual rashness, assigns to him *The Fair Maid of the West* (*Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 329–30).

[2] Reprinted in Arber's *English Reprints*. Tennyson is said to have been indebted to the poem for some of the imagery in *The Revenge*.

[3] These two poems are reprinted by Grosart in *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, II (1871).

[4] This play has not been reprinted, but a full description is given in Mr. Arthur Cyril Dunstan's *Examination of Two English Dramas*, a Königsberg dissertation, 1908. Professor Schelling assigns the play to 1621.

joined. The inconsistency and the incongruity of the sub-plot, wherever it touches the main plot, is to the careful reader painfully obvious. A close study of the play leads to the almost inevitable conclusion that the two authors did not write in intimate collaboration. The main plot, I believe, was first composed in a serious vein, without any comic relief; later, to the second author was given (probably by the theatrical manager) the task of fitting the play with a humorous sub-plot. In itself this sub-plot is successful enough (perhaps exactly what the theatrical manager wanted), but its author has shown little skill in uniting it to the main story. To accomplish a linking he took a relatively unimportant character in the main plot, Lord Alphonso, and made him the chief character in the sub-plot: or, to be more exact, he borrowed the name "Lord Alphonso" for one of his leading comic characters; for we find great difficulty in reconciling the original Lord Alphonso, the lofty "marshall of the realm" and the Queen's champion, with the libertine that we are called upon to laugh at in the comic scenes. The author of the serious plot conceived the character of Alphonso thus:[1]

Cyp. Who are your combatants?
Queen . . . . The next Alphonso, sprung from noble blood,
Who laden with rich Lusitanian prize
Hath rode through Syracuse twice in pomp.

And to the Duke of Cyprus, Alphonso says:

Nay more, we are the sons of destiny,
Virtue's our guide, our aim is dignity.

Yet the writer of the sub-plot turned this nobly conceived character into a silly lecher, the victim of a coarse joke, in which he is anything but dignified.

The taking of Alphonso for this purpose led to other inconsistencies. For example, the author of the sub-plot creates the character of Mechant, a petitioner to Prate the Orator. He first appears in the second act (p. 137) with two other petitioners, Drap, "a country gentleman," and Velours, "a citizen," where he speaks only one line; in a later scene he explains his presence in the play with

[1] Here and throughout this paper I quote from the edition of *The Dumb Knight* in Hazlitt's Dodsley, Vol. X.

a statement that is wholly unprepared for and highly improbable (p. 144); and to seek redress for his wrongs at the hands of the Queen ("The Queen, out of suspicion . . . . casts me from favour, seizes all my lands, and turns my naked fortunes to the cold"), he humbly petitions several noblemen to arrange for him an audience with the King. The noblemen, however, contemptuously refer him ("they despise and slight" him "in their meanest compliments") to Prate the Orator, who scornfully tells him to "go home, repent, pray, and die." But in Act IV we are astonished to find this same Mechant an honored guest at a private dance in the royal palace, talking pleasantly in the company of the Queen who had so wronged him, and dancing as the elected partner of the Duke's sister, Mariana. I feel sure that in this scene, as originally written by the author of the serious plot, Mariana's dancing partner was Lord Alphonso (who elsewhere is her good friend; cf. pp. 151–52, 153); but the arranger of the sub-plot could not allow Alphonso to appear in this scene, for at that very time the Alphonso of the sub-plot was walking the street in the clothes of Prate the Orator, and in the scene immediately following must be arrested in that ludicrous costume. Apparently the author of the sub-plot merely changed the catchword "*Alph.*" to "*Mech.*" Again, in a subsequent scene (p. 193), for the same reasons, he makes the same change, although it results in representing the King as having entrusted to Mechant a highly important commission—exactly such a commission as he would have entrusted to Alphonso, the marshal of the realm.

Another bit of evidence for believing that the sub-plot was a later product inartistically fused with the main plot is to be found in its chronology. According to the sub-plot not more than a day and a half has elapsed between the beginning and the end of the play, for Alphonso and Prate have not had time at the final scene to change their ridiculous costumes; yet, according to the main plot, several weeks must have elapsed.

Further evidence, if it were needed, could be adduced to prove that the main plot was written first, and that the sub-plot was later and inartistically added for comic relief.

Markham the Author of the Main Plot.—To Markham, without much doubt, should be attributed the dignified heroic plot in blank

verse.[1] It clearly reveals the ready hand of an experienced poet; and although the effect of the play as a whole may not be impressive, its serious parts contain many individual passages of beauty. The numerous references to classical themes, too, indicate an extensive and intimate knowledge of ancient writers. In this respect the play resembles *The Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile.* Markham, we know, was an excellent classical scholar, and was also versed in French, Italian, Spanish, and probably Dutch literature. This broad reading reveals itself, unobtrusively but surely, in the lines of the main plot.

Again, the main plot is notable, like *Sir Richard Grinuile,* for its laudation of high ideals of valor. In order to realize this fully, the reader should examine the serious plot by itself. Cyprus says to his Iago-like friend, Duke Epire:

> Duke, thou art valiant, and with a valiant mind
> Slander is worse than theft or sacrilege.

And before the combat Florio says:

> This day shall stand two famous monuments;
> The one a throne of glory bright as gold,
> Burnish'd with angel's lustre, and with stars
> Pluck'd from the crown of conquest, in which shall sit
> Men made half-gods through famous victory.

The last line may be an echo from Markham's *Richard Grinuile:*

> And for his valor half a God did make.[2]

It should be remembered, too, that Markham was a soldier of distinction. Langbaine speaks highly of his military career: "In the enumeration of his Works the Reader will be satisfied of his excellent

[1] Fleay, *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama,* II, 58, attributes to Markham, on no evidence, the comic sub-plot; then later in the same volume (p. 330) attributes the sub-plot to Machin. In the latter case, he uses the attribution to prove that Machin wrote *The Fair Maid of the Exchange.*

[2] Arber's *Reprint,* p. 85; cf. also:

> That men half-gods shall call [p. 65].
> Making them gods for god-like victory [p. 76].

There seems to be a similarity in idea in the following passages:

> Nor Death nor Fate
> Are slaves to fear, to hope, or human state.
> —*The Dumb Knight,* p. 132.
>
> In this unjust are Fate and Death declared,
> That mighty ones, no more than mean, are spared.
> —*Sir R. Grinuile,* p. 87.

Perhaps other similarities might be pointed out, although the themes are very different, and many years separate the two works.

Parts and Abilities: and that he was *tàm Marti quàm Mercurio*, vers'd in the Employments of War and Peace."

Machin the Author of the Sub-Plot.—The sub-plot we may safely attribute to Machin. So far as I can discover in reading the works of Markham, he is notably deficient in a sense of humor; this, however, cannot be said of the author of the sub-plot, for its comic scenes are highly amusing. Unfortunately, they are obscene beyond the usual license of the Elizabethan drama, and will, consequently, offend modern ears.

Relation of "The Dumb Knight" to "Every Woman."—That much of the comic stuff of *The Dumb Knight* is to be found in *Every Woman in Her Humor* seems not to have been observed. The two female characters of the sub-plot, Lollia and Collaquintida, are identical with the Hostess and the Citty Wife of the latter play, and in the first scene the language of these characters is repeated *verbatim*. In the rest of the play, too, and in other characters of *The Dumb Knight* we recognize bits of humor that appear in *Every Woman*. To indicate the extent and closeness of the borrowing in the first scene, I quote below a passage at length.

The Dumb Knight, pp. 121–23

Lol. Now fie upon 't, who would be an orator's wife, and not a gentlewoman, if she could choose? A lady is the most sweet lascivious life, congies and kisses—the tire, O the tire, made castle upon castle, jewel upon jewel, knot upon knot; crowns, garlands, gardings, and what not? the hood, the rebato, the French fall, the loose-bodied gown, the pin in the hair; no clawing the pate, then picking the teeth, and every day change; when we poor souls must come and go for every man's pleasure: and what's a lady more than another body? We have legs and hands, and rolling eyes, hanging lips, sleek brows, cherry cheeks, and other things as ladies have—but the fashion carries it away.

Enter Mistress Collaquintida

Col. Why how now, Mistress Prate? i' th' old disease still? will it never be better? cannot a woman find one kind man amongst twenty? O the days that I have seen, when the law of a woman's wit could have put her husband's purse to execution!

Lol. O Mistress Collaquintida, mine is even the unnaturallest man to his wife—

Col. Faith, for the most part all scholars are so, for they take so upon them to know all things, that indeed they know nothing; and besides they

are with study and ease grown so unwieldy, that a woman shall ne'er want a sore stomach that's troubled with them.

Lol. And yet they must have the government of all.

Col. True, and great reason they have for it: but a wise man will put it in a woman's hand: what! she'll save what he spends.

Lol. You have a pretty ruff, how deep is it?

Col. Nay this is but shallow; marry, I have a ruff is a quarter deep, measured by the yard.

Lol. Indeed! by the yard?

Col. By the standard, I assure you: you have a pretty set, too! how big is the steel you set with?

Lol. As big as a reasonable sufficient—

Every Woman, pp. 317–20

Hostis. Oh fye upont, who would be an hostis, & could do otherwise? [A] Ladie [h]as the most lascivious life, conges and kisses, the tyre, the hood, the rebato, the loose bodyed Gowne, the pin in the haire, and everie day change, when an Hostis must come and go at everye mans pleasure. And what's a Lady more then another body? Wee have legs, and hands, rowling eyes and hanging lips, sleek browes, and cherie cheeks & other things as Ladies have, but the fashion carries it away.

Enter Cittizens Wife[1]

City W. Why how now, woman, a 'th olde disease still? will it never be better? cannot a Woman finde one kinde man amongst twentie? Ah the daies I have seen, when a Womans will was a lawe: If I had a mind to such a thing, or such a thing, I could have had it, but twa's never better since men were Purse-bearers.

Hosty. Mine is een the unnaturallist man to his Wife.

Cittie wi. Truely, and commonly are all such fat men: ile tell thee, Gossip, I have buried sixe, I, sixe husbands, but if I should live to have as many more, as I know not what may happen, but sure Ide never have such a fatte man: they be the most unweldey men: that woman shall not want a sore stomack, that's troubled with them, I warrant her.[2]

Hostis. And yet they must have the government of all.

City w. And great reason they have for it, but a wise man will put [it] in a Woman's hand: what sheele save that hee spends.

Hostis. You have a pretty Ruffe, how deepe is it?

City w. Nay this is but shallowe, marrie I have a Ruffe is a quarter deepe, measured by the yard.

Hostis. Indeede, by the yard.

[1] In meantime, the Host has come upon the stage and reproached the Hostess for not looking to the guests. I have omitted twenty-six lines.

[2] At this point I have omitted eighteen lines.

City w. By the standard: you have a pretty set, too, how big is the steele you set it with?

Hostis. As bigge as a reasonable sufficient—

"Every Woman" Written First.—A close examination of the two plays leads to the conclusion that *Every Woman* was written first, and that its comic material was drawn upon by Machin to piece out the sub-plot of *The Dumb Knight.* In *Every Woman* the puns and the humorous language seem more spontaneous and to suit the characters and the situation more perfectly; in *The Dumb Knight,* on the other hand, the author seems at times to go out of his way to bring in the successful wit of the other play. For example, in the passage I have quoted, it will be observed that the bitter complaint of Lollia ("Who would be an orator's wife, and not a gentlewoman?") is much less appropriate in the mouth of the wife of Prate, the King's Orator, who has charge of the government's most important business, and who rides upon his foot-cloth, than in the mouth of the hostess of the Hobbie who is constantly being summoned by her husband and his apprentices to look after the business of the tavern. Likewise, the line, "we poor souls must come and go for every man's pleasure," is quite inappropriate in the mouth of Lollia, but perfectly appropriate in the mouth of the Hostess, who is being loudly called every few minutes to "look about to the guests." Again, the reference to Prate as being very fat is not supported by the rest of the play (for example, Lord Alphonso's clothes fit him to a hair), but in *Every Woman* the host is represented in all the scenes as fat and jolly. Doubtless this explains why in *The Dumb Knight* the remarks about fatness are abbreviated and somewhat modified—the only part of the passage that is seriously altered. The satire on feminine dress, introduced into *The Dumb Knight* without special cause, is also far more appropriate in *Every Woman in Her Humor,* where the author is engaged throughout in satirizing women and in particular their absurdities in costume. Again, the last speech of the passage quoted is suddenly interrupted in *Every Woman* by the entrance of an apprentice summoning the hostess in the name of her husband to "come in" at once; in *The Dumb Knight* there is nothing to explain the incompleteness of the sentence, and modern editors have felt obliged to emend the line.

Finally, on p. 123 Lollia says: "If my husband should rise from his study and miss me, we should have such a coil"; but no cause for this extraordinary apprehension is given. In *Every Woman* this speech is perfectly intelligible; for the Host had once summoned his wife in person, and then upon her failure to come, had twice dispatched his apprentices for her; at the last summons, the Hostess says to her gossip: "By my troth, I must goe, we shall have such a coyle else." Many more instances could be cited to prove that in *The Dumb Knight* Machin was borrowing—not creating—the humorous passages that figure in the two plays.[1]

Machin the Author of "Every Woman."—Since Machin gave *The Dumb Knight* to the press, and in a signed letter to the public confidently submits the play to speak for itself in answer to the sharp censure which envious persons had made against his share in the work, we may fairly presume, I think, that he was the author of the anonymous *Every Woman in Her Humor.* He would hardly have appealed with so much assurance to the "understanding" readers had he been guilty of an extensive and impudent plagiarism from the work of another and a contemporary playwright. Moreover, *Every Woman* was not printed until a year after the publication of *The Dumb Knight;* yet the closeness of the textual following (examine the passages I have quoted) indicates that Machin had the manuscript of *Every Woman* before him. Finally, and most important of all, the style of *Every Woman* outside the parallel passages suggests the author of the comic scenes in *The Dumb Knight.* The two plays, one feels, must have been the product of the same mind; the stock of ideas, the quality of the humor, the moral point of view, the tendency to preach, and the general manner of execution are similar. The way in which Mechant stands aloof and moralizes on the conduct of the persons in the sub-plot, and the way in which at the end of the play he brings the wrong-doers before the King, finds a counterpart in the conduct of Acutus in *Every Woman.* Precedent, in *The Dumb Knight,* reads passages from *Venus and Adonis;* Flaminius, in *Every Woman,* says: "Leave *Tulley* to the Ladies; he can tell them tales of *Venus* and *Adonis,* and that best pleaseth them"; the words

[1] Direct borrowing from *Every Woman* does not occur after the first scene. Apparently as soon as Machin got the sub-plot under way, he had little difficulty in keeping it going.

"standing" and "stiff" are overworked in both plays for the sake of puns; the satire against lawyers is conspicuous; and a curious mingling of obscenity and moralizing characterizes both.[1]

The Date and Company of "Every Woman."—The date of *Every Woman* and the company by which it was acted are problems which have puzzled commentators. Professor Thorndike, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, V, 31, boldly asserts that it was "acted by 1600," although he gives no reason for his belief; Professor Schelling, in *The Elizabethan Drama*, I, 471, says: "This production was first printed in 1609; but dates plainly from the last years of the old queen's reign." Professor Schelling probably was relying upon the questionable judgment of Fleay, who is himself doubtful: "The date of production was, I think, 1602."[2] Apparently all commentators on the play have felt it necessary to put the date of *Every Woman* as near as possible to the date of *Every Man in His Humour*, because of the obvious imitation in title. In the play itself, however, there is no evidence for such an early date; Fleay claims that it could not have been written before 1602; and one of the songs put into the mouth of Philautus, "Sister, awake, close not [your eyes]," first appeared in Bateson's *Madrigals* in 1604. The humor of Philautus was to sing snatches from songs that were more or less well known to the audience.

Beyond this no very definite evidence of the date of composition is to be found in the text. The extreme license of the language, however, is not in keeping with the plays of 1600, but is characteristic of many plays written in 1607 and later; and, in particular, it is characteristic of the plays produced by the Children of His Majestie's Revels at the Whitefriars Theatre. This troupe, which flourished in 1607–9, seems to have gone beyond all other companies in the obscenity of its plays. Compare *Ram Alley*, of which Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, III, 157, says: "A comedy which appears to have earned much popularity by the extreme grossness of its fun"; *The Turke*, of which Isaac Reed, *Biographia Dramatica*, says: "This

[1] *The Dumb Knight* was printed "for Iohn Bache, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, neere to the Royall Exchange," and *Every Woman* was printed "for Thomas Archer, and are to be solde at his shop in the Popes-head-Pallace, neere the Royall Exchange." *The Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1557–1640*, however does not indicate that Bache and Archer were at any time associated with each other.

[2] *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 322.

tragedy has some beautiful lines and speeches, which, however, are disgraced by intrusions of the lowest and most obscene comedy that has hitherto appeared on the stage"; *Cupid's Whirligig*, of which Professor Sampson, in his paper on "The Plays of Edward Sharpham,"[1] says: "The plot . . . . although less repulsive than that of *The Fleire*, is in detail coarser," and he mentions as one of its main characteristics "coarseness of language"; *The Family of Love*, to which Ward applies the adjective "coarse," and Professor Schelling, "gross"; *Humour out of Breath*, "which," says Ward, "has . . . . divers lapses into what would be mildly described as indecorum"; and *The Dumb Knight*—which speaks for itself.

A reference in *Every Woman* to an exhibition of trained baboons may have some bearing on the date. On p. 270 we read:

> I pray ye what shewe will be heere to night? I have seen the *Babones* already, and the *Cittie of new Ninivie* and *Julius Cæsar* acted by the Mammets.

Of course references to motions (i.e., puppet shows), particularly the old and well-known *Nineveh* and *Julius Caesar*, are common at all times; but the reference to the "shewe" of the baboons seems to be to a certain amusing performance by trained baboons that figures conspicuously in *Ram Alley*, written in 1607 for the Children of His Majestie's Revels. On pp. 279–80 (Hazlitt's Dodsley, X), we read: "They say some of our city dames Were much desirous to see the baboons Do their newest tricks"; and this is made the occasion of a long obscene anecdote. Again, in the same play (pp. 348–50), the performance of the baboons is imitated in a highly comic scene. Boutcher and Small-shanks make the braggart Captain Face sit upon a table and go through the several tricks of those animals. Small-shanks plays the part of the manager of the show, cracks his whip, makes a speech to an imaginary audience, and puts the unfortunate Captain through his paces.

> *W. Small.* Remember, noble captain, you skip when I shall shake my whip. Now, sir, What can you do for the great Turk?
>
> [*He performs.*
>
> What can you do for the Pope of Rome?
>
> [*He performs.*
>
> What can you do for the town of Geneva, sirrah?
>
> [*He holds up his hands instead of praying.*

[1] *Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of James Morgan Hart.* New York, 1910.

Obviously the effectiveness of this scene would be greatly heightened by the popularity in 1607 of a particular baboon show; and two widely different and elaborate references in the same play of 1607 indicate that such was the case.

Every Woman was printed in 1609. Owing to pecuniary distress the Children of His Majestie's Revels disbanded early in 1609;[1] their plays were released to the printers, and most of them were issued at once. For a list of these see Fleay's *History of the Stage*, p. 188.

Since Machin's *Dumb Knight* was written for these Children in 1607–8, since his three eclogues were affixed to Barkstead's *Mirrha* in 1607, since *Every Woman* is exactly the type of play acted by the Children, and since it was published in 1609, I am inclined to believe that it dates from about 1607, and that it probably belonged to the repertory of the Whitefriars troupe. The fact that its title imitates Jonson's two early comedies has here little weight; compare John Day's *Humour out of Breath*, written for the Children in 1607–8, of which Ward says: "The title was evidently suggested by the success of Jonson's two comedies." Perhaps there had been a recent revival of Jonson's two early "humour" plays.

Surmises About Machin.—In view of the total absence of biographical facts about Machin, perhaps a few observations, even though vague, drawn from a study of these plays, will be acceptable to the reader.

Machin belonged to a small group of playwrights who furnished plays to the Children of His Majestie's Revels at Whitefriars in 1607–9, and then disappeared entirely from the dramatic horizon. The other members of this group were Lordinge Barry, the author of *Ram Alley*, and John Mason, the author of *The Turke*.[2] Who these men were, where they came from, and what they did after the Whitefriars troupe disbanded, are unknown. Apparently they entered other walks of life; although in two cases, at least (Barry and Mason), they specifically promised additional plays provided their first efforts met with favor.

[1] See James Greenstreet, "The Whitefriars Theatre in the Time of Shakspere," *New. Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1887–90.

[2] Perhaps I should also mention Edward Sharpham, who after writing *Cupid's Whirligig* disappears from view.

Barry and Mason were part owners of the playhouse; Machin's name, however, does not appear in the chancery suit[1] of February 1609, in which the sharers are several times named, nor is it likely, in view of the distressing condition of the company at that time, and its dissolution shortly after, that he subsequently became connected with its organization.

The company was called the Children of His Majestie's Revels, and of course the actors were in the main children. Yet it is possible that there were also grown-up actors associated with them. Furnivall, in commenting on the chancery suit referred to, says: "From the 'loss of their *places*' in clauses 5 and 8 of the Agreement below, it would seem that some of these six sharers were Players"; and Mr. P. A. Daniel is apparently of the same opinion. I do not believe, however, that the lawsuit furnishes any evidence on this point. Machin, to be sure, shows in several places in *Every Woman* an intimacy with the affairs of the playhouse:

As though none weare . . . . perywigges but Players [p. 318].

A comedian tongue is the onely perswasive ornament to win a Lady; why his discourse is as pleasant . . . . and keepes as good decorum; his prologue with obedience to the skirt; a rough Sceane of civill Warres, and a clapping conclusion; perhappes a Jigge [p. 329].

Tis even as common to see a Bason at a Church doore, as a Box[2] at a Playhouse [p. 352].

He would sweare like an Elephant, and stamp and stare (God bless us) like a play-house book-keeper when the actors miss their entrance [p. 354].

Prethee keepe the sceane till I fetch more actors to fill it fuller [p. 363].

But these passages do not necessarily indicate that Machin was an actor. They seem to emanate from a man who had quite recently become familiar with the life of the theater; and they may have been merely the result of his observation as an author, who like Ben Jonson, watched the staging of his play from behind the curtains.

We do not know that Machin was a university student. His name does not appear in the registers of Oxford, but he may, of course, have attended Cambridge. In both plays he shows some knowledge of classical mythology, and in *Every Woman* he quotes

[1] Printed by James Greenstreet in *New. Shak. Soc. Trans., 1887–90.*

[2] The reference is to the box which the gatherer of the admission money held at the entrance to playhouses.

frequently from Latin authors. Perhaps the following passage from the latter play suggests the attitude of a university student:

> *Acut.* More Ladies *Terentias*, I crie still,
> That prise a saint before a Silken foole.
> She that loves true learning and pomp disdaines
> Treads on *Tartarus* and *Olimpus* gaines.
>
> *Grac.* I marrie, but then would learning be in colours, proud, proud; then would not foure nobles purchase a benefice, two Sermons in a years.
>
> *Accut.* I, *Graccus*, now thou hitst the finger right
> Upon the shoulder of Ingratitude.
> Thou hast clapt an action of flat felony;
> Now, ill betide that partiall judgement
> That doomes a farmers rich adultus
> To the supremacie of a Deanrie,
> When needie, yet true grounded Discipline,
> Is govern'd with a threed bare Vycarage.[1]

It seems likely from his exceptional knowledge of law, his frequent use of legal terms, and his continual good-natured satire against lawyers, that he was a young member of that profession. The extraordinary legal knowledge displayed in *Ram Alley* makes it likely that Lordinge Barry also was a lawyer. Perhaps, since Barry was the prime mover in the Whitefriars undertaking, he interested some of his lawyer friends in contributing plays. This would help to explain the fact that after the Whitefriars venture proved unsuccessful, he and his friends disappear from the field of dramatic composition.

Mr. Wallace's Gervase Markham.—In the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* (1910, XLVI, 347–50), Mr. Charles William Wallace has printed two legal documents from the Court of Requests, Public Record Office, London, dated 1623 and relating to a certain Gervase Markham, who in 1622 attempted a journey on foot from London to Berwick, with only a leap-staff for crossing streams. The conditions of the journey are stated as follows:

> To goe on ffoote from yo^{r}: Ma^{tes}: Cyttye of London to yo^{r}: Ma^{tes}: Towne of Berwicke and that yo^{r}: sayd Subiecte in his sayd Intended Iorney shoulde nott goe over any apparente Bridge greate or smale whatsoever and that yo^{r} sayd Subiecte should nott in his sayd Intended Iorney vse dyrectlye

[1] *Every Woman*, pp. 343–44.

or indyrectlye any boate, Shippe, or other Ingin for water more then an ordinarye Leape staffe or staffe to leape w^th^all, neither shoulde swyme any water whatsoever.

Thirty-nine persons had bound themselves to pay each a small sum of money (commonly five shillings) to Markham upon the successful accomplishment of the feat. On his return, however, with duly certified proof from the mayor of Berwick, the thirty-nine persons had all "severallye refused to make paymente" of the sums for which they had bound themselves; and Markham prays that they be summoned to appear in court.

A majority of the thirty-nine men who entered into this wager with Markham were actors. (Ten apparently were not;[1] of three others I can find no trace in the records of the drama, although it seems likely that they were obscure members of the theatrical profession.) Accordingly, Mr. Wallace concludes that "these documents unquestionably concern the Gervase Markham of *The Dumb Knight* and *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*"; and he conjectures: "It is possible that we have hitherto erred in ascribing those plays to Gervase Markham, the horseman of Cottam, Nottinghamshire."

But, in view of our present limited knowledge, it seems to me that Mr. Wallace's conclusion and his conjecture are both open to grave doubt. The two documents from the Court of Requests (the first is little more than a list of names, the second a brief statement that Markham's request had been granted) are hardly sufficient in themselves to prove that Markham, the plaintiff in this amusing suit, was "unquestionably" the author of *The Dumb Knight*, written in 1606–7, and of *Herod and Antipater*, written in 1621.[2] It merely

[1] Including two publishers, Trundle and Gosson; "Henry Sheppey, a turner"; and "William Carpenter, porter at the Marshallsey." Broughton seems to be connected with the law, and the two Keyes possibly kept a tavern, the "Cross Keyes."

[2] Sir Sidney Lee in the *D.N.B.* says: "Written probably about 1612." This must be a typographical error for 1621. Professor Schelling assigns the play, correctly, I think, to 1621. The title-page of the first edition (1622) says: "As it hath beene, of late, diuers times publiquely Acted (with great Applause) at the Red Bull, by the Company of his Maiesties Reuels." This company received its license July 8, 1622. Sampson, who collaborated with Markham on the play, was born in 1590. "In 1612," says the *D.N.B.*, "William Sampson, either the dramatist himself, or his father, figured with Thomas and Henry Sampson among the humbler owners of land" in South Leverton, a village near Retford, Nottinghamshire. Later he became a retainer in the family of Sir Henry Willoughby, and with the leisure which this position gave him, was enabled

shows that he secured many actors from the Fortune, the Red Bull, and the Globe to sign his "bill of adventure"; and perhaps we may be warranted in believing that he was personally known to most of them. Again, we cannot be absolutely sure that he was not after all "Gervase Markham, the horseman of Cottam." Let us examine the evidence contained in the documents printed by Mr. Wallace.

(1) The plaintiff describes himself as "Gervase Markham, of London, gent." In 1617, the "horseman," in a signed promise to the booksellers to write no more books "of the Deseases or cures" of horses and cattle of any kind, describes himself similarly as "Gervase Markham, of London, gent." (2) The plaintiff declares that he had "heretofore served his countrye in . . . . Ireland and in other Countryes in the place of a Captaine." Of the horseman, the *D.N.B.* says: "In his early years he followed the career of arms in the Low Countries, and had a captaincy under the Earl of Essex in Ireland." (3) The plaintiff says that he is getting old; but he could not have been very old, for he has "many children and great Charge of Household." The horseman, according to the *D.N.B.*, was born "about 1568," and at the time of the suit, therefore, was about fifty-five years of age. (4) The plaintiff is now "soe verye pore that hee is nott able to vndergoe the Charges of any one of those Suites." This description would certainly not apply to the horseman of Cottam in his earlier years, nor is it in keeping with the generally accepted notion of his later years. But, of his pecuniary state in his old age we seem to be ignorant; at least the *D.N.B.* tells us nothing save that about 1605 he "turned to literature in search of the means of subsistence," and became a "hackney writer for the publishers." It is conceivable that when forced to rely upon the generosity of the London booksellers, he fell into poverty, and by 1623 might well describe himself as "verye pore." In 1617 we find him making the following entry in the register of the Stationers' Company:

Memorandum That I Gervase Markham of London gent Do promise hereafter Never to write any more book or bookes to be printed, of the

to turn his attention to literature. He collaborated with Markham on *Herod and Antipater*, the first work of his recorded. His next play, *The Widow's Prize*, was written in 1624; his third play, *The Vow Breaker*, was printed in 1636; and in the same year appeared all of his non-dramatic work. I think, therefore, that the evidence for 1621 as the date of *Herod and Antipater* is well-nigh conclusive.

Deseases or cures of any Cattle, as Horse, Oxe, Cowe, sheepe, Swine, and Goates &c. In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand the 14th Day of Julie. 1617.

Gervis Markham

Now, as the *Cambridge History of English Literature* puts it, "of the many sides of Markham's literary activity, the most prominent, as well as most congenial, was, without doubt, that dealing with horsemanship and the veterinary art"; yet we find him here forced to "completely forswear his especial hobby." Does this document, then, indicate the beginnings of poverty for the industrious compiler of books on animal husbandry? (5) The plaintiff explains that he has "groune pore" in his old age by reason of his "many children and greate Charge of householde." Of the horseman, the *D.N.B.* says: "Markham married . . . . but no children are recorded." Yet the absence of information on this point is suspicious; for if another "Gervase Markham, of London, gent." had "many children," it is strange that the records of these were not discovered by any competent investigator of the subject.[1]

I do not wish, however, to assert that the plaintiff and the horseman are the same person; I merely desire to suggest that such is at least a possibility. For it is surely remarkable that two Gervase Markhams, both describing themselves as "of London, gent.," both of virtually the same age, both having served abroad and in Ireland, both having attained the rank of captain, both subsequently turning to literature for a living, and both having friends among the publishers (two publishers are among the persons cited in the documents), should have lived contemporaneously in London for many years, and yet not hitherto have been distinguished. At least more evidence than we now possess is needed to decide the important question raised by Mr. Wallace.

But there are good reasons, I think, for believing that the famous Markham of Cottam was concerned with *The Dumb Knight.* Machin refers to his collaborator in terms of great respect: "Yet having a partner in the wrong, whose worth hath been often approved, I

[1] I may observe here that the date of death, and the place of burial of Markham of Cottam are now open to doubt, if Mr. Wallace has discovered a new "Gervase Markham, of London, gent."; for the burial entry in St. Giles, Cripplegate ("1636 Feb. 3. Jarvis Markham, Gent.") has been supposed to refer to the horseman for the reason that "as there was only one Jarvis or Gervase Markham, there can be no doubt."

count the wrong but half a wrong, because he knowes best how to answer for himself." These words seem more appropriate as applied to the already illustrious man of letters than to the obscure pedestrian discovered by Mr. Wallace. Nor is Markham's conduct in connection with the play unworthy of the great author of Cottam. As I have tried to show, he did not write the play in intimate collaboration with Machin, and was not responsible for the obscene sub-plot; and when the play, after having been adversely criticized in its performance, was printed and offered for sale, he promptly had his name removed from the title-page. There is less evidence that he was connected with the later play, *Herod and Antipater;* yet it is at least worth noting that William Sampson, the collaborator in this play, was, like Markham, a Nottinghamshire man. Less important, but also worth noting, is the fact that Langbaine, in his *English Dramatick Poets* (1691), definitely assigned *Herod and Antipater* to the horseman, and was ignorant of the existence of another playwright by the name of Markham. Finally, if the Markham of Cottam did not write *The Dumb Knight* and other plays in blank verse, including *Herod and Antipater*, how are we to explain Jonson's remark about him in his conversations with Drummond?

> That Markham (who added his English *Arcadia*[1]) was not of the number of the Faithful, *i.e. Poets*, and but a base fellow.

It is hardly likely that Jonson at this late date (1619) would notice Markham's early and altogether insignificant poems.

If, however, the mention of poverty and of children in the legal documents is sufficient to warrant us in concluding that the plaintiff in this suit is not to be identified with the Markham of Cottam, and if the presence of the names of actors from three playhouses is sufficient to warrant us in believing that the plaintiff was a playwright, we still have to face the possibility that Gervase Markham of Cottam wrote *The Dumb Knight* in 1606–7, and that Gervase Markham, the pedestrian, wrote *Herod and Antipater* in 1621. I have not been able to examine this latter play; but in the extensive quotations in Mr. Dunstan's thesis,[2] I can discover little to suggest the style of

[1] A reference to Markham's *The English Arcadia, alluding to his beginning from Sir Phil. Sydnes Ending*, 1607.

[2] Arthur Cyril Dunstan, *Examination of Two English Dramas*, Königsberg, 1908.

The Dumb Knight. A full and careful study of the play, of course, is necessary to determine this question.

But however the authorship of *Herod and Antipater* may be decided, I must hold that the evidence is reasonably conclusive that Gervase Markham of Cottam was the author of *The Dumb Knight.*

Textual Notes.—Since the opportunity of writing on these two plays has fallen in my way, I desire to record a few textual notes and emendations.

Every Woman

P. 313, ll. 17–19: The words "All hayle to my belooved," and "Sad dispaire doth drive me hence," are the first lines of songs, according to the humor of Philautus, and should therefore be printed in italics, as elsewhere in the play.

P. 322, II. i. 9: "Bindes favours and now discovering lines." Bullen says: "I am unable to mend this passage." Read as follows: "Blinde favours and new discovering lines." That is, Flavia is constantly sending to Lentulus, who loves her not, secret tokens of her affection, and such lines as he reads at the beginning of the scene: "Yours in modestie, *Flavia.*"

P. 325, l. 2: "Her fore-amazing person makes me mute." Read "sore-amazing."

P. 328: "The old senate has put on his spectacles." Read: "The old senator," i.e., Flaminius.

Pp. 329–30, l. 24 to the end of the scene: The catchwords are obviously wrong. Read:

Ter. I want one indeede, Wench.
Flav. But thou hast two . . . ., etc.

After this to the end of the scene the catchwords should be exchanged. Terentia had two suitors (Lentulus and Cicero), not Flavia; moreover, the wanton language clearly indicates which speeches are to be attributed to Flavia. This change renders Bullen's emendation of the text altogether unnecessary, and provides for his attribution of a part of the last speech to Flavia.

P. 346, l. 3: In the original edition this line has been lost; Mr. Bullen supplies in brackets: "Say, is it Lentulus?" It is more likely that the words were: "What, hath Lentulus——" Cf.

l. 6: "What, hath Terentia——" and l. 10: "What, hath my father——"; and the balancing throughout the whole passage.

P. 359, l. 28: "And then to *Apollo* hollo, trees, hollo." This should be printed as a song (i.e., in italics); Philautus awakes, true to his humor, with a song on his lips.

P. 364, ll. 2–4: "I have no Varlets, no knaves, no stewd prunes, no she fierie phagies." For the last two words read "fierie facies." The same pun is made on p. 368: "For hee's [a drunkard is] never without a *fierie facies*."

The Dumb Knight

P. 144, last line: For "cast" read "casts"?

P. 152, ll. 4–7: Beyond all doubt these lines should be given to Epire.

P. 158, l. 6: The modern editor alters the original reading "my" to "thy"; but cf. pp. 133, 151.

P. 162, l. 11: The modern editor alters the original reading, "loves" to "laws"; but the original reading is doubtless correct; cf. the last four lines on p. 144.

P. 180, l. 3: "And I'll defend them [women] against all men, as at single tongue." Omit the word "as."

P. 194, l. 6: The emendation of this line to "My dearest, dreadest, my best sovereign" is quite unnecessary. The orginal reading (relegated to the footnotes), "My dearest dread, my best, best sovereign," is better meter and better poetry. Cf. Spenser's: "Una, his dear dread."

P. 200, last two lines of the play:

> Thus storms bring gentle sunshine, and our hands
> May, after shipwreck, bring us to safe lands.

For "our" read "your."

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CHAUCER AND THE EARL OF OXFORD

The exact significance of the Earl of Oxford's indorsement upon Chaucer's petition for permission to appoint a permanent deputy in his office of the customs may seem at first glance an unimportant matter. But the interpretation which has been given to it has been used so extensively as evidence for the chronology and interpretation of certain of Chaucer's works that the problem has become one of considerable moment. Professor Tatlock was the first to suggest a particular meaning for Oxford's indorsement.[1] After mentioning the fact that the petition is signed "Oxen*" and inscribed at the top in the same hand "Le Roy lad grante," he wrote: "He [Oxford] clearly had no official connection with Chancery. There is no avoiding the conclusion, therefore, that it was the Earl of Oxford who was Chaucer's sponsor in the matter of the deputy. To judge from Mr. Kirk's note,[2] he not only signed the petition, but took it in person to the king, who in consequence may have taken an especial interest in the affair. Hence it seems impossible to connect the queen with the appointment of the deputy." In a later work, Professor Tatlock pointed out that this fact removed all necessity for assigning the "Prologue" to *The Legend of Good Women* to 1385,[3] and further rejected Bilderbeck's suggestion that *Anelida and Arcite* may be based on Oxford's repudiation of his wife, on the ground that Chaucer had only recently been under obligation to Oxford in the matter of the deputy.[4] These deductions have been accepted apparently by everyone.[5] Yet I think it can be shown that this indorsement by the Earl of Oxford indicates no connection with Chaucer at all, but is merely a piece of official business.

[1] "The Dates of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde and Legend of Good Women," *Modern Philology*, I, 328.

[2] *Life Records of Chaucer*, IV, 251. The only part of Mr. Kirk's note which concerns Oxford is this: "Signature of the ninth Earl of Oxford with an asterisk. He appears also to have written the words 'Le Roy lad grante,' at the head."

[3] *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[5] Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 358, 380; Koch, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 141; Lowes, *P.M.L.A.* (new series), XII, 670.

In the first place such an indorsement by some member of the Privy Council was essential before a warrant could be issued by Chancery.[1] The legal theories of the time of Richard II held that "no writing expressed the King's command unless accompanied by the impress of the [Great] Seal,"[2] which was committed to the keeping of the chancellor. Further, no bill was indorsed by the Great Seal on a verbal warrant. Consequently the practice grew up of having some member of the Privy Council indorse the petition with his own signature and a statement of the king's will in the matter. From this indorsement of the petition, Chancery issued the desired warrant. Nearly all the petitions in the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council* for the reign of Richard II are inscribed and signed in this way.[3] In regard to them Sir Harris Nicolas wrote: "The notification of the King's pleasure on the letter or petition submitted to him was always signed, and often written, by some member of the Council, probably by the individual who received His Majesty's commands on the subject."[4]

Not only does Sir Harris Nicolas fail to see any evidence of patronage in these indorsements; but the cases themselves show that the inscriptions and signatures are not evidences of patronage. In one, the Count of Milan seeks redress, in a letter, for some commercial grievances against England: the document is signed by T. Percy, certainly not a patron of the Count of Milan.[5] In another, the Duke of Exeter (John Holland, half-brother to Richard II), who

[1] Cf. A. V. Dicey, *The Privy Council*, pp. 35 ff.; J. F. Baldwin, "Early Records of the King's Council," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XII, p. 2.

[2] Dicey, *op. cit.*

[3] Cf. *The Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Sir Harris Nicolas. The petitions of Richard II's reign are in a confused condition. When Nicolas was publishing his collection, he could find no documents earlier than 1587, the year of Oxford's flight. Even for the remaining years of Richard's reign he could discover but a few documents belonging to the Privy Council. Later he himself discovered two documents of Edward III's time, and still more recently Mr. Baldwin has called attention to lately discovered papers of Richard's reign which are as yet unprinted (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XII, 1 ff.). They were evidently dispersed in various places—Chaucer's, for example, being among the warrants in the office of Chancery. The petitions of Richard's time contained in the *Proceedings* are of the same character as Chaucer's, but usually concern larger matters. Like Chaucer's, they are in most cases addressed to the king; but unlike his, they seem in every case but one to have gone through the hands of the Privy Council. This difference, however, would not affect the rule of indorsing and signing. Cf. Dicey p. 35.

[4] *Proceedings*, etc., I, xviii.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

was in high favor at this time, and himself signing petitions,[1] seeks the income from certain estates: his petition is signed by W. le Scrope, king's chamberlain.[2] Furthermore, the indorsements in some cases merely instruct the council to look into the merits of the case.[3] Finally petitions presented *to the Privy Council only*, and ordinances passed by that body were similarly indorsed by J. Prophete, who, Sir Harris Nicolas thinks, was secretary to that body.[4]

In the second place, the duty of signing petitions seems from early times to have been considered a special part of the function of the king's chamberlain. Among the rules laid down fifty years later (1442) was one which provided that petitions must be countersigned by chamberlain or secretary.[5] Sir Harris Nicolas stated the usage thus: "The answers to Petitions were commonly, but not always, written at the head, and signed by a Member of the Council, who, in the reign of Henry the Fifth and Sixth, was generally the Chamberlain."[6] Later he said of the chamberlain: "To him was confided the responsible duty of indorsing upon all Petitions presented to the King, his Majesty's answers."[7] From the general fact that the development of legal procedure in England has always been one of making long-established customs into fixed law,[8] we may suppose that this usage, definitely placed in the rules of procedure for the Privy Council in 1442, had been in practice much more than fifty years. Furthermore, we have definite evidence that this was in large measure the case in Richard II's time, in the fact that W. le Scrope and T. Percy, at the time respectively chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, indorsed more petitions than anyone else from 1387–99 —and in one document which I shall produce later. From all these facts, then, it seems unquestionable that the indorsement of petitions with a statement of the king's will and the signing of them was a kind of clerical duty incumbent upon members of the Privy Council and especially upon the king's chamberlain.

[1] *Proceedings*, etc., I, 78.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, Introduction, p. xvii.
[5] Dicey, p. 39.
[6] *Proceedings*, VI, p. ccxiv.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. ccxix.
[8] Cf. Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff., on development of the power of chancellor.

Now the Earl of Oxford had by inheritance the office of king's chamberlain, and in 1385 he was actually exercising that office.[1] He is mentioned repeatedly in the Patent Rolls of Richard II as king's chamberlain.[2] And by what can hardly be more than a lucky chance, since reference to indorsements is ordinarily not made in the Patent Rolls, we have clear evidence that in 1385 Oxford was indorsing petitions as part of his business as king's chamberlain. Under date of January 10, 1385, appears this entry:[3]

> Grant, at the request of the king's kinsman, the Earl of Nottingham, that Robert de Selby of Kyngeston-upon-Hull shall be the deputy (*locum tenens*) during good behaviour, of the king's chief butler in that port.
>
> By bill granted by K[ing]; and sealed by the Earl of Oxford, his chamberlain.

Here we have indubitable evidence that Oxford had indorsed the document of a petitioner for whom another noble was sponsor, and that he had done so as part of his business as chamberlain.

Furthermore, and perhaps more conclusive still, the clerks in the office of Chancery did not understand the indorsement on Chaucer's petition as an indication of Oxford's patronage, for they did not mention Oxford as sponsor in the entry on the Patent Rolls.[4] Yet the Patent Rolls do frequently mention the name of the noble at whose request the patent was issued, for example in the case just quoted and many others that can be found easily by a glance through the Calendars.[5] Evidently there was some other way of indicating on the petition the name of the sponsor.

Since, then, Oxford, in indorsing Chaucer's position as he did, was merely performing a secretarial act, which was part of his function as an official of the court, and since the clerks who made out Chaucer's warrant apparently did not understand Oxford's signature as an indication of patronage, we must conclude that Oxford's writing upon the petition is not evidence that he was sponsor for the poet in his request.

[1] Cf. *D.N.B.; Proceedings*, VI, p. ccxxi.

[2] E.g., 1381–85; pp. 177, 238, 314, 447.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 529.

[4] *Life Records*, IV, 251.

[5] For cases in which Oxford himself is indicated as patron, see Patent Rolls, 1381–85, pp. 233, 238, 399.

NOTE

Since the publication of my dissertation, *Chaucer's Official Life*, I have discovered that Professor Tatlock had already identified Chaucer's Bukton as Robert Bukton; see his *Development and Chronology*, pp. 210–11, note. I am very sorry to have missed so important a reference, and can plead in defense only that when I first read Professor Tatlock's book, I had no special interest in Bukton. Later, when my interest in him was awakened, the absence of an index in Professor Tatlock's book made it difficult to discover all that it contained. It unfortunately did not occur to me to look in the chapter on "The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale," etc., for information on Bukton. Greatly as I regret having made this blunder, I am glad to find my own deductions confirmed by those of so eminent a scholar as Professor Tatlock.

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FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES

I. Fr. *harnais*, Eng. *harness*

The etymology has long been doubtful. Celtic origin has been generally abandoned; the *Dictionnaire général* (completed 1900) made a new proposal: "Dérivé d'un radical *harn-*, d'origine inconnue, à l'aide du suffixe *-isk, -eis, -ois, -ais.*" Meyer-Lübke (*Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 4119) and Sheldon (*Webster's Dictionary*, 1910) give a qualified approval to Baist's more recent suggestion that the source was Norse *Herr+nest* 'viaticum'; cf. *vegnest, farnest*, 'Wegvorrat' 'Fahrtvorrat,' with contamination of suffix.[1]

The O. Fr. forms, aside from the variation *her-, har-*, are three: *hernas, hernès, herneis*. The verb *(a)herneschier, hernaschier*, and other derivatives show the same alternation of vowel.[2] With *nëst* it is impossible to explain these frequent forms in *-nas*; the mediaeval Pic. texts show rather consistently *harnas* (Philippe Mousket, Adam de la Hale, *Aiol*), so in Dutch (see *Romania*, XXX, 100) and Wallonian, but never Pic. **harniés*,[3] as we might expect if we were dealing with the vowel of *nësan*.

In a discussion of these difficulties with my colleague F. A. Wood, he proposed as second element of the compound G. **nast*, pl. **nesti*, 'strap,' 'band,' a ground-form inferred by Grimm from mod. G. *Nestel*. Ital. *nastro* 'ribbon,' O. Pr. *nala*, and O. Fr. *nasliere*, the last recently established by A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XXXIX,

[1] *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXII (1908), 38. From "germ. ou celt. **harnask*, d'où aussi **harnisk*," was proposed by A. Wallensköld, *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, p. 147.

[2] Preserved, here and there, to the present day; see *Atlas linguistique*, carte no. 684.

[3] Cf. *viés-toi*, Ph. Mousket's *Chronique*, 24102, from Lat. *vesti*.

239) are important derivations from the same source; see also the next article, II. *lanière*. The original meaning of *heri-nast, heri-nesti* would be 'army-strap(s),' 'army-band(s),' whence 'army-gear' of all kinds, 'gear' in general, 'equipment.' The declensions from which resulted the three indeclinables *hernas, hernès, herneis*, may be reconstructed as follows:

I. Sg. nom. *hernast-s* > *hernaz*, Pic. *hernas*
obl. *hernas(t)*

Remarkably enough, the last form is preserved in Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, p. 211, V.L.: *des chevaulx et du harnast*, unless this is a new formation from nom. *harnas*, on the analogy of *mas*, obl. *mast*.

II. The Pl., used as such and as a collective Sg.:
nom. *hernesti* > *hernes(t)*
obl. *hernest-s* > *hernez*, Pic. *hernès*

So *hernès* (: *lais*), *G. de Dole*, 2616;[1] (: *fres*) *Escoufle*, 1587.

III. From II, on the analogy of pairs like *freis-fres, Tieis-Tiès, Angleis-Anglès* :
nom. *herneis*, Troie, 7812; later *hernois*
obl. *herneis*, Eliduc, 259; later *hernois*.

I note also the new-made obl. *harnoi* (: *palefroi*) in *Partonopeus de Blois*, 5544, and elsewhere.

Obviously the vowel of **nesti* supplies the O. Fr. *ĕ* which is needed to explain the early confusion with the G. suffix *-isk* > *-eis* and *-es*; *nēsan*, on the other hand, would have furnished *è* (or *ie*) in O. Fr. It is evident that the word belonged originally to the Pic. region; when it appeared in Normanno-Angevin French (Gaimar, Wace, Benoît, Marie de France), it was in the new form *her-, harneis*, and its subsequent history is not different from that of other substantives in *-ois, -ais*.

[1] The form *harnoès* (: *oès* <*opus*), *G. de Dole*, 2004, is not a phonetic spelling, but is due rather to the desire to rime for the eye; so 5377 *oisiaus* is written for *oiseus* to rime with *ciaus* (error here for *ceus*). Another striking instance is *palois* (ϕ *palès*) *Partonopeus de Blois*, I, 55, 58, due to the rime-word *dois*; so also a scribe was capable of writing *Lanceloit* when the Impf. 3 ending shifted from *-ot* to *-oit* (*Fergus*, 146, 12). Meyer-Lübke's doubts whether the spelling *harnoès* is in any way phonetically significant (*Hist. Franz. Gram.*, I, § 55) are therefore well founded. Other rimes of *oe* : *e* in *G. de Dole* are *voel* : *escucel* 3149, *avoeques* : *arcevesques* 4987, not to mention the frequent *soen* : *sen* 597, etc. As to *esloint* (: *maint*<*manet*) 4193, Matzke speaks of *esloint* as an early isolated instance of *oi*>*oè*, but he did not insist very strongly upon this interpretation. In view of all the facts it seems preferable to explain it as *eslueint*, cf. Eng. *quaint* for *queint*, and Pic. *engien* for *engin* (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXI [1906], 655).

II. Fr. *lanière*, Eng. *lanyard*

O. Fr. *lasniere*, 'strap,' 'thong,' seems to have issued from O. Fr. *nasliere*, 'cordon'>G. **nastila*+*-aria*[1] by reciprocal metathesis, *n . . l* passing to *l . . n*, as **alenare* for Lat. *anhelare*,[2] *quelogne* (Villon) for *quenoille*, O. Fr. *celenier*, G. *Kellner*, as compared with O. Fr. *cenelier*, both originally from *cellararius*.[3] The opposite change in Sp. *cantinela* from *cantilena*, *guirnalda* from *guirlanda*. Dissimilation of *n . . n*, in the combination *une nasliere*>*une lasniere* was possibly not without influence upon the transposition of the consonants.

III. Fr. *cocu*, Eng. *cuckold*

Before entering upon a discussion of the derivation, I offer some considerations as to the cause of the ancient association of this bird with a husband whose wife is unchaste.

The dictionaries continue to explain that the cuckoo is known to lay its egg in another bird's nest. This is the time-honored explanation, but upon examination the reasoning involved appears somewhat confused. If the female cuckoo deposits her egg in a song-sparrow's nest, the injured party is certainly the song-sparrow, and not the male cuckoo; the latter, we imagine, consents to the trick and is not in the least to be commiserated; quite the contrary, for he escapes the labor of nest-building and the care of the fledgling. Nor does the logical hitch disappear if, with others, we twist the statement and allege that the *cocu* "causes another man to raise his children," for it is the essence of cuckoldom that the husband is *ridicoculisé* (to use Rostand's amusing word) against his will. The *Dict. gén.* explains: "la femelle du coucou va dans le nid d'autres oiseaux." While this formulation approaches nearer the truth, it does not, I believe, quite hit the mark. What is needed is the bird in the rôle of the unwilling husband of a voluntarily adulterous wife, the husband being justly an object of ridicule because of stupidity or weakness.[4]

[1] A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIX (1910), 239.

[2] A. Thomas, *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 276, adduces additional proof of this metathesis.

[3] G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 142.

[4] Diez, with his usual lucidity, perceived the difficulty and questioned: "gab man dem betrogenen ehemann *per antiphrasin* den namen des vogels, der seine eier in fremde nester legt?" Dr. Johnson easily explained that 'cuckoo' was transferred from the adulterer to the husband "by mistake." The solution proposed by Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France*, II, 89, is similar and equally confused.

The male cuckoos, we learn from various sources, live apart: during the mating season each occupies a sort of district or *canton;* the female, on the contrary, frequents a larger region, passing from one *canton* to another, and, says one of our informants, "y fait choix d'un mâle avec lequel elle s'accouple. Aussitôt qu'elle a pondu le fruit de cet accouplement, elle va chercher un nouveau mâle pour l'abandonner bientôt comme le premier." And further: "Prévost prétend que l'accouplement est souvent répété trente fois et davantage dans le même jour; mais cet excès dure peu, et dès le troisième jour les deux amis commencent à se négliger, la femelle quitte son privilégié de la veille pour en choisir un nouveau."[1] Here the male cuckoo appears in quite a different rôle: he is now the neglected former mate of a shameless female. May we not be reminded at this point that the folk-mind is generally keen and accurate in observation? During long generations, spring after spring, sharp eyes have noted the loose mating habits of the female cuckoo, and the indifference or cowardice of the male; hence he became, in the mind of the countryman, the cuckold *par excellence.* This explanation receives strong confirmation from the well-known fact that Lat. *cuculus,* like G. *Gauch* and Pr. *cogotz,* is applied at times to the adulterer. Littré cites Du Verdier: "Non seulement *ceux qui abusent des femmes d'autrui,* mais aussi les maris abusés *sont appelés cocus.*" Similarly a G. couplet, quoted by Sardinha: Der Kukuk ist ein braver Mann / Der sieben Frauen halten kann.

The fact appears to be that the original framer of what has hitherto been the received explanation hit upon what is perhaps the most peculiar habit of the cuckoo, that of not raising its own young, and overlooked another marked peculiarity, the conspicuous infidelity of the amorous female. The latter habit, it must be admitted, was far more likely to arrest the attention of the *vilain,* who, while he was certainly a keen observer, could not be expected to investigate with the thoroughness of an ornithologist.

Unlike the editors of the *Dict. gén.* and of the *New Eng. Dict.,* I can find no serious obstacle to Diez' derivation of Fr. *cocu* from Lat. *cŭcūlus.* The *cuku* (or *cuccu*) of MS Y of the *Fables* of Marie de France (Fable xlvi) is *ϕ cọcu,* the loss of *-l* being due either to the

[1] Manoel da Silva Sardinha, *De Cuculo Canoro,* Diss. Zool., Bonn. 1877, pp. 11, 13.

nom. *cocus*, which in turn is quite regular: cf. nom. *cus*, obl. *cul* and *cu*<Lat. *cūlus*,[1] or the final consonant may have been dropped to make the word more perfectly echoic, for, as Meyer-Lübke very truly says, "die Schallnachahmung spielt gerade hier eine grosse Rolle." The normal development in mod. Fr. would have been *coucu*, instanced by Thurot (I, 263) but rare. E. Deschamps (I, 206; III, 296) has the form *cucu* (*ϕ cücü*) due to assimilation of the first syllable to the second, while in mod. Fr. *coucou* the second has been assimilated to the first.[2]

The persistence of Lat. *ū* as *ü* in Fr. *cocu*, *cucu*, Pr. *cogul*, and the existence of the forms in *-l*, speak strongly in favor of the derivation from Lat. *cŭcūlus;* there remains the "irregular" pretonic vowel (*o* instead of *ou*). This has been attributed to the provençal forms, to the influence of *coquin*, *coquart* (*Dict. gén.*)and to association with *coq* (Brinkmann; cf. G. *Hahnrei*). We have, however, in mod. Fr. a group of similar unexplained exceptions, among which are such common words as *corvée*, *ortie*, *forest*, *soleil*, and we are bound to ask whether *cocu* may not also be assigned to this group.

Examining the rich material collected by Thurot,[3] we find that with *ū* in tonic position and pretonic *o* in open syllable, there has been in Middle French an unmistakable hesitation between *o* and *ou: molue* (or *morue*, Et. Boileaue) and *moulue* (R. Estienne); *golu* and *goulu*, *encolure* and *encoulure*. Also with *i* in the tonic:

[1] Godefroy has an example of the shortened form (*cu*) from the fifteenth century. Nyrop cites one from the sixteenth (Montaiglon-Rothschild collection, V, 256) but the form is probably much older. In *nul*<Lat. *nullu*, final *-l* has been more resistant, but here we are dealing with *ll*, and there is besides the fem. O. Fr. *nule*. I have however noted the pun : *Nu(l) comme un ver*, in a modern cartoon.

[2] The *Atlas linguistique* (B 1520) shows (1) some instances of *coucu;* (2) that at present the tonic *-cu* has been replaced by *-cou* over the whole North; (3) *cȯcū* is found in a broad zone which extends east and west (Depts. Creuse, Ain, Haute-Saône). That *-cu* formerly existed also in the North is proved sufficiently by the rimes *cuccu* : *fu*, Marie de France; *cucus* : *plus* : *salu*, Eustache Deschamps, as cited above, and others entered by Godefroy. Other variants are *coquou* (R. Estienne, *Thes.*), *coqueu* (Palsgrave) the latter also in the place-name *Chantecoqueu* (see P. Skok, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXII [1908], 557). *Coqueu* represents a type with the suffix *-ŏlus* : nom. *coqueus*, obl. *coquel* (cf. Godefroy, II, 400, who in error prints *cuknel*); in another North French territory we should have from the same source an obl. *couquiol* (as *diolt*<Lat. *dolet*) often attested. In Anglo-Norman, the reduction of *ue* to *o*, as in *aiol*, *bercol*, *fillol*, *dol* (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 78) would result in a form *coucol*, *cucol*, which may have given us *cuckold*, with excrescent *-d*, or by folk-etymology (*old*) or by crossing with the forms in *-alt*. One of the Pr. forms, *cogül*, is discussed by Meyer-Lübke, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, II, 386.

[3] *De la Prononciation française*, I, 252–66.

polie and *poulie*, *soris* and *souris*, *norrir* and *nourrir;* with other high-front vowels: *rosée* and *rousée*, *solier* and *soulier*, *soleil* and *souleil* (E. Deschamps); *gosier* and *gousier*, and many others. The case of *moulue* and *coucu* differs, however, from the others in that both vowels are strongly rounded, and the preference for *morue*, *cocu* is to be explained as a dissimilation by partial unrounding which at the same time relieved somewhat the difficult tongue-shift from *ou* to *ü*.[1]

IV. Fr. *contretemps*

A. Darmesteter explained *entretemps* and *contretemps* as compounds of *contre* and *temps*, *entre* and *temps*.[2] Nothing apparently could be more obvious, yet there is good reason to suppose an entirely different origin for both these words.

As to *contretemps*, 'untoward accident, or opposition,' Bouhours (1671) speaks of it as "un terme assez nouveau" (*Dict. gén.*); *contrattempo* is also of late appearance in Italian. The expressions *agir*, *faire*, and especially *aller à contretemps* suggest the O. Fr. participle and gerundive *contrestant*, 'opposing,' later *contretant*, appearing oftenest in the adv., conj., and prep., *non contretant* (*que*). For the erroneous spelling there is a close parallel in *entretant*, not seldom written *entretemps* in Froissart (see *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VII, 18); cf. also *je attemps* for *j'attends*, *je antemps*, *estre contemps* in the letters of Catherine de Médicis (III, 145, 253; VII, 297). The *Dict. gén.* explains Fr. *entretemps* as "altération par fausse étymologie" of O. Fr. *entretant* (<*inter tantum*) 'meanwhile.' Thus in Mme. de Sévigné's *tout est à craindre dans cet entretemps*, the adverb has become a substantive, offering us a close parallel to *contretemps*.

[1] Extremely interesting is T. Corneille's characterization of the pronunciation *norrir*, *norrice* for *nourrir*, *nourrice* as "une prononciation trop délicate" "affectée par la pluspart des femmes." (Thurot, *op. cit.*, I, 254). Have we here facts which might serve as basis to a theory of vowel-harmony in French, already hinted at by Jespersen and Rousselot? However that may be, certain it is that statements like that of Schwan-Behrens (8th ed., §§ 91, 95) are too systematic. To explain *o* in *soleil* as etymological reaction, for example, is beside the mark: such an explanation, considering that no word could be more of a folk-word than this, is incredible. Nothing is gained by elaborating fixed rules where what is classed as "irregular" is as important as the "regular." Even for pedagogical purposes, as Meyer-Lübke has recently emphasized (*Hist. Frz. Grammatik*, Vorwort, p. x) too much is lost if the exceptions to rules and laws are hidden away or their importance minimized.

[2] *Traité de la Formation des mots composés dans la langue française*, 1874.

While *contrester* is an ancient Romance verb, of frequent use in the older periods of French (Crestien, Garnier, Jean de Meun, Gilles li Muisis) thus far I have not succeeded in finding the needed instance of *aler*, or *venir*, with *a contrestant*. It is suprising that neither Stimming[1] nor Pfeiffer[2] quotes instances of *aller a*, *venir a*, with the ger. in *-ant*, although indications are not wanting that this formula had a wide use in pre-literary French.[3] Bourciez[4] quotes "a. fr. *aler à chevauchant*," without however citing a passage in proof. *Conq. de Jérusalem*, 1213: *estes vos lor a tant, De la grant tor David .iii. oiselés volant, Par desor le pomel aloient a roant; ibid.*, 6870: *la vienent a hiant* seem to be genuine instances, as only the simple verbs *roër, hiër* are known elsewhere. But to approach the subject in this way would be to confine ourselves to too narrow a view; the epics of the thirteenth century represent rather the close of a period of evolution in the uses of the gerundive. A juster method of approach would be to inquire whether the frequent variation *vait tarjant . . . . vait atarjant; dont plus li vait pesant* (*Conq. de Jér.*, 3912) compared with: *Cum me vas apesant* (*Ch. de Willalme*, 729); *La compaigne Richart alout tuz tens creissant* (*Rou*, II, 4091) compared with *La gent nostre Seigneur va tousjours acroissant* (*Ch. d'Antioche*, II, 267) may not have its origin in twin formulae *vait tarjant . . . . vait à tarjant, aler baiant . . . . aler à baiant, venir volant . . . . venir à volant*, etc. Châteaubriand used *aller croissant*, Zola *aller en croissant* (Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 35); a similar liberty may have been exercised with *à* in the oldest periods of French, a situation which would favor the appearance of the numerous pairs like *peser . . . . apeser, tapir . . . . atapir, rengier . . . . arengier*, etc.

V. O. Fr. *hanse*, 'tax,' 'dues'

In the glossary to the romance of *Guillaume de Dole, ense*, which occurs vs. 1899: *Bien avez hui paié vostre ense* (: *porpense*) is entered as a "*mot altéré.*" Mussafia, however, was inclined to hold fast to the MS reading: "so werden wir in *ense* ein bisher meines Wissens nicht nachgewiesenes Wort erkennen."[5] This judgment is only

[1] *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, X (1896), 526 ff.

[2] *Umschreibung des Verbums im Französischen durch aller, venir + Gerundium*, Göttingen Diss., 1909.

[3] Tobler, *Beiträge*, I, 45. [4] *Eléments de Linguistique romane*, p. 387.

[5] *Zur Kritik u. Interpretation roman. Texte*, III, 13, n.; *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, CXXXVI.

partially correct, for every consideration points toward identification of *ense*, as a Pic. spelling, with *hanse* as used by Gautier de Coinci (cited by Godefroy *s.v.*): *Ou feu d'enfer, tot main a main, Lor covendra paier la hanse.* Godefroy also enters *hanse* as signifying, at Rouen, "certains droits sur les marchandises venant par l'eau," with which agrees mod. Dutch *hanze.* In this sense too is the proverb in Leroux de Lincy's collection (II, p. 76): *Au soir danse Qui matin hanse.*

It is uncertain whether the author of *G. de Dole* pronounced *ense* or *anse*, for he occasionally rimed *en* : *an*, as *gens* : *sachanz* 1992; so 2218, 3008, 4356. At any rate, cases of Pic. substitution of *en* for *an* are well known (see Suchier, *Aucassin u. Nicolete*[5], p. 73). The non-appearance of G. *h-* has been noticed more than once in Pic. texts and made the subject of comment.[1] It can hardly be accident that the same hesitation is met with in Flemish texts of about the same period: *ane* (Hahn) *ant* (Hant) *out* (Holz).[2] Similarly Lübben's *MND Grammar*, § 44, cites *ansestat* for *hansestat.* The form without *h-* is therefore attested. At the same time, it is not impossible after all that we should read here *vo hanse*, for the *Escoufle* romance, very probably written by the author of *G. de Dole*, uses both forms: *vostre fille* 2163, and, a few lines below: *Vo fille avra le roi de France.* In either case, the identity of *ense* with G. *hanse* cannot be doubted.

VI. O. Fr. *enor*, 'ear-ring'

In a review of the new *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, A. Thomas (see *Romania*, XLI [1912], 459) asks for instances of this rare word, from Lat. *inauris.* In the versified *Eructavit*, which I have attributed to Adam de Perseigne, the poet expands vss. 14–15 (*Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis, circumamicta varietatibus*) as follows: *El cuer sont les frengetes d'or, Li treceör et li anor, Li joël, li tissu de soie Que la pucele li anvoie.*[3] Godefroy (IV, 491, *s.v. honor*) furnishes us with another example, from the thirteenth century, which he erroneously defines: 'les marques, les attributs de la dignité.' This passage reads: *Laiens erent lor femes,*

[1] Scheler, *Dict.*, *s.v. hanter*; Foerster in the glossary to *Aiol*; Helfenbein, *Die Sprache des Trouveres Adam de la Hale* (1911), § 73.

[2] J. Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*, 1910, § 115, 3, p. 100. I am indebted for these references to Mr. R. M. Ihrig.

[3] Vss. 1673 ff. See also the note, p. 103.

qui moult ont gens les cors, Vestues de diaspre, de cendaus et d'anors.[1] It is impossible not to recognize here Lat. *inauris*, so frequent in the Vulgate and elsewhere in the meaning of 'ear-ring.' The only difficulty is the change of gender, but because of the absolute lack of fems. in *-ôr* in O. Fr., the word appears to have been associated at an early date with the mascs. *or*, *tor*<*taurum*, *tresor*.

VII. O. Fr. *desnir*, 'grow old'

Manuscript A of the poem *Eructavit* (*Bib. Nat.*, f.f. 2094), which, as I have shown some reason to believe, was written in the region of Mâcon,[2] is alone in preserving a Ps. Sbj. 3 *desnisse* which requires an infinitive *desnir*, otherwise unknown. In paradise, says the poet—

Ja li hom n'avra mestier Ne de boivre ne de mangier, Qu'el cors n'avra rien qui desnisse, Qui dechiée ne qui blesmisse.

The meaning and form fit remarkably well with Lat. *desenēre*, or *desenescere*, a compound used once by Sallust and attested by Priscian (*Inst.*, X, 20). Sallust also uses *corpus senectum*, very much as in O. Fr. one might speak of *un cors desni*. The derivation *desnir*<**desenire*, for *dęsenēre*, *desenescēre*, is parallel to *florir*<**florire*, for *florēre*, *florescere*. That *senescere* and *desenescere* could not have differed essentially in meaning is shown by Woelfflin, *Philologus*, XXXIV, 159.

VIII. O. Fr. *feire*, Lat. *foria*

Great interest attaches to the discovery by Mr. J. C. Fox[3] that a noble dame Marie, who possibly was Marie de France, was abbess of Shaftesbury during the years 1181–1216. This lady Marie, it appears, was an illegitimate daughter of Geofroi V, Count of Anjou (†1151) hence half-sister of Henry II, and aunt of King John. The mother of at least one of the illegitimate children of Geofroi was "a lady of Maine."

If the abbess of Shaftesbury was really the poetess whose verses, in the time of Denis Pyramus as now,

suelent as dames plaire
E si les funt suvent retraire,

we should be justified in looking closely at her language for evidence of an Angevin environment, and certain rimes, rejected as spurious

[1] From *Les Chétifs*, ed. Hippeau, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, II, 265.

[2] See my edition of the *Eructavit*, pp. xxxv and 104–5.

[3] *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 303; XXVI, 317.

by Warnke, might take on a new significance. Thus *espleit: fait*, El. 223 (cf. 337) thrown out by Warnke, is a rime very common in the contemporary *Partonopeus de Blois*, which, from trustworthy indications, belongs in the Loire valley, possibly in the region of the Sarthe.[1]

The object of this note, however, is to attempt an explanation of the puzzling rime *foire* : *paire* (<*pareat*), *Fables*, p. 265. Has this any significance?

From Lat. *fŏria* we should expect, in preliterary times, **fueire*. When we find in Anglo-Norman *foire*, this *oi* is not necessarily to be taken as evidence of *ō* in Lat. *foria*;[2] it may also be the A.-N. representative of the triphthong, as the well-known forms *oi* (hodie), *noit*, *voide* in the Oxford *Roland*, the name *Maldoit* in Domesday Book, and *koyce* (<*coxa*) in Lydgate. On the continent, the *Roman de Troie* 20163 shows *feire*, with the variant (6 MSS) *fere*. What seems to be the same word, used as an exclamation, occurs in the *Sermons* of Maurice de Sully (Boucherie, Niort ed., p. 221): "E quant vint a l'oicten jor si demanderent a la mere coment il [*read* el ?] vodreit que sis filz oguist non, e ele lor repondit qu'il aureit non Johanz. Feire! firent il, mes en tot ton parenté n'a homme de cest non." The reduction **fueire* to *feire*, *fere*, might be expected after labial: there were parallels in the ancient **fueus*>*feus* (<*focus*), in *ferre* for *fuerre*, G. *fôdr*, as Rou, III, 2179 (C), and recently demonstrated for Villon by Meyer-Lübke (*Frz. Hist. Gram.*, I, § 98). Not perhaps strictly dependent upon labial are *meire*, *mere* (*mŏriat) *Livre des Manieres*, 939, 620, *deire* (dŏcere) 424; *trée* (Fr. *truie*), Str. CCXXXI, *b*, with which coincide the mod. place-names *Mée*, *Mées*<*Mŏdia* (elsewhere *Muid*, *Muids*) cited by Östberg[3] from the Departments

[1] As to *Partonopeus*, both Gröber and Foerster came to a different conclusion. The latter seems to have entirely overlooked the rimes of the type *deis* (discus): *palais*, I, 58, 141; II, 82; *queis* (quietus): *palais*, II, 3; *maneis* : *bellais*, II, 25; *deis* (*ditus ?) : *tu vais*, I, 117. The conclusion is unavoidable that we have in these rimes a point of agreement with the language of Fantosme (see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 92) and that of Angier, whatever divergences on other points may exist in the language of these authors. Gröber labeled the poem "pikard," and elsewhere explained the rime *deis* : *palais* as "suddialektisch"; see Van Look's dissertation, 1881, *Der Partonopier Konrads v. Wurzburg*, p. 2. Foerster's opinion is stated, somewhat over-positively, *Literaturblatt f. Germ. u. Rom. Phil.*, XXIII (1902), coll. 28–29.

[2] A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXI, 490; Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. etym. Wörterbuch*, 3438. The possibility of contamination with *fētor*, *fētere* might be considered.

[3] *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées . . . . dans quelques noms de lieux de la France du Nord* (1899), p. 88.

Eure-et-Loir, Mayenne, Manche, Sarthe, and Ille-et-Vilaine; further *quère* (*cŏcere) and *nère* (nŏcere) instanced by Joret (*Mélanges*, pp. xxviii, 51) from the neighborhood of Mortain and Avranches. One may add *anét* for O. Fr. *anuit*, which today has all but disappeared, the extreme end of the Loire valley still offering a few cases: see *Atlas linguistique*, carte 72, *aujourd'hui*.

Both Marie and the author of *Partonopeus*, it is true, show the rime *enui* : *lui*, and while this undoubtedly should stand as an integral feature of their literary language, there is no need to exclude the possibility that in the rime *feire* : *paire* Marie may have admitted a bit of western, or southwestern, dialect.

IX. O. Fr. *Escalibor*

In giving the history of the name of Arthur's sword, the *NED* does not touch upon the matter of the variation *Calibor* . . . . *Escalibor*. Some instances of an apparently removable O. Fr. prefix *es-* may be of interest, especially if cases can be found where this *es-* is added to proper names.[1]

To deal mainly with substantives: Vergil's *pirus edura* represents a use of *ex-* which reappears later in ecclesiastical Latin: *exapertus* (Augustine), *exorativum* (Cassiodorus); it is no doubt this use which Rustebuef intends to imitate in: *Or prions au roi glorieus, Qui par son sanc esprecieus, Nos osta de destruction.*[2] So in the *Miracles nostre Dame* of Jean le Marchant : *Illeques sera, sans dotance, Escoronée vostre esperance.*[3] Ambrose spoke of Samson as *calvatus* : Raimbaut de Vaqueiras allows his Genoese lady to describe him as *escalvado*. From these a transition to proper names may seem difficult, but the needed intermediary is found in the existence of doublets like *Estiennot* . . . . *Thiénot, Esmaragdus* . . . . *Maragdus*,[4] in which *es-* has of course a different origin. Certain it is

[1] Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, I², 440, groups together a number instances of "*é-* parasite" (none of them proper names); the prefix in these instances is, however, of diverse origins, and these should be distinguished. Behrens (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 407) explains some cases due to mis-division of the definite article, and calls for a more thorough investigation of the matter.

[2] *Complainte du Conte de Nevers*, 170 (ed. Kressner, p. 89). This instance was first noticed by Du Méril, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et de Littérature*, p. 389, n.

[3] Ed. Duplessis, p. 220.

[4] Manitius, *Geschichte d. Lat. Litt. d. Mittelalters*, 1911, p. 462, notes as variants of the name of Smaragdus de St. Mihiel: *Exmaredus, Maragdus, Maradus*.

that an important group of these doublets have clerical associations, cf. *espurgatoire, esdiluvi* 'Deluge' (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*), *escarboucle.* Here, I believe, belong the following: *St. Espoint* for *St. Point* (E. Deschamps, IX, 100); *St. Esblant* for *St. Blanc* (*Roman de Renard,* X, 1517, var.); *sainte Escrestine* (ed. *Estrestine*) for *Ste. Christine* (*Folie Tristan* of Berne, 261, where the editor sees a saint "probablement fantastique"); *mont Escalvaire* (*Coronement Looïs* 761, *Eructavit* 442), which, after the silencing of *s*+cons., appears as *monte Calvaire* (*Conq. de Jérus.* 864, *Chanson de Roland* 3600, var. in C and V⁷) parallel to *monte Syon,* which is frequent in the translation of the *Maccabees,* and which Goerlich explained (*Roman. Bib.,* II, 99) as a reduction of *mont de Syon.* Goerlich's theory can hardly be correct, for from such a group we should expect *monde* rather than *monte,* as we do in fact have in Balzac's *monde piété* (*Le Cousin Pons*).

In the addition of *es-* a certain "heightening" effect is sought, leading in some cases toward the heroic. A mock-heroic effect seems intended in many of the remarkable names of Saracens listed in Langlois' useful *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste,* so also in *Espandragon* (*Girart de Rossillon* 150) and *Estrubert,* hero of the fabliau *Trubert.*[1] In this composition we have the best example I have met of the removable prefix: *Es-* is added or not *ad libitum.* Thus: *Et dit Trubert* : *Se Dieus m'ament* (258); *Dit Estrubert* : *Ce lo je bien* (560, cf. 357, 551, etc.). To change *Calibor* to *Escalibor* was, from all these analogies, to increase slightly the dignity of the name—to impart to it a shade of the heroic; and this was the work of clerical hands.

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[1] Ed. Ulrich, 1904, *Gesell. f. Rom. Litt.,* Band 4.

THE BEARING ON DRAMATIC SEQUENCE OF THE VARIA IN *RICHARD THE THIRD* AND *KING LEAR*

In studying the larger problem of substitutes for causal sequence in the drama as a whole and in tragedy in particular, I was led to examine Shakespeare's plays with special reference to the question of what bearing the quarto-folio varia might have on dramatic sequence. Naturally, I started with *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* because the plot of *King Lear* is by far the weakest of any of the great tragedies, and because two of the most famous varia in *Richard the Third* are concerned with cruces in dramatic probability. In presenting the evidence that in some of the plays there is a definite relation between the varia and dramatic sequence, I am therefore confining myself to these two plays. For although this would naturally be one of the purposes kept in mind in case Shakespeare did revise any of his plays, yet it will be most evident, if it is evident at all, in the varia of those plays in which the plots are weak.

In the folio version of *Richard the Third* the principal changes that bear on dramatic sequence are necessarily additions to the quarto, for of the total varia of 257 lines only 39 quarto lines are omitted in the folio. On the other hand, many of the varia in *King Lear* that have an evident relation to this principle are found in the 275 quarto lines which the folio omits. The methods of securing dramatic sequence in the two plays are not, however, essentially dissimilar, but arise out of the general nature of Shakespeare's treatment of plot before and after what are generally called the plays of the second period, extending in general from the *Merchant of Venice* in 1596 to *Twelfth Night* and *All's Well* in 1601–2.

So far as the extent of the varia are concerned, an arbitrary basis of comparison might be readily established by taking *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *All's Well That Ends Well* as dividing into two groups the plays with quarto editions. For these three plays have no quarto editions, and all plays generally considered as preceding them in which there are a dozen lines of full-line varia have more lines in the folio than they have in the quarto, while

in the two great plays written afterward which have quartos published before Shakespeare's death, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, the folio omits more lines than it adds.

All five comedies which have quarto editions belong to this earlier group. *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, the *Merchant of Venice*, and *Much Ado about Nothing* have not, taken all together, twenty lines of full-line varia; but the *Merry Wives of Windsor* had not only been freely added to but in parts rewritten before it reached the folio.

Of the other plays generally considered as written previous to 1600, the quarto of the *First Part of Henry the Fourth* is essentially the same as the folio, and so far as full-line varia are concerned the great and most puzzling differences in *Romeo and Juliet* are those between Q_1 and Q_2, both published before 1600. *Titus Andronicus*, however, has 80 more lines in the folio than in the quarto, *Richard the Third* has 140, the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth* has 160, and the quarto of *Henry the Fifth* is so incomplete that the Cambridge editors do not mark its omissions. *Richard the Second*, moreover, is only a seeming exception, for though the folio omits 45 lines of the earlier quartos, yet the 165 lines of the abdication scene, published first in the quarto of 1608 and well within the time of the second group, more than offset the seeming discrepancy.

To contrast with these earlier plays to which the folio adds more lines than it omits from the quarto version, we have only two of the later plays of which there were quarto editions published before Shakespeare's death and in which the full-line varia are so numerous as to afford adequate contrast. In each of these two plays, however, there are over twice as many quarto lines omitted from the folio as there are new lines added. The folio of *Hamlet* contains nearly 100 new lines but it omits over 200, while the folio of *King Lear* omits 275 quarto lines and adds only 102.

Naturally, of course, before drawing any conclusions as to whether an explicit effort to secure better dramatic sequence had anything to do with causing the varia, it is necessary to give full credit to other explanations, and more particularly to those most commonly assigned by critics who insist that Shakespeare never revised any of his plays. This is especially necessary merely as a precaution,

since varia might have an evident bearing on dramatic sequence and yet have originated without any special reference to it. In fact it was only after having given due weight to evident and possible printers' errors, players' cuts, etc., and after having checked over the varia that these might explain and those that they could not explain, that I became convinced that there was a causal relation between the principle of dramatic sequence and the varia in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear*.

To understand in full the part dramatic sequence played in transforming the quarto versions into the folio versions, one needs to get rid of any general impressions gained from reading much loose comment as to how early Shakespeare attained to mastery of plot. To be sure, there is a constantly increasing skill in his professional manipulation of plot elements, but the enthusiasm which can see plot excellence in *Titus Andronicus* and the *Comedy of Errors* needs to be calmed by analysis until the impossibly bridged chasms in the *Merchant of Venice* are as evident as the diabolic dexterity of sheer chance in *Romeo and Juliet*. In fact so little important is the closely knit plot to the character of the plays previous to *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, that it is in no way conceivable how any one of them could either be patched up or remolded, even by Shakespeare, so that it would have unbroken causal sequence.

This is not in any sense a sweeping charge against the dramatic art of a score of Shakespeare's earlier plays. In many of them, especially in those where he was coming fully into his own, Shakespeare was dealing with themes that for the most part need no convincing causal sequence for their fairly adequate development. But after he had tried his master-hand, not only at plots that did require as perfect unbroken causal sequence as he could create, but also at others that taxed to the fullest his skill in supplying something equally convincing where causal connection was logically or dramatically impossible, surely he could have gone back over many of his plays and improved on their dramatic sequence.

To understand how much he could improve a play by revising it without in any sense rewriting it, and by making comparatively few changes, take the plays where the quarto-folio varia are over 200 but under 400 lines, *Richard the Third*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. Of the

plays that were published in quarto before he left London for Stratford surely these three would receive such attention at his hands if any did, and when they are carefully read with reference to the varia both of omission and insertion, they give at least some ground for the belief that at some time or other they did receive such revision. And of all the proof that they did receive such revision, the most evident and perhaps even the most convincing is the careful, consistent effort to improve the dramatic sequence in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear*.

In spite of the fact that *King Lear* was written in the same general period as *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, and *Richard the Third* so long before, the groundwork of the plot in both is essentially of the same character. In type of subject we should naturally class *King Lear* with *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, but the method of development is essentially the same as that of the historical plays. Of the close-knit causal sequence in *Macbeth*, and of the dramatic sequence in *Othello* and *Coriolanus*, which is so perfect as to be almost causal, *King Lear* has even less than *Richard the Third*. In fact in both *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* the plots are so clearly held together by dramatic sequence of the non-causal type that it is a fascinating study to see how Shakespeare made the sequence more perfect and convincing. His mastery of stagecraft is shown by the skill with which he inserts here a line and there a longer passage that would make the sequence more natural or more convincing, and it is no less evident in his adroit removal of whatever delayed the movement or too manifestly obtruded itself above the current of the plot.

The general groundwork of the plot of *King Lear* is essentially that of the historical plays, but ten years more of practice had greatly increased Shakespeare's skill in linking his incidents together convincingly, and fewer lines are added in the folio of *King Lear* than in the folio of *Richard the Third*. On the other hand, Shakespeare's skill in characterization and his delight in depicting inner conflict had grown until at times it positively got in the way of the plot. The number of lines Shakespeare found it necessary to sacrifice in order to improve the dramatic sequence is therefore far greater in *King Lear* than in *Richard the Third*. Yet the plan of revision is essentially the same in both plays, and so dominant is the effort to

improve both plays in this one particular that not only many of even the two- and three-line varia seem to have been introduced chiefly for this purpose but a surprising proportion of the one-line varia seem surely to have their origin in this alone.

In an article of reasonable length no attempt can be made to make and defend an inclusive list of all the varia which had their origin chiefly in an attempt to improve the dramatic sequence of the two plays. There is so much ground for difference of opinion over particular passages, especially over those varia which can be explained at least in part by other theories, that to attempt to force this theory to cover even all of the varia to which it has proper claim would be to obscure in controversy its real importance in the revision.

Naturally, however, one would expect to find most of the passages upholding the theory of revision for dramatic sequence among the varia of some length. As a matter of fact, all but one of the four-line varia (*Richard Third*, III, iv, 104–7) can be explained without appeal to this theory, and though many of the one-, two-, and three-line varia bear on dramatic sequence, yet if we disregard for the moment all of four lines and under, we have sharpened the outlines of our problem. There are, in fact, only 35 varia of over four lines each, though they amount to a total of 473 lines, and we can still further reduce the number of cases it is necessary to consider by grouping those varia that should be considered together, and by dropping from consideration those which have other equally valid explanations. For by so doing not only will the bearing of many of the longer varia on dramatic sequence be still more unmistakable, but we shall be in a position to test more intelligently the probable origin of many of the minor varia.

Of these 35 varia with a total of 473 lines, there are 25 which fall readily into two classes with reference to dramatic sequence. For most of the others, other explanations may seem more probable, and though all but two or three have at least some bearing on the problem of sequence, yet as in this respect they would need to be considered singly, and as they total only 88 lines, the true relation of the longer varia to dramatic sequence will perhaps stand out more clearly if we consider the 25 varia, with 385 lines, which can be readily considered in larger groups. For we shall have every reason to give

this principle due consideration in the explanation of quarto-folio changes if it can be shown that almost one-half of all the longer varia are omissions of lines which interfered with effective dramatic sequence, and that a fourth of all the longer varia are additions which supply new connections not found in the quarto or which improve upon the quarto in this respect.

To classify these 25 varia briefly as an aid to following the presentation of the chief evidence that *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* were revised with special reference to this principle, there are 14 of these longer varia which were in the quartos, but which the folios omit, which are here grouped together with reference to the effect their mere omission had on dramatic sequence. The remaining 11 will be considered with reference to the general problem of whether the longer varia found first in the folio were in the original version and were omitted in the quarto or whether they were introduced later in order either to provide new sequence or to strengthen the original sequence as found in the quarto.

Of these longer varia in which the sequence is aided by the omission of quarto lines there are three which may most conveniently be grouped as being at or near the end of scenes[1] (*Richard Third*, IV, ii, 103–20; *Lear*, III, vi, 97–101, 102–15; IV, vii, 86–98). Five are evident breaks in the current (*Lear*, III, i, 7–15; III, vi, 17–55; IV, i, 59–64; IV, iii, 1–55; V, iii, 204–21). And perhaps most convincing of all the omissions, there are four of these longer varia in which the quarto lines were omitted from the folio and by the omission of which old types of sequence in common use in the historical plays were discarded (*Lear*, III, vii, 98–106; IV, ii, 31–50; IV, ii, 52–59; IV, ii, 62–68).

Of the group of varia in which new sequence is introduced or old sequence strengthened there are five whose function is evidently a more explicit preparation for what follows (*Richard Third*, II, ii, 89–100; II, ii, 123–40; II, vii, 144–53; *Lear*, I, ii, 157–63; II, iv, 138–43). Two five-line varia in *King Lear* are produced by a change in motivation, as the folio inserts into Gloucester's dialogue with Edmund five lines the essence of which the quarto had had Edgar ridicule when Edmund spoke them (I, ii, 105–9; I, ii, 138–44).

[1] All line numbers refer to the Cambridge *Shakespeare*, and the line count is based on the Cambridge text.

Quite similarly two varia are produced when the folio (I, iv, 323–34) has Goneril explain to Albany instead of to her steward, as the quarto makes her in I, iii, 17–21, the pretended grounds upon which she treats her father as she does. And, finally, there are four varia which deal with cruces in probability (*Richard Third*, I, ii, 155–66; IV, iv, 228–342; *Lear*, III, i, 22–29; III, i, 30–42). In these four passages, in fact, the evidence in favor of explicit revision seems most conclusive, not only because of the passages themselves, but because in three of the four cases it is clear either that the revision was not completed or that the editors or printers failed to give us the completed text in the passages which include these varia.

In taking up these groups of varia and laying stress on their bearing on sequence I do not of course wish to insist that no varium included in this list has any other adequate explanation. Printers' errors and players' cuts are always with us, and in the case of particular varia many may prefer some other explanation of their origin than the one here suggested. But surely the evidence can be presented more fairly as well as more simply by disregarding for the moment other possible explanations of the origin of all varia which, whatever their origin, have an evident bearing on dramatic sequence. I have, however, placed first in the following discussion of each group those varia whose origin may be plausibly explained in some other way, and I have in each group given the final position to the varia which seem most unmistakably to have had their origin in an explicit effort to improve the dramatic sequence.

In considering the longer passages which are not found in the folio we must not be surprised to find that some passages of marked excellence have been omitted. Some of these passages are in fact so dramatic in themselves that even in the abridged modern acting editions they have been retained. If any such passage obstructs the current of the plot, however, without adding to its effectiveness later by the very fact of its temporary checking of the current, we can see how in an effort to improve the dramatic sequence a master in stagecraft would cut out even passages that had undoubted excellence.

In the three folio omissions grouped as coming at or near the end of scenes we have an excellent illustration of this principle. In *King*

Lear, IV, vii, 86, to the end of the scene, we have a passage which obstructs needlessly the current of the plot, and neither the touch of "dramatic confidence" in which the man talking to Kent assumes that Kent is in Germany nor the rhymed exit couplet given to Kent justifies its retention. Somewhat similar is the needless drawing-out of the end of scene vi, Act III, from line 97, though the first five lines cover the stage business of carrying out the sleeping Lear into the storm. In *Richard the Third*, IV, ii, 103–20, moreover, the folio omits one of the most striking passages of the play, a passage so excellent that one might well like to think, if he had not read the restoration versions, that no one but the genius who wrote it would have the insight to strike it out. Both Booth and Mansfield retain it, and no one can deny that the figure of the clock applied to Buckingham's persistent solicitation is dramatically forceful. Yet quite apart from the fact that dramatic sequence allows no place in the fourth act for introducing an 18-line variation merely to strike off an effective figure, Shakespeare's maturer study of character would not allow him to make the previously pictured, wary and resourceful Buckingham persist so crudely under evidently unpropitious circumstances merely because his doing so long enough would help strike off a figure of speech.

Of the five passages not found in the folio which I have grouped together tentatively as needless "breaks in the current," all five are in *King Lear*. Such cuts either have a direct bearing on sequence or must take that factor into consideration. In V, iii, 204–21, Edgar relates the meeting of Kent and Gloucester, but their mere meeting is wholly irrelevant to the plot. The whole of the third scene in the fourth act is likewise omitted in the folio because it destroys dramatic sequence: first, by explaining why the king of France has gone back to France, though we did not know he had been in England and though the "Marshal of France, Monsieur La Far," does not appear in the play in person; second, by *describing* Cordelia's grief in a way that forestalls and weakens the passage, IV, vii, where her grief is *presented;* and third, by thrusting into the play Kent's conflicting explanation of why Lear will not go to Cordelia.

Of the other three passages grouped with these two the five-line classification of the fiends Obidicut, Hobbididence, Mahu, Modo,

and Flibbertigibbet (IV, i, 59–64) is certainly "daubing it further" with a vengeance and is clearly an offense against probability as well as against mere sequence. In the same way in Act III (i, 7–15) not only is the directness and effectiveness of the gentleman's description of how he found the king added to by the folio omission of eight lines, but by too full *description* of Lear in the storm the quarto forestalls and weakens the actual *presentation* in the next scene. And, finally, the folio omission of the fifth passage in this group, III, vi, 17–55, can be adequately explained only by an appeal to dramatic sequence, as it is in itself dramatically effective. For the lines omitted contain the king's arraignment of Goneril and Regan, and the whole passage omitted offers stage possibilities that might well cause a stage manager to hesitate about cutting it out unless more than this mere passage were under consideration.

Charles Kean, the first notable actor to discard the comedy ending introduced by Tate and restore *King Lear* to the stage as a tragedy, retained this trial scene and that too though he condensed from 250 lines to 150 lines the including passage from III, iv, 37, to III, vi, 84, i.e., from the first appearance of "Poor Tom" to Lear's going to sleep. Edwin Booth also cut these 250 lines down to about the same amount as Kean, and he too kept the trial scene. Henry Irving likewise retained the trial, though like the folio he cut the speech of Edgar at the close of the sixth scene. All these, however, use a different scene division from that of the folio, and the omission in the folio may best be explained by considering the evident function of the folio scene in the plot scheme. For though the trial affords a dramatic situation, the quarto version keeps the scene from running as directly to its needful end as it does in the folio.

Many might prefer to group under this general head of passages omitted because they needlessly obstruct the plot current some or perhaps all of those here grouped as omitted because in the revision of *King Lear* certain types of foreshadowing were discarded as partaking too much of melodramatic declamation to produce the truest effect of tragedy. The length of the speeches in the bombastic interchange of personality by Albany and Goneril in Act IV might indeed be considered as needlessly interfering with the rapid development of plot. Occurring as they do in the same scene, however, and

so close together (IV, ii, 31–51, 53–59, 62–69), they were evidently intended in the quarto version not merely to furnish mouth-filling lines, but to foreshadow the bitterness of the conflict and to prepare for Albany's final stand. They are types of the old threat motivation, however, and the folio cuts out at least part of the melodramatic excesses ascribed to Albany. In fact, with all of Albany's imprecations one feels that he scarcely needs the letter Edgar brings him.

The fourth passage which illustrates the older type of motivation (III, vii, 98–106) occurs at the end of the scene in which Cornwall receives his death wound.

> I'll never care what wickedness I do
> If this man comes to good

is the old prophecy of evil by one of the actors, not to be confused with prophecies by supernatural beings or prophets. Its immediate fulfilment is supposed to prove that the same fulfilment will come to the prophecy implied in the lines:

> If she live long
> And in the end meet the old course of death
> Women will all turn monsters.

As would naturally be expected, many of the minor varia which consist of folio omissions of quarto lines have an evident bearing on sequence, but if the above eleven folio omissions in *King Lear* are taken one after another in the order in which they occur in the play, they form about as conclusive proofs of specific revisions as mere omissions could be expected to do. It is in the folio lines not found in the quartos, however, that we find most convincing evidence that Shakespeare revised *King Lear* with special reference to improving its dramatic sequence, and it is in the new folio lines that we find the evidence that *Richard the Third* was revised with the same special aim in view. For many new passages added in the folio version have a direct bearing on dramatic sequence, not only by strengthening old sequence or making it more probable, but by introducing sequence elements which are essentially or entirely new.

Of those passages not found in the quartos which seem to me to bear directly on sequence I have grouped together five which illustrate different types of preparation for what follows (*Richard Third,*

II, ii, 89–100; II, ii, 123–40; III, vii, 144–53; *Lear*, II, iv, 138–43; I, ii, 157–63). In the first two passages in *Richard the Third* the immediate bearing is on the stage business of the scene in which they occur. They help to balance the parties and set Dorset, Rivers, and the queen over against Richard and Buckingham. They show not only that the queen's party realize that their safety lies in the immediate crowning of the prince, but that they are sharply on their guard against any suggestion which may have in it the elements of delay in acknowledging his full rights. Here for most of the spectators, however, the bearing of these lines on the sequence probably ceases, though they plot out more explicitly than the quartos the trap into which Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey walked with eyes wide open.

In *Richard the Third*, III, vii, 144–53, and in *King Lear*, II, iv, 138–43, we have two passages evidently intended as preparation for what follows. The lines added in *King Lear* give a better sequence to the speeches between the king and Regan. Both Kean and Booth retain them in full, while Irving retains Lear's question and Regan's "I cannot think my sister in the least Would fail her obligation." Equally interesting, however, in their bearing on the revision of the play are the lines in *Richard the Third*, III, vii, 144–53, which seem evidently inserted to justify Richard's lengthy explanation to the mayor, through Buckingham. Personally I once favored the belief that these lines were in the play originally, and though omitted from the quarto because of a player's cut, had been restored in the folio. It cannot be denied, however, that when anything is revised with a special principle in mind there are always possibilities of attention being given to this specific thing where no change is really called for. In such cases it may sometimes happen that the evidence of insertion will betray itself, and this "scar" or "fault" seems plainly evident in the last three lines:

> Therefore to speak and to avoid the first
> And then in speaking not to incur the last
> Definitively thus I answer you.

Other varia, in fact, betray this same anxiety over the mechanics of transition and form in themselves not unworthy evidence that the sequence was being sharply, and perhaps at times too sharply,

looked after. Especially is this evident in the more or less mechanical endings supplied to various scenes whose sole object is clearly just to "oil the exits."

The fifth passage which I wish to suggest as evident preparation for what follows in the play is the passage in *King Lear* in which Edmund gives the key to his own room to Edgar and sends him thither (I, ii, 181–87). In the quarto no provision is made for Edmund controlling the specific actions of Edgar, but in the folio Edmund makes sure that Edgar will be where he can reach him to put his plot in execution. Booth's stage directions for the mock battle between Edmund and Edgar follow the folio suggestion of this private door and allow the quarto "Brother descend," which is retained in the folio, by having the meeting of Edmund and Edgar take place just outside the castle, the stage directions reading "*private* door L.U.E." In short, the lines inserted in the folio in one scene prepare explicitly for the carrying-out of a specific part of the plot in another, and here at least the folio change could have been brought about only by a plan of strengthening the sequence which took more than one scene at a time into consideration.

Specific effort to secure more convincing sequence in *King Lear* is also shown by the folio change of five lines in I, ii, from 128–44, where they are mere stage business, to 105–9, where they can play a part in motivation. The lines are not identical, in fact so far from it that the Cambridge editors insert both passages without remarking even on their similarity of ideas. Nor is it necessary in order to see the bearing of the lines inserted in Gloucester's speech in the folio to insist that the quarto lines of Edmund's speech inspired the folio lines given to Gloucester. So far as sequence is concerned, such lines on Edmund's lips, on the quarto's own evidence, merely moved Edgar to ridicule, and the folio revision therefore assigns all such lines to Gloucester, with whom what the eclipses portend are motivating forces. For to Gloucester, "This villain of mine comes under the prediction, there's son against father" finds startling conclusive corroboration in "the king falls from the bias of nature; there's father against child."

Two other varia are produced in somewhat similar fashion. In the quarto (I, iii, 17–21) Goneril explains to Oswald in vindictive

fashion her theory of governing her father, but the folio omits this explanation to Oswald and has Goneril use it, expanded and more speciously stated, in defending to Albany her actions toward her father.

In *Richard the Third* (I, ii, 155–66) the folio inserts twelve remarkable lines which have a marked bearing on sequence and which so far as I know no actor who follows Shakespeare's plot rather than Cibber's has ever cut out. The passage runs as follows, the brackets showing the new lines in the folio:

Glou.: Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.
Anne: Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!
Glou.: I would they were that I might die at once;
For now they kill me with a living death.
Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops;
[These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,
No, when my father Yorke and Edward wept,
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made
When black-faced Clifford shook his sword at him;
Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death,
And twenty times made pause to sob and weep
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
Like trees bedashed with rain; in that sad time
My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
Thy beauty hath and made them blind with weeping.]
I never sued to friend or enemy;
My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing words,
But, now thy beauty is proposed my fee,
My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.

The general attitude of those who insist that Shakespeare never revised *Richard the Third* is that these twelve lines were in the original, but that, as they were a player's cut, they were not printed in the quarto. Yet even if we are willing to grant that an Elizabethan player cut out by all odds the most striking lines in Richard's speech, we find it hard to believe that these lines once there would have been omitted. For when we examine all the dialogue between Richard and Anne we find that with the exception of his professed love

these twelve lines contain the only point of sympathy or possible point of contact between them. And the plea that "Shamed their aspects with store of childish drops" leaves the quarto sentence incomplete seems slight evidence, indeed, compared with the unlikelihood of the involved sentence structure of the disputed lines having found such splendid sweep of verse structure in its crude metrical setting before 1597.

So far as mere probability is concerned, the cruces in *Richard the Third* are undoubtedly the winning of Anne as she follows the corpse of King Henry and the winning-over[1] of Queen Elizabeth by Richard after he had caused the death of her sons. It would be strange indeed if the original play had contained the lines that more than anything else make these two things dramatically possible. For our only possible explanation would be that the players had cut the most effective lines, and not only lines effective in themselves but the very ones needed more than any others to make the scenes convincing.

Difficult, therefore, as it is to believe that the twelve lines beginning "These eyes that never shed remorseful tear" were cut out by the players, it is only because Shakespearean scholars of unquestioned standing have sanctioned the theory that one is able to see how the remarkable 55 lines in *Richard the Third*, IV, iv, 288–342, could by any possibility have been a player's cut. It is in fact at this point that the evidence is most convincing that there was an explicit revision of the play by Shakespeare himself. The passages are too long to quote here, but let anyone read the splendid lines from 288 to 336, then read the bickering from 343 to 417, and then try to imagine that players of Shakespeare's own time, with a keen sense for what makes difficult situations seem probable on a bare stage, could by any possibility have cut the former and retained the latter.

[1] This dramatic crux remains much the same, and the inferiority of the quarto is just as apparent, whether we assume that Richard really won over Queen Elizabeth or whether we hold that she merely feigned yielding to gain time and freedom for herself and Dorset (IV, v, 18) to plot against him. She must convince Richard that she yields, and that she does convince him is unmistakable from "Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman." Even if we grant that her yielding is mere pretense, the quarto still needs bolstering up, as no man of Richard's intelligence, even when blinded by success and desire, could be deceived by the quarto's unprepared yielding. Nor is the queer quarto-folio combination which uses all the lines of both more effective.

It is in connection with this problem and a similar textual problem in *King Lear* that the most striking coincidence in the varia in *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* becomes so apparent that once the attention is called to it each passage becomes a textual commentary on the other. The passages in *King Lear* referred to are in III, i, 22–29, and III, i, 30–42, the former not found in the quarto, the latter omitted in the folio. Both are printed in the Cambridge and yet show as clearly as the passages which form a similar crux in *Richard the Third* that they were not written as an integral whole.

Those who insist that *Richard the Third* was never revised have indeed offered two different explanations as to why the quarto does not contain the 55 lines that begin with Richard's "Say that I did all this for love of her" (IV, iv, 288). One explanation is that the cut was made by the corrector for the press who thought that this savored too much of the same way Richard had previously won Anne. The other explanation offered assumes that the stage manager made the cut to accelerate the action, and it is in support of this latter theory that Staunton asks, "Is it credible that so accomplished a master of stagecraft as Shakespeare, after witnessing the representation of *Richard Third*, would have added above eighty lines to the longest scene in the play?" But so far as I can find, no one who has held to the theory that the 55 lines under discussion were a part of the original play has attempted to justify the queer psychology of persuasion which the text as it stands in the Cambridge edition and in the folio would necessarily assume.

Unlike most other passages we have considered, this passage when examined merely with its own context proves itself of later origin by the incongruity of the 55 lines added in the folio being followed by all of the 75 quarto lines of bickering and punning of the most extreme Elizabethan type. This incongruity is not merely that a passage worthy of Shakespeare at his best is followed by one greatly inferior but that Richard's most convincing plea is followed by long passages of abuse and then by sudden unexplainable yielding.

I have been unable to find who first suggested what I believe is in the main the true explanation, that these 55 lines, which even Pickersgill admits are worthy of Shakespeare at his best, were inserted by Shakespeare to form a more convincing motivation for Elizabeth's

yielding *and that most, if not all, of the 75 quarto lines which the folio retains were struck out by Shakespeare but retained by the editors of the folio.* There can be no question but that the scene gains in directness and convincingness if we omit not only all these 75 lines of highly artificial quarto parrying but also the last six lines of those first found in the folio. Read in this way there is not only directness but sequence. The end of Richard's skilful presentation of what he has to offer to mother, son, and daughter reads:

> And when this arm of mine hath chastised
> The petty rebel, dull-brained Buckingham,
> Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
> And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
> To whom I will retail my conquest won,
> And she shall be sole victress, Caesar's Caesar.

Try following this with the almost perfect sequence if we omit the next 81 lines and read directly after Richard's promise:

> *Q. Eliz.:* Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?
> *K. Rich.:* Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Then try reading Richard's specious plea, written at Shakespeare's best, and follow it by 75 lines of puns and quibbles, retorts and parries, written very nearly at his artificial worst. The mere contrast of the two passages will cause doubt as to whether they were both written at the same time and the doubt will be heightened by the way the retention of the quarto lines bars any possible legitimate sequence. In fact, here surely we have a problem in dramatic structure which those who hold to the theory of one complete original version have not solved.

The reading just suggested is not indeed the only one which solves the problem of sequence with some degree of adequacy. It would, it is true, absolve Shakespeare from the authorship of:

> *Q. Eliz.:* What were I best to say? her father's brother
> Would be her lord? or shall I say, her uncle?
> Or he that slew her brothers and her uncles?
> Under what title shall I woo for thee,
> That God, the law, my honor, and her love,
> Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

So far as the play upon words is concerned, this passage might easily have been written by almost anyone to patch the break between the new folio and the old quarto lines. But even if we include this, we have essentially solved the problem of dramatic sequence if we omit the verbal dexterities from line 343 ("Infer fair England's peace by this alliance") to line 396 ("Misused ere used, by time misused o'erpast"). For then the queen's bitter answer to Richard's specious plea is followed by his most convincing speech protesting his sincerity, the speech from line 397 to line 417 beginning, "As I intend to prosper and repent," and ending:

> Therefore, good mother—I must call you so—
> Be the attorney of my love to her;
> Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
> Not my deserts, but what I will deserve:
> Urge the necessity and state of times,
> And be not peevish found in great designs.

To explain how the folio might contain lines which Shakespeare had struck out we need no far-fetched assumption. Even though Shakespeare had unmistakably cut out fifty or seventy-five lines of glittering word play, and even though Heminge and Condell had these lines cut out in the stage presentation under their own direction, they might easily have included them in the folio, which professed above all things completeness to the original manuscript. On the other hand, it may easily have happened, in fact it does happen every day in even present-day printing, that in a corrected copy the printer set up not only the correction but that part of the original which it was intended to replace. Such an inclusion of lines which Shakespeare had himself struck out would indeed be wholly within the range of possibilities if the play had been revised, as the revision would without doubt, as the Cambridge editors suggest, have been made "with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves."

In the similar crux in *King Lear*, III, i, 22–29 and 30–42, the Cambridge editors have in fact done exactly what I maintain the folio editors or printers did in *Richard the Third*, IV, iv, 288–342 and 343–417. They have printed the old quarto lines directly after the new lines first found in the folio, without any attempt at adjustment,

except changes in punctuation. Unlike their more arbitrary and less scholarly brethren who edited the folio, the Cambridge editors have, it is true, pointed out the evident fact that the two passages do not fit together. What they have not pointed out and what should receive special attention in this connection is that the lines first found in the folio are an evident attempt to patch up some more plausible sequence between the abuse to which the king has been subjected and the prompt appearance of the armies of France within two weeks after King Lear had turned over the government to Cornwall and Albany and their wives.

The speech of Kent in which the Cambridge editors combine the folio and quarto readings is as follows, the lines found first in the folio being here inclosed in the first set of brackets and those found in the quarto but omitted in the folio being inclosed in the second:

Kent: Sir, I do know you;
And dare upon the warrant of my note,
Commend a dear thing to you. There is division,
Although as yet the face of it be covered
With mutual cunning, 'twixt Albany and Cornwall;
[Who have—as who have not, that their great stars
Throned and set high?—servants, who seem no less,
Which are to France the spies and speculations
Intelligent of our state; what hath been seen
Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes
Or the hard rein which both of them hath borne
Against the old kind king, or something deeper,
Whereof perchance these are but furnishings,—]
[But true it is from France there comes a power
Into this scattered kingdom; who already
Wise in our negligence have secret feet
In some of our best ports, and are at point
To show their open banner. Now to you:
If on my credit you dare build so far
To make your speed to Dover, you shall find
Some that will thank you, making just report
Of now unnatural and bemadding sorrow
The king hath cause to plain.
I am a gentleman of birth and breeding,
And from some knowledge and assurance offer
This office to you.]

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The Cambridge editors in their effort to minimize the awkwardness of having the folio lines followed directly by the quarto have changed the sentence structure of the folio passage, as will be seen by reference to the passage quoted and the folio where "What hath been seen . . . . these are but furnishings" is preceded by a period, begins with a capital, and ends with a period, while in the Cambridge edition it is preceded by a semicolon and followed by a comma and dash. Schmidt suggests: "It is easily conceivable that between 29 and 30," i.e., between the folio and quarto passages, "there were other lines which have been omitted in both texts." His suggestion, however, leaves the passage no smoother than the effort of the Cambridge editors; in fact, in view of the evident difficulty of getting legitimate English out of the passage by either method, I venture to suggest that the original folio manuscript may have read

> What *hath been hath been* seen
> Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes,

etc.; for not only does this make legitimate English out of the lines otherwise composed of structurally ununified phrases, but the explanation of how the passage came to be printed as it is presents no difficulty. The copy-reader might have struck out what seemed in hasty reading a repetition, one of the "verse doctors" might have cut out the two words which make an extra foot in a line already varying somewhat from strict scansion, or if the two words escaped both copy-reader and verse machinist, one of the commonest types of printers' errors could have produced the result as we have it in the folio.

Even with this reading, and with Kent's reference to Cordelia while he was in the stocks, II, ii, 160–65, we have not dispensed with the need for at least part of the quarto lines which the folio omits. Mere smoothness could be better secured in combining these two passages by omitting the first five lines of the quarto passage so that the passage would read:

> What hath been hath been seen
> Either in snuffs or packings of the dukes
> Or the hard rein which both of them hath borne
> Against the old kind king, or something deeper,

> Whereof perchance these are but furnishings.
> If on my credit you dare build so far
> To make your speed to Dover you shall find
> Some that will thank you, etc.

This gives all that is necessary for Kent's speech which follows, and if it be coupled with the information Gloucester gives to Edward in scene iii and Cornwall and Edward's questioning of Gloucester in scene vii, we have a sufficient outline of how the forces were raised which the abusers of the king must later meet. But so far as its bearing on the question of revision is concerned, the important fact in all this effort at adjusting these two passages, or the frank acknowledgment that they cannot be adjusted, is that the folio introduces new lines in a perfectly evident effort to explain how Cordelia and the French army come to be in Dover to fight for the rights of Lear, and that for some reason or other we have not been given the way in which the transition was made from the new lines to what follows. In other words, the important thing is that, quite unmistakably, entirely new lines were added to bolster up the dramatic sequence.

To press the evidence of revision further it would be necessary to examine in detail many of the minor varia. I therefore conclude with a mere summary of the general evidence which leads me to believe that *Richard the Third* and *King Lear* did receive explicit revision at Shakespeare's own hands with special reference to dramatic sequence. (1) Of those longer varia which consist of lines not found in the quarto some of the most important are not enough in harmony with the full quarto context to admit of the explanation that the scene contained both quarto and folio lines. (2) Not only are many of those longer varia which are not found in the quarto distinctly worthy of Shakespeare at his best, but many of them bear so directly on sequence that it is straining probability to suppose that if they had been in the original draft they would have been cut out either by players or managers. This supposition of players' cuts is especially far fetched where the context is inferior, and also bears less on dramatic sequence. (3) Considered solely as supporting evidence, most of the longer omissions have a direct bearing on sequence and many of the one-, two-, and three-line varia have no other adequate explanation.

In short, I feel that the real proof of the thesis advanced is to be found in an examination of the varia, not merely with respect to the period at which Shakespeare might have written the lines first found in the folio, or as to how each separate quarto passage not found in the folio might have been omitted, but more especially with reference to the dramatic structure of the whole scene in which the varia occur and to the bearing of these varia on more effective sequence throughout each play as a whole. It is such an examination of the evidence that has led me to believe that after his fuller mastery of plot Shakespeare realized the kindred weakness of one of his greatest tragedies and one of his most popular historical plays, which was a tragedy in form, and revised *King Lear* and *Richard the Third* in a special effort to establish better dramatic sequence.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

The current theory of the origin of the Old Testament plays in the religious drama is derived from M. Sepet's dissertation, "Les Prophètes du Christ."[1] He there propounds the theory followed by subsequent writers that the plays on Old Testament subjects made their appearance in connection with the various prophets of the *Processus Prophetarum* until there arose the whole series of Old Testament plays from the Fall of Lucifer to the Nativity of Christ.[2]

The theory that the Old Testament plays, to use Mr. Chambers' expression, "budded off from the stem of the *Prophetae*," has not seemed to me to be adequate, and I venture to offer the following materials in support of another theory; namely, that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the Book of Genesis and those relating to the Fall of Lucifer and the angels, in other words, the stock plays of the English cycles and of the popularly developed Continental cycles, did not originate from the *Processus Prophetarum*, but from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the *lectiones* and accompanying ritual of the church. Such additions must have been in the nature of deliberate amplification in the direction of a cyclical completeness long familiar in mediaeval literature and theology, as witnessed, for example, in the Old English poem of *Genesis* together with the other poems of that manuscript, in the sermons of Ælfric, and in the *Cursor mundi*. Such an amplification was, moreover, a natural development of the Passion and Resurrection and was required to bring out the full significance of those plays. This would connect the Old Testament plays with those that grew up at Easter, and not with those that grew up at Christmas. It presupposes the borrowing in certain cases, but by no means all, of the *Prophetae* into

[1] *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XXVIII, 1, 210 (1867); XXIX, 205, 261 (1868); XXXVIII, 397 (1877).

[2] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 52–59, 68 ff.; W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1911 ed.), I, 61 ff.

the Easter play, and there is no disposition to deny that for the Balaam play, the Nebuchadnezzar play, and probably others, Sepet's theory may be entirely correct.

M. Sepet's chief documents are the Rouen *Prophetae*, preserved in a fourteenth-century *ordinarium*,[1] and the *Ordo representationis Adae*, a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century play of Norman-French origin.[2] With regard to the former, M. Sepet points out that, following a tendency which he calls "assimilation," the number of prophets in the procession has been increased. To the original list appearing in the eleventh-century Limoges *Prophetae*,[3] which is a dramatized version of the famous pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo*, has been added a considerable number of prophets. Such a tendency no doubt operated widely, and there were probably other local amplifications similar to those at Rouen; but in examining the plays in their later forms no evidence can be found for any basal list of prophets more extended than that of the original sermon. The prophets common to the various English, German, and French plays are apparently the original set; namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias and Elizabeth, and John the Baptist, together with Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl. This does not bear on the question except negatively, as tending to show that a simple form of the *Processus Prophetarum* was disseminated over a wide territory, and that its variations were of a local character.

In the Rouen play there are two cases of what M. Sepet calls the tendency to "amplify certain prophecies." The second one of these and the one of less importance is the Nebuchadnezzar episode. When the time comes for Nebuchadnezzar to utter his messianic prophecy, there is introduced a little play of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego with a fiery furnace "in medio navis ecclesiae." This play does not appear anywhere as a regular Old Testament play, and may

[1] Rouen MS Y. 110. For text see A. Gastè, "Les drames liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen," *Revue catholique de Normandie*, II, 349–72, 477–500, 573–605; Du Cange, *Glossarium* under *Festum Asinorum*.

[2] K. Grass, *Das Adamspiel;* K. Bartsch, *Chrestomatie;* V. Luzarche, *Adam, drame anglo-norman du 12e siècle;* see also Creizenach, I, 127 ff.; Chambers, I, 70 ff.

[3] E. Du Méril, *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, p. 171; E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, p. 11; also Sepet as above.

be regarded as sporadic.[1] The other is the Balaam play. When Balaam appears in the procession, he is seated "super asinam," and there is enacted the little play of the speaking ass. Only the first words of the speeches are given, but it is possible to follow the plays by reference to the sources.[2]

The Balaam play is of fairly wide currency. It occurs as an appendage to the *Ordo Prophetarum* of Laon, a *processus* of primitive structure, where the Balaam episode is apparently a borrowing,[3] and if so, an illustration of the mediaeval tendency to borrow widely rather than to originate from mere opportune suggestion.[4] A Balaam episode occurs also in a somewhat imperfect form in the Benedictbeuern Christmas play,[5] in the Chester Whitsun Plays, and in the French *Mystère du Viel Testament*.[6] In the Chester cycle the Balaam scene is merely an episode, though the principal one, in the *Processus Prophetarum*, as it is in the Benedictbeuern play, and had been from the time of its origin.[7] The *Mystère du Viel Testament* is a compilation and as a whole probably not of popular growth; but it is to be noted that we have to do with the same Balaam play. In spite of considerable literary development, it shows traces of its origin. At the end of the play Balaam utters his familiar prophecy, "Une estoille istra de Jacob, etc."[8] The play is out of its historical

[1] The suggestion for the play was possibly drawn from a *lectio* taken from a sermon of Origen appearing in the Sarum Breviary in the service of the Vigil of the Nativity at matins.—*Breviarium ad usum Sarum, Temporale*, clviii.

[2] Gasté, pp. 349 ff.

[3] U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon*, pp. 385–89; see also Chambers, II, 53 ff.

[4] It may be of interest to point out that Simeon also appears at the end of the Laon play "inter prophetas," and "accipiens puerum" says: "Tuum sub pacis tegmine | Servum dimittis, Domine." This is probably the most primitive form known of the play of the Presentation in the Temple.

[5] Du Méril, p. 187; J. A. Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*, p. 80; R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, p. 877.

[6] Rothschild's edition in *Société des anciens Textes français*, III, 407–22.

[7] In order to perceive this more clearly, see Professor J. M. Manly's edition of the more primitive version of the play in Harl. MS 2124, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 66–81. In the version of W. 1592, Brit. Mus. Add. MS 10,305, followed by Wright in his edition of the cycle for the Shakespeare Society, the accompanying prophets have disappeared, and the Balaam story has become the main subject.

[8] This prophecy made its appearance in the liturgical drama apparently first in the *Stella*. It occurs as a *responsorium* in the Sarum Breviary (*Temporale*, cxvii) in the service of *Feria IV. Quatuor Temporum* to a *lectio* drawn from a sermon by the Venerable Bede: R. 2. *Orietur stella ex Jacob: et exsurget homo de Israel, et confringet omnes duces alienigenarum. Et erit omnis terra possessio ejus.* V. *Et orabunt eum omnes reges terrae; omnes gentes*

sequence and appears as an episode in the life of Moses. In the Chester cycle, also, Balaam follows Moses and the Tables of the Law.[1]

Sepet's theory may hold also for the Beauvais *Daniel;*[2] but neither the *Balaam* nor the *Daniel* ever became, as did, for example, the *Noah* and the *Abraham and Isaac*, a regular member of the cycles, found wherever Old Testament plays were played. The *Ordo Joseph*, recently discovered by Professor Karl Young,[3] shows the liturgical origin of the widely current play of Joseph and his Brethren.[4] The material of the play would indicate that, although it seems to have had an existence independent of the cycles, it belongs to the group to be treated later. There is, however, in several liturgical plays of the Slaughter of the Innocents, a confusion of the Rachel who utters the *planctus* with Rachel, the wife of Jacob and the mother of Joseph, which may have suggested the composition of the play.[5] It at any rate shows no connection with the *Prophetae.* The fragmentary *Isaac and Rebecca* of the Kloster Vorau is treated below. Nothing can be told of the *Elisaeus* mentioned by Gerhoh of Reichersberg[6] or of the elaborate battle plays of the Riga performance[7] except that they seem to be outside of the current of the popular development of Old Testament plays.

servient ei. Et erit. H. Anz in *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 79 ff., presents the prophecy as a characteristic amplification of what he calls the third type of Magi plays, and cites the sequence *Epiphanium Domino* in the *Prosarium Lemovicense: Balaam de quo vaticinans; | Exhibit ex Iacob | rutilans, | inquit, stella. Et confringet ducum agmina | regionis Moab | maxima | potentia.* The reference of the star of the Nativity to the star of Balaam's prophecy occurs in various mediaeval homilies and goes back to patristic sources (see *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Magi"); but the prophecy in the plays doubtless came into the plays from the service as indicated above. From the *Stella* it was probably borrowed into the *Prophetae;* for it occurs in a large number of Magi plays.

[1] The points just noted, together with the fact that the *Processus Prophetarum* in the Towneley play and the Hegge play (two plays in Halliwell, *Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 58–69), begins with Moses and the Tables of the Law, indicate that this play grew out of the *Processus* and has, therefore, a very different origin from the play of Moses and the Exodus.

[2] Coussemaker, p. 49; Chambers, II, 60. It is, however, true that the *lectio* from Origen's sermon, referred to in a preceding note, introduces a clear reference to the story of Daniel in the lion's den with the ministration of Habakkuk which constitutes the plot of the play; so that the composition of the drama may have been suggested independently by the *lectio.*

[3] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, February, 1911.

[4] Petit, *Les Mystères*, II, 66, 119, 139, 161, 171; Creizenach, I, 68 ff.; Chambers, II, 344.

[5] Du Méril, pp. 175, 178. See also *Hom.*, XII; *De Sanctis Innocentibus* by Bishop Haymo of Halberstadt; Migne, *P.L.*, CXVIII, 75–82, where in treating the prophecy of Jeremiah, *Vox in Rama*, etc., the author makes the same reference.

[6] Chambers, II, 98–99.

[7] Creizenach, I, 64–65.

The *Ordo representationis Adae* is made up of a long and elaborate Adam play with full stage directions, a shorter Cain and Abel play in the same style, and a prophet play ending with the part of Nebuchadnezzar. There is also in the manuscript a version of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment, material connected with the Sibylline prophecy. The *Adam* and the *Cain and Abel* show deliberate literary composition, and the play as a whole is evidently an early attempt at cycle making. The plays are based upon the Scriptures, or rather, as I believe, upon the pericopes from Genesis read in the week of Septuagesima Sunday, and show little, if any, legendary or apocryphal influence. Because of the presence of the prophets, the *Adam* is usually regarded as a Christmas play; but there is some reason to think that the play belongs rather to Easter and is in fact the fragment of a Passion play. The play looks strongly forward to the Redemption. Adam bewails his fate and relies upon the promise of salvation through Christ; Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and each successive prophet are dragged off to Hell. I do not know of any other cases where the prophets are so disposed of, though they sometimes appear as patriarchs in Hell awaiting redemption. There are several other cases where the *Prophetae* was borrowed into the Easter series,[1] and Adam and Eve are in like manner dragged off to Hell in the Vienna Passion play and in several other plays of the same structure.[2] This use of a prophet play is exceptional, for the normal and original function of the prophets is to foretell the Nativity. Then, as against Sepet's idea of the origin of the *Adam* and the *Cain and Abel* from the *Prophetae*, it is to be pointed out that the traditional machinery of the prophet play, the introductory speech, does not precede the Adam play, but occurs at the beginning of the *Prophetae* in its usual place, as if the prophet play had been appended as a unit.

The *Adam* is also singular in the fact that Adam and Eve are carried off to Hell before the murder of Abel, a feature which does not elsewhere appear. If the play is in the line of popular development at all, it is the forerunner of such a cycle as *La Nativité, la Passion et la Résurrection* of the Sainte-Geneviève manuscript, to which in general structure it seems to bear some resemblance.[3] The

[1] Creizenach, I, 224 ff. [2] See below. [3] Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 379 ff.

mass of popularly developed cycles had a restricted number of subjects, and usually practically the same subjects; namely, the Fall of Lucifer, Adam, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and usually Moses and the Exodus. Round about these themes were sporadic episodes from the same field, such as the Death of Adam, the Death of Cain, Abraham and Lot. The French *Mystère du Viel Testament* has been written in solidly with most of the Old Testament stories as far as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. There seems to be a tendency, the cause of which is not very clear, to regard the simpler French cycles as abridgments of the longer, more highly developed ones;[1] but, in the face of so many plays in France and in other countries showing a like lower stage of development, it seems unnecessary to do so. *Le Mystère du Viel Testament* is a composite work based upon popularly developed cycles.[2] It contains, for example, the complaint of Adam, as do all Old Testament cycles, and the debate of the Four Daughters of God, and these scenes look forward to the redemption, as if a passion were to follow. *La Création, Passion et Résurrection* of MS Bibl. nat. fr. 904, *La Création, et la Chute de l'Homme*, etc., of the Douai-Valenciennes MS, and possibly also the *Texte de Troyes* and the prologue to Gréban's *Passion*, show only the traditional subjects.[3] Other plays with the longer more amplified list of subjects are the Eger Passion play[4] the Künzelsau Corpus Christi play,[5] and the Cornish *Origo mundi*.[6] The last-mentioned has been amplified by the embodiment of the Seth legend. The English cycles which have been preserved, and the lists of subjects in lost cycles,[7] show a general use of the conventional subjects in England.

In Germany the Passion plays developed into complete dramas of the Fall of man, the Passion of Christ, and the Resurrection, with or without Old Testament plays, and, as I think, independent of the

[1] Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 411 ff.; Creizenach, I, 264 ff.; G. Paris, Introduction to edition of Gréban, pp. xxv ff.

[2] Petit, *op. cit.*, 352 ff.; Rothschild and Picot, IV, pp. xix ff.; Creizenach, I, 268 ff.

[3] Petit, *op. cit.*, 394 ff.

[4] *Egerer Frohnleichnamsspiel*, ed. G. Milchsack, *Bibl. d. lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, p. 156.

[5] See *Germania*, IV, 338–61.

[6] E. Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*.

[7] See Chambers, II, App. W.

Prophetae. The stages of this development can be seen by an examination of the various plays preserved, though of course it is necessary to take into consideration the forms of the plays and their degrees of development as well as the dates of their preservation. In Germany, and certainly in France also, we have developed, from the simple Latin plays of Passion and Resurrection, logically complete cycles with no regularly present Old Testament plays and frequently no prophets. The plays show an amplification of the rôle of the Devil. At first he is merely the scriptural Satan; later he becomes Lucifer, and the story of his fall and his betrayal of man is introduced. The most primitive plays introduce Satan only in connection with the Harrowing of Hell, and in other places demanded by the sources.[1] In the Benedictbeuern Passion play Satan appears as a mute character in connection with the part of Judas.[2] The play is fragmentary and breaks off before the Harrowing of Hell scene, though that was doubtless part of the original, as it certainly was of the fragmentary Anglo-Norman Resurrection.[3] The Kloster Muri fragments contain a simple Harrowing of Hell scene in which Satan appears.[4] There is also a somewhat primitive conception of Satan in the Innsbruck play of the Resurrection[5] and the plays of its type,[6] the Frankfort *Dirigierrolle*,[7] the St. Gall play,[8] and others. In the Donaueschingen Passion play Satan appears in the Temptation, the Remorse of Judas, Pilate's Wife's Dream, and the Harrowing of Hell. Disregarding certain developments of the part in the direction of *diablerie*, we may regard this play as presenting the normal appearances of Satan in the more primitive plays. In another large number of plays, in which the part of the devil is greatly amplified, there is the introduction of the story of Lucifer and his betrayal of man. Such plays are the Redentin Passion play,[9] the Frankfurt play,[10] and

[1] On the liturgical origin of the Harrowing of Hell scene see K. Young, "The Harrowing of Hell," *Transactions of the Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, No. 2, 889–947; see also Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 61, 98; Chambers, II, 73 ff.

[2] Schmeller, p. 95; Du Méril, p. 126; Creizenach, I, 87 ff.

[3] Chambers, II, 82 ff.; Creizenach, I, 132 ff.

[4] Froning, p. 228.

[5] Mone, *Altteutsche Schauspiele*, pp. 107–44.

[6] Creizenach, I, 107 ff.

[7] Froning, p. 340.

[8] Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, I, 49 ff.

[9] Froning, p. 123.

[10] Froning, p. 375.

the plays of that group,[1] the Alsfeld play,[2] and the Tyrol plays.[3] In this series of plays the stories of the fall of Lucifer and of man are frequently introduced in connection with the prayers of Adam and the patriarchs for redemption from bondage, a characteristic also seen in the French plays.[4] There are, however, German Passion plays which show an arrangement according to chronological sequence. The Vienna Passion play, which is one of the oldest preserved, dating, as it does, from early in the fourteenth century, begins with the presentation of the fall of Lucifer and the fall of man.[5] This is also seen with the fullest development of Old Testament subjects in the Eger Passion play and in the Künzelsau *Frohnleichnamsspiel*,[6] both of which, however, treat Nativity subjects, as does the similarly constructed Middle-Frankish play from Mastricht.[7] *Der Sündenfall*[8] seems to be the fragment of a cycle chronologically arranged; the introductory speech of the Proloculator seems to indicate this, as also the contents of the play. It has a full list of Old Testament subjects, a complaint of Adam and the patriarchs in limbo, a debate of the Four Daughters of God, and, at the end, the presentation of Mary in the Temple. The Innsbruck *Frohnleichnamsspiel* of the end of the fourteenth century, a procession of prophets, apostles, and Magi,[9] begins with the thanking of the Savior by Adam and Eve for their release from Hell, as if the scene had been borrowed directly from a Harrowing of Hell play. In some of the Passion plays the prophets appear; but, when they do, they are usually in the rôle of patriarchs awaiting redemption, which is manifestly not their original or their commonest function in the religious drama. They are primarily prophets of the Nativity, and

[1] Creizenach, I, 225 ff.

[2] Froning, p. 562.

[3] J. E. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tyrol.*

[4] Creizenach, I, 253 ff.; Petit, *Les Mystères*, II, 400 ff.

[5] Froning, pp. 302 ff. The Erlau Magdalen play (K. F. Kummer, *Erlauer Spiele*) resembles the Vienna play in arrangement, although there is no actual presentation of the fall; see Creizenach, I, 244 ff.; also 358 ff., where he describes a Czechish fragment which begins with the actual fall of Lucifer.

[6] *Germania*, IV, 338 ff.

[7] *Zeitschrift fur deutsches Alterthum*, II, 302 ff. See also Creizenach, I, 116 ff., who groups with the Mastricht play certain other plays.

[8] O. Schönemann, *Der Sündenfall und Marienklage.*

[9] Mone, *Altteutsche Schauspiele.*

there are a large number of plays and many indications within the great composite cycles which tend to show that the play of the prophets was closely bound up with the plays of the Nativity, a thing which would be very natural, since they all unquestionably grew up at Christmas time. Sepet[1] devotes a section of his article to proving that the *Processus Prophetarum* is the regular prologue to the Nativity. He cites the Benedictbeuern Christmas play, the St. Gall Nativity play, *Laus pro Nativitate Domini* from a manuscript in Bibl. Vallicelliana in Rome, and the Rouen Incarnation and Nativity. Several other French plays show the same thing, and in the English plays there is also the closest connection between the *Prophetae* and the Nativity. The prologue to the Annunciation in York[2] is a summary of a prophet play. In the play of the Shearmen and Taylors of Coventry, Isaiah acts as a prologue to the Nativity, and in it and in the Weavers' play, there is evidence that the *Prophetae* has been split up into parts and distributed among the plays of the Nativity.[3] At Chester the prophet play has been divided, and one portion of it incorporated with the Annunciation.

It is evident then that there are two types of cyclic plays—the one, familiar to us in the English Corpus Christi plays, is chronologically arranged and complete; the other, familiar to us in the German and French plays, is usually not chronologically arranged and not complete, since it has no Old Testament plays, and frequently has no Nativity plays, and no *Prophetae*. The latter, however, sometimes approximate the former both in content and in arrangement and are logically complete, since they embrace the fall and redemption of man. Since it is possible to trace the growth of the second type, even when entirely independent of *Prophetae* and Nativity plays, to a stage approximately parallel to the first, it has seemed to me reasonable to believe that the first type is only a variety of the second; namely, a Passion play to which has been added a number of scenes derived from the Old Testament. I am inclined to think that this amplification occurred before the Easter and Christmas plays were united into a single cycle, and the form of

[1] *Op. cit.*, XXXVIII, 397 ff.

[2] L. T. Smith, *The York Plays*, pp. 93 ff.

[3] "Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays," *E.E.T.S.*, pp. 1 ff., 12–16, 33–39.

the original Easter play at such a city as Chester could then be arrived at by withdrawing from the cycle the *Processus Prophetarum* and all the plays of the Nativity group. It would be absurd to think that the Lucifer and Adam scenes of the German passion plays originated from the *Prophetae*, because their development bears every mark of being entirely within the Passion plays themselves. They were demanded by the subject, and we have a natural point of growth provided for them in the Harrowing of Hell and other scenes of the Passion and Resurrection.

Neither the documents cited by M. Sepet, nor the evidences of the manner of development of the larger plays, so far as they are ascertainable, seem to establish his theory; let us, therefore, inquire more directly into the origin of the Old Testament plays.

The series of Old Testament plays, referred to above, stand as a single conventional group with practically the same subjects and in the same order, as if they had been introduced as a unit from one principal source, or at least introduced to conform to one definite pattern. It is evident that a parallel exists between the cycles of plays and the great religious epics of the Middle Ages. The conception of an epic of redemption had long been in existence. The contents of Junian MS XI show just the features needed to make of the drama as developed within the church a complete cyclical presentation of man's fall and redemption. Besides the *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*, it contains a poem known as *Christ and Satan*, which is made up of, first, the Fall of Lucifer, secondly, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the return to final judgment, and, thirdly, the Temptation. I have no disposition to regard this or Avitus[1] as a source for the plays; but they both offer examples of the epical treatment of the earlier Old Testament themes with manifest consciousness of their theological significance. The *Cursor mundi* represents a very much more amplified form of religious epic than the one which seems to be paralleled in the more primitive cycles of plays.[2] The *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor[3] is a summary of Old Testament events, and contains most of the

[1] Migne, *P.L.*, lix.

[2] "Inquiry into the Sources of Cursor Mundi," Haenisch, in Morris' edition in *E.E.T.S.*

[3] Migne, *P.L.*, cxcviii.

legendary materials involved; but it goes very much farther in its account than the mystery plays do. It gives only a brief form of the Lucifer story, as compared to the Old English *Genesis* and the thirteenth-century *Genesis and Exodus*.[1] The *Genesis and Exodus* and the Vienna *Genesis* follow the scriptural accounts with a fair degree of closeness. The *Canticum de Creatione*[2] refers to most of the events of the Book of Genesis and gives special prominence to the Seth legend. Grosseteste's *Castle of Love* presents, from the Old Testament, only the Fall. *Die Erlösung* shows a selection of material somewhat similar to the *Castle of Love* and offers a parallel to the amplified Passion plays of the German type, a thing which may also be said of *Das Passional*, though it confines itself to the life of Christ.

Such epical accounts may have had influence on the later forms of the plays, or suggested the cyclical idea; but I think it is not necessary to go so far afield for the sources of the earliest Old Testament plays. In fact the Adam and the Cain and Abel plays of the *Ordo representationis Adae* seem to bear upon their faces the evidences of their source. The stage direction at the beginning of the play contains these words: "Tunc incipiat lectio: *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*," to which the Chorus sing the response, "Formavit igitur Dominus." After Adam has been placed in Paradise, they sing this response, "Tulit ergo Dominus hominem." When God forbids Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, they sing the response, "Dicit Dominus ad Adam"; after the Fall, the response, "Dum ambularet"; after Adam and Eve are expelled from Paradise, the response, "In sudore vultus tui." When Adam and Eve are outside of Paradise, "quasi tristes et confusi," the Chorus sing the response, "Ecce Adam quasi unus." After the murder of Abel, they sing the response, "Ubi est Abel, frater tuus." These are regular responses which accompanied the *lectiones* from Genesis for the week of Septuagesima Sunday. The subjects for the week, as indicated by the *responsoria*, were the Creation, the Temptation and Fall, and the story of Cain and Abel. The actual selections read in the service varied to a certain extent, but the subjects were always the same, and it will be noticed that the responses themselves carry the story. The

[1] *Genesis and Exodus*, ed. by R. Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, pp. 1–18; see also A. Fritsche, *Anglia*, V, 43 ff.

[2] Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. 124 ff.

Adam is practically a dramatization of the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the week of Septuagesima Sunday. In like manner the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the Sunday and ferial services of the week of Sexagesima were devoted to the story of Noah and the Flood; those of Quinquagesima, to the story of Abraham; those of the second Sunday in Quadrigesima, to Isaac, Jacob, and Esau; those of the third Sunday in Quadrigesima, to the story of Joseph and his Brethren; those of the fourth Quadrigesimal Sunday, to Moses and the Exodus. I have followed the order of the Sarum Breviary; but the use of these subjects for readings for the period of Septuagesima and Lent, as shown by the *responsoria* and by the *lectiones* from sermons which accompany them in various service books, was general.[1] We have here the entire list of Old Testament subjects appearing in the more primitive cycles except for the play of the Fall of Lucifer. The play of *Isaac and Rebecca* of the late twelfth-century Latin fragment from Kloster Vorau in Styria[2] seems to bear some traces of origin from *lectiones* of the week of the second Sunday in Quadrigesima; there is at least a chorus which accompanies the action with the narrative of that time. The Fall of Lucifer could have been derived from sermons on the Creation; there is a full account in Ælfric's *De initio creaturae.*[3]

In view of the obviousness and availability of the lessons of the service and of their adequacy, I should be disposed to believe that the Old Testament plays originated from the *lectiones* and *responsoria* of the period of Septuagesima and Lent. It was a time of preparation and penance, and the devotions constantly looked forward toward Easter. The subjects of the lessons had the closest bearing upon the events commemorated at Easter. Christ was the second Adam and head of the spiritual family, as Adam was the father in the flesh. Abel was a type of Christ, and his sacrifice is mentioned in con-

[1] On the whole subject of the *lectiones* and on the particular points involved, see Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, pp. 258 ff., 265 ff., 285 ff., 446 ff., and Beilage IV; see also Cabrol, *Introduction aux études liturgiques, passim;* Collette, *Histoire du Bréviaire de Rouen*, pp. i–v; *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Breviary." The service books which I have been able to consult are: the Sarum Breviary, the York Breviary, the Hereford Breviary, the Exeter *Ordinale, Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon, Ordinaires de Notre Dame de Mont Carmel*, and a number of breviaries of more recent date.

[2] *Anz. f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit*, 1877, Sp. 169 ff. The Towneley cycle offers the only English parallel.

[3] *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, I, 8 ff.; see also *De initio creature*, in "Old English Homilies," ed. R. Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, I, 217 ff.

nection with those of Abraham and Melchisedech in the canon of the mass. Isaac was also regarded as a type of Christ, and is so called in a *lectio* drawn from a sermon of St. John Chrysostom[1] and read on Sexagesima Sunday. Ælfric in a sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany[2] says that the slaying of Abel betokened God's Passion; that the ark betokened the church and that Noah betokened Christ; and that by Abraham we are to understand the Almighty Father, and by Isaac, his beloved Son, the Savior Christ. In a sermon for Midlent Sunday[3] he gives an elaborate explanation of the typical significance of the subject of Moses and the Exodus; it shows how that subject was related to the season. Almost any series of sermons of the period will illustrate the points given; and the subjects in question have so close a connection both theological and liturgical with the Passion, that it is impossible to escape the belief that the plays dealing with them must have grown up as parts of, or as preliminary scenes to, the plays of the Passion and Resurrection. If the Old Testament plays originated within the church itself, which in some cases at least they probably did, and at a season some weeks before Easter, then they must have been united later with the plays of Easter itself; and the whole group of Easter plays later joined with the whole group of Christmas plays to form the cycles.

The Cathedral Statutes of Bishop Hugh de Nonant (1188–98) show that at Lichfield the *Pastores* was acted at Christmas and the *Quem quaeritis* and *Peregrini*, at Easter.[4] At York the traditional Statutes of York Cathedral provide for *Pastores* and *Stella* at Christmas time as late as about 1255.[5] At Aberdeen the Christmas and Easter groups seem never to have been united.[6] The most striking case is that of the Cornish cycle. It is made up of an *Origo mundi*, which presents the Fall of Lucifer, and a series of Old Testament plays, a *Passio Domini*, which begins with the Temptation, and a *Resurrectio Domini*, which ends with the Ascension. There are no *Prophetae* and no Nativity plays and no evidence of there ever having been. If the Christmas series was acted by the same people, it must

[1] *De sermone*, 33; *de Fide Abrame*, etc.; see Sarum Breviary, *op. cit.*, *Temporale*, dxliii.

[2] *Op. cit.*, II, 58 ff. [3] *Op. cit.*, II, 189 ff. [4] Chambers II, 377.

[5] *Lincoln Statutes*, II, 98; see Chambers, II, 399.

[6] Chambers, II, 330 ff.

have been acted separately, and is now lost. It is difficult to see how such a cycle could have come into existence except upon the supposition that Old Testament plays are originally and organically part of the Easter series of plays rather than of the Christmas series. Professor Manly points out that the plays of the Kentish town of New Romney were also of the Continental type, and probably had no Nativity plays.[1]

If the theory which I have advanced is true, the English cycles ought to show some evidence of having been made up by the union of the two groups. In all of the cycles there are wide gaps before and after the plays of the Nativity, and all of them, I think, show evidence of such a composition. One case in particular is very striking. I should like to present it here briefly and give a fuller study of the subject in a later paper. It is the case of the component parts of the Chester cycle.

The Benedictbeuern Christmas play is made up of a combination of dramatic themes of the season of Christmas. Augustine appears as Expositor, and the play opens with a *Prophetae*, in which, however, only a limited number of prophets appear. Among these prophets is Balaam, "sedens super asinam," and although the ass does not speak, the angel with the sword appears, and it may be said that it is a Balaam play in miniature. After an extended dispute between Augustine and the prophets on the one side and Archisynagogus and the Jews on the other, there is the Annunciation and immediately after it the Visit to Elizabeth; then, in a somewhat confused form, a *Pastores* and a *Stella*. At this point a stage direction gives the statement, "Herodes corrodatur a verminibus," and provides for the crowning of his son Archelaus. Then comes the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt, which is followed by some purely secular matters, and then comes the Falling of the Egyptian idols. The play ends with fragments of an Antichristus play.[2] The play is not only confused but corrupt, and yet it is possible to see in its general content a remarkable parallel to the Chester plays, particularly in those themes in which the Chester plays are exceptional. In the Chester *Processus Prophetarum*, a *Princeps Synagogae*

[1] For records see *Hist. MSS*, V, 517 ff., 533 ff.

[2] Creizenach, I, 90 ff.

appears, and it has a Balaam play growing out of it.[1] It places a Salutation immediately after the Annunciation.[2] The Sibyl plays an important rôle in the Nativity. In the Slaughter of the Innocents the legend of the falling of the idols and of the death of Herod[3] appear. In a later play, *Ezechiel*, we have further materials from the *Prophetae*, and, lastly, we have the altogether exceptional play of *Antichrist*.[4] My inference from this parallel is that one of the component elements of the Chester cycle was a Christmas play of somewhat the same general content and form as the Benedict-beuern play. If so, the original Christmas play, back of the Chester cycle, must have been divided into parts, and these parts given appropriate places in the cycle.

A justification for the introduction of the death of Herod and the theme of the Antichrist into the Christmas plays can be drawn from a sermon by Bishop Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853), *De Sanctis Innocentibus*,[5] a portion of which, containing a comparison of Archelaus to Antichrist, was used as a *lectio* at matins, according to the Sarum Breviary,[6] on the Vigil of Epiphany. The paragraphs of the sermon which precede the *lectio* give an elaborate account of the death of Herod.[7]

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[1] Manly, I, 66 ff.

[2] This is also true of the York play.

[3] This appears as a separate scene in the Hegge plays.

[4] Wright, I, 96 ff., 105 ff., 181, 185 ff.; II, 139 ff., 150 ff.

[5] Migne, *P.L.*, cxviii, 75–82.

[6] *Temporale*, cccx f.

[7] On the Octave of the Innocents in the Sarum Breviary (*op. cit.*, ccci f.) is a *lectio* (Augustini, *Opera*, *De Sanctis*, ed. Benedict., Appendix, Sermo 220, V, 1, 2914–17; see Bäumer, 624) which contains a reference to the idols of Egypt, not, however, specifically referring to the legend. The *lectio* contains a paragraph on the Last Judgment, a subject of frequent occurrence in sermons and *lectiones* in Advent and Christmas. This may have significance as to the original position of the Doomsday play.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY AND THE TEACHING OF TENSES IN FRENCH

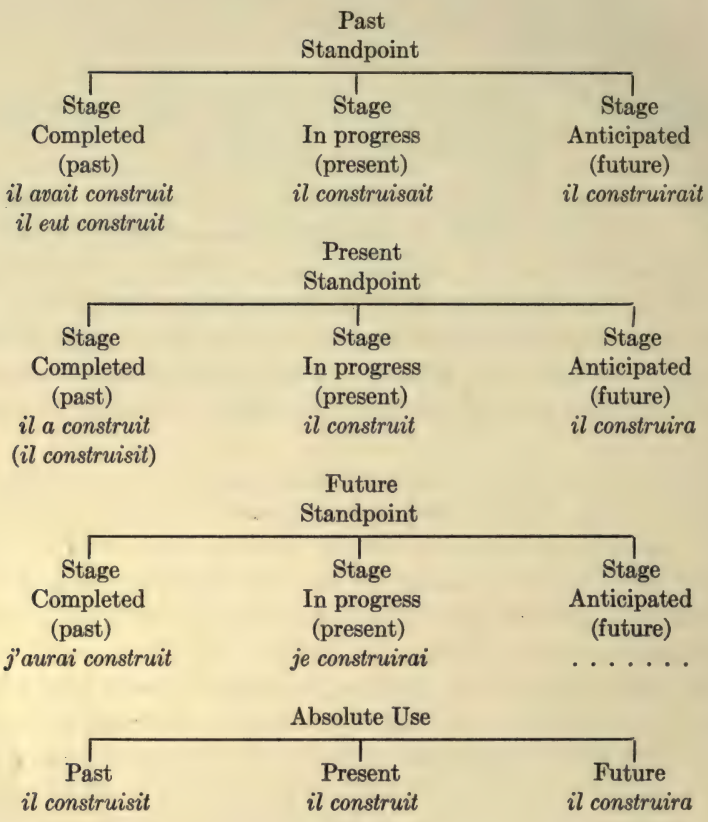
Hale and Buck's Latin grammar divides tenses into "tenses of stage" and "aoristic tenses." The latter, according to the definition, represent the act in *summary* (i.e., as a whole); the former represent it, "as in a stage of advancement at a time which is in mind, namely as completed, in progress, or yet to come," adding that, "the particular time with reference to which an act is seen as in a certain stage may conveniently be called *Point of Reference* or Point of View."[1]

For several years before Hale and Buck's grammar was published, but not, however, before I had had the benefit of coming under the indirect influence of Professor Hale's teaching, discarding for the moment whatever French grammar the class might be using, I had presented the tenses of the Indicative to my beginners by placing the diagram shown on p. 490 on the board.

The construction of the diagram was always preceded by a discussion in which the class was guided, as much as possible, to formulate by themselves a definition of tense, and the diagram was filled out by the class not only in French but also in English, and by individual students also in Latin. A better insight into the nature of tenses was thus reached, and a better "working-knowledge" acquired, than by the learning of the many rules generally given in grammars. Some added statements were, indeed, necessary, especially to explain the difference in use between the past anterior and the pluperfect, and between the past definite and indefinite, but they could be given briefly and gradually.

Practically, this mode of presentation of the tenses proved a success. The inextricable confusion between the use of the imperfect and past definite which I have known to persist even in the minds of "advanced" students of French was a very rare occurrence, if the student was a real beginner; and even when error occurred, the question, "what is the standpoint, what is the stage?" followed

[1] For a similar view, compare Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachwissenschaft*, §§ 189–91.



by, "then what should the tense be?" generally enabled the student to get his own bearings.

It is not, however, sufficient for a method of presentation to work apparently well in elementary teaching, to be, as it were, "practically expedient." If at any later stage of progress the student has to unlearn what he learned in the first place, if the elementary view he was made to take does not furnish a solid foundation for a scientifically sound superstructure, the most plausible, best-working "scheme" is not justifiable.

Having come to realize that this presentation of French tenses differed in some essential points from the one taken by some very authoritative French grammars, it became imperative to subject a

view which had been reached somewhat "empirically" to a more searching test than could be furnished by mere classroom use, and reject or modify it accordingly. With this purpose the following study of tenses was undertaken, and it is published with the hope that it may prove useful in a line of work for which there is a real need in America today, and the consciousness that its usefulness remains questionable until its results have stood the scrutiny "*di coloro che sanno.*"

To trace the history of the evolution of opinion concerning the nature of tense-force in French grammars, or special works on the subject, is beyond the scope of this study. Herbig gives such a survey with regard to the classical languages in his article "Aktionsart und Zeitstufe,"[1] an article that is of supreme importance for all consideration of tenses.[2] The views set forth in this survey have been influential, and justifiably so, in all consideration of tenses in the Romance languages.

Neither does it come within the scope of this article to take into consideration all "standard" French grammars or all special treatises on the tenses. Some recent publications, notably German ones, which, judging from their reviews, would have been exceedingly useful, were not accessible. On the contrary, the consideration of many "standard" French grammars in use in America appeared sheer waste of time, since they rest satisfied with cataloguing in the most perfunctory manner the different uses of tenses with no pretense of helping the student to any understanding of their real nature. Books that have been utilized will, therefore, be mentioned as the occasion arises, and it is hoped that the failure to utilize all existing material will not seriously invalidate the usefulness of a study in which, when all is said, the language itself is the decisive factor, and the opinions that are held concerning it are an important but only secondary consideration.

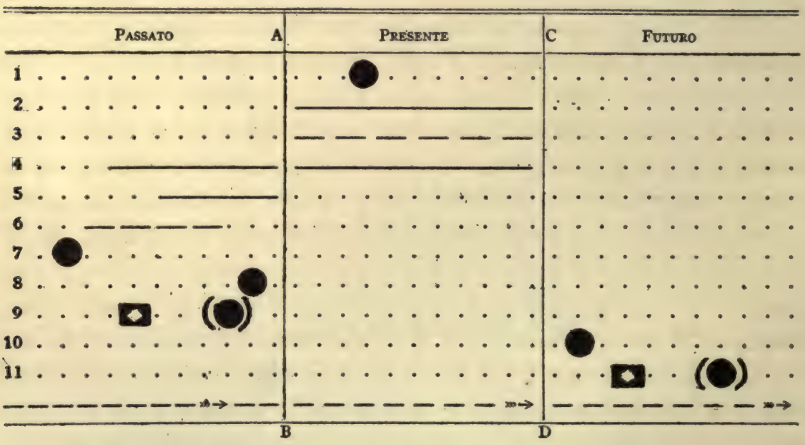
Ayer, § 196, says of the tenses of the Indicative that according to the state of the action expressed, they can be either *imperfect* or *perfect;* from another point of view, they are again divided into *presents* and *preterites.* His own classification is:

[1] *Indogermanische Forschungen,* VI.

[2] See also Vising, "Die realen Tempora der Vergangenheit," *Franz. Studien,* VI, VII.

	Temps Imparfaits	Temps Parfaits
a) *Présents:*	Présent	Parfait
	Futur	Futur parfait
b) *Prétérit:*	Imparfait	Plus-que-parfait
	Prétérit	Prétérit antérieur
	Conditionnel	Conditionnel passé

Left to itself this scheme does not enlighten us concerning a fundamental point in the conception of tense-force: is the division into *présents* and *prétérits* based merely on a distinction between past or present *time*, or does it imply present or past *standpoint?* The difference between mere time (time-sphere) and standpoint in time becomes apparent by comparing my diagram with a very ingenious one given by Piazza in his Italian grammar, in which something akin to "standpoint" is resorted to only for the graphical representation of the pluperfect and future perfect.



1, 2, 3, stand for the present; 4, for the compound past (ho pensato); 5, 6, for the imperfect; 7, 8, for the "rimoto" (pensai); 9, for the pluperfect; 10, for the future; 11, for the future perfect. The conditional (past-future) has found and can find no place in the diagram, and the compound "rimoto" (ebbi pensato) is also omitted. Piazza happily avoids the error of considering the pluperfect a mere equivalent of the simple tense, as is clearly brought out by the graphical representation.

Ayer does not go to the extreme of completely ignoring the relation of the tenses to something that may be construed into a "past point in time." He says: "Les prétérits marquent le temps non seulement par rapport à l'instant de la parole, mais encore par rapport à un autre fait passé." Then he continues, "l'imparfait [qui] exprime une action passée simultanée à un autre fait également passé; le prétérit [qui] exprime une action passée postérieure ou antérieure à une autre action passée; le plus-que-parfait et le prétérit antérieur [qui] expriment une action comme passée dans le moment où l'on parle, mais en même temps comme accomplie antérieurement à une autre action également passée; les deux conditionnels [qui] expriment un futur par rapport à un passé . . . ."

If, for the sake of comparison, we should attempt to represent graphically the tenses as defined by Ayer, according to Piazza's diagram, the graphical representation would bring out strikingly the inadequacy of Ayer's definition of the preterite: when it is supposedly "anterior" to a past act, it becomes confused with the pluperfect; and when it is "posterior" to a past act, it becomes confused with the conditional. Nor is this splitting hairs. In his historical French grammar Brunot defines future time as "ce qui est postérieur à ce moment." It is true that in the definition of the conditional (past-future) Ayer drops the word *fait* or *action* and says, "un futur par rapport à un passé," and this may be construed as a suggestion of the distinction that Lücking, e.g., brings out by the use of the terms "real" and "ideal." Even if this idea is implied in Ayer's definition, it certainly is not brought out clearly, and confusion persists.

The idea of "standpoint" is suggested more forcibly by Mätzner, who says: "Es kann nämlich die ihrem Wesen nach der Zeit angehörende Thätigkeit, welche von ihrem Zeitpunkte oder Zeitraume aus ein Vorher und ein Nachher und somit ausserhalb ihrer Gegenwärtigkeit eine Vergangheit und Zukunft hat, von zwei Standpunkten aus gemessen oder in ihre drei objektiven Stufen eingetheilt werden." And further, "Der Redende kann nämlich die Thätigkeiten mit Beziehung auf die Zeit in welcher er redet, oder auf seine jedesmalige Gegenwart als gegenwärtig, vergangen oder zukünftig darstellen, oder mit Beziehung auf eine nicht mehr in *seine* Gegenwart fallende, also für ihn vergangene Zeit, welche durch den Zusammenhang der Rede

anderweitig näher bestimmt wird, die Thätigkeiten als damals gegenwärtig, vergangen oder zukünftig betrachten."

Lückner explains the distinction between the imperfect "aimais" and the past definite "aimai" by stating that the first expresses the action "im Werden," in progress, while the second, "die in der Vergangenheit werdende Thätigkeit unter die einfache Anschauung eines beschlossenen Daseins d. h. als Thatsache fallen lässt."

The distinction between "ideal" and "real" action (a very important discrimination) easily explains why Lücking does not include future time in his scheme, since "ideal" takes the place of "future." A definite standpoint in past time is, however, ignored, and the imperfect and past definite are respectively designated as both expressing "eine in der Vergangenheit unvollendet gedachte Handlung, und zwar (*a*) das Imperfekt eine damals im Verlauf begriffene, (*b*) das Perfekt eine damals eintretende."

The confusion between conditional (past-future) and past definite, which is possible with Ayer's definition, is not, however, possible here, since it is sufficiently guarded against by the distinction between "real" and "ideal."

Seeger[1] divides tenses into two groups: "Praesentia," or tenses of present time; and "Praeterita," or tenses of past time. The "Praesentia" relate the temporal condition of the action to the actual time of the speaker. The "Praeterita" are the tenses of historical representation (Darstellung). A somewhat vague standpoint can therefore be implied for the "Praesentia," but nothing of the kind is possible, according to the definition, with the "Praeterita." The "Praesentia" are present, past indefinite, future, and future perfect. In a note Seeger remarks that the simple tenses, present, imperfect, past definite, future, conditional are also called "Zeitformen des Werdens"; and the compound tenses, past indefinite, future perfect, pluperfect, and past anterior are also called "Zeitformen der Vollendung."

To this grouping (which is not, however, original; cf. Mätzner and others) the serious objection can be made that "aimerai" and "aimerais" which express, as Lücking brings out, not the statement of a "real" action, but merely the statement of "ideal" action

[1] *Lehrbuch der neufranzösischen Syntax*, 1884.

(action merely thought of), no more express "Werden" than they express "Vollendung." An action that has no real beginning cannot properly be said to be in progress (im Werden) merely because it also lacks a real ending.

Since Seeger groups together imperfect and past definite (and conditional) as "Zeitformen des Werdens," it is interesting to note how he differentiates between them: "Das französische Imperfekt stellt die Thätigkeit recht eigentlich als eine werdende, mitten in der Ausführung begriffene, unabgeschlossene dar. Beim Gebrauche des passé défini fliesst die Vorstellung einer werdenden mit der Vorstellung einer zum Abschluss kommenden und sich vollendenden Thätigkeit zu der einfachen Vorstellung einer sich vollziehenden Thätigkeit zusammen."

A vague feeling of standpoint can, however, be deduced from the statement, "Das passé défini ist das absolute Tempus und steht überall, wo es steht, um seiner selbst willen. Das Imperfekt ist das relative Tempus und rechtfertigt seinen Platz häufig nur durch seine Beziehung zu dem was vorangeht und folgt." Even more clearly defined standpoint is resorted to for the definition of the "imperfectum futuri": "Als echt historisches Futurum d. h. eine vom Standpunkt der Vergangenheit aus zukünftige Thätigkeit bezeichnend, steht dieses Tempus in der indirekten und in der abhängigen Rede."

It is noteworthy that having resorted to "standpoint" for the explanation of the past-future, Seeger did not further utilize it for the explanation of pluperfect and past anterior, of which he holds the certainly erroneous view (which is, however, shared by others) that "die beiden Tempora verhalten sich zu einander wie das Imperfektum und das passé défini."

Standpoint receives greater recognition in the historical French grammar of Brunot, who says, "Sommairement et logiquement le temps se divise par rapport au moment où l'on parle en trois portions: (1) ce moment même; (2) ce qui est antérieur; (3) ce qui est postérieur à ce moment. Le verbe distingue ces trois divisions. Il y a des temps marquant le présent, le passé, et le futur par rapport au moment où l'on parle." And farther on, "Une action déterminée peut être conçue comme étant antérieure ou postérieure ou

contemporaine non plus seulement au moment où l'on parle, mais d'une action quelconque elle-même présente, passée ou future par rapport au moment où l'on parle. . . . . En théorie il faudrait six temps de ce genre:

1°) un passé marquant l'antériorité
un présent marquant la simultanéité } par rapport au passé
un futur marquant la postériorité

2°) un passé marquant l'antériorité
un présent marquant la simultanéité } par rapport au futur,"
un futur marquant la postériorité

adding, however, that neither Latin nor French ever actually had all these tenses. Here the principle of standpoint is admitted as explicitly as in the diagram which I used myself, though in his definition Brunot ties it to the action of another verb. It should be remarked also that the imperfect and passé défini are not grouped together, but are considered as belonging to two different categories of tenses.

Robert[1] also divides time into: (1) the actual moment; (2) all the time which has preceded the actual moment; (3) all the time that will follow, and states that the tenses which mark the time are (1) the present, (2) the perfect, (3) the future. But he adds: ". . . . on peut présenter une action comme présente, passée ou future par rapport au moment où l'on parle ou bien par rapport à un moment du passé. De là deux séries de temps:

	Présents	Prétérits
Présent	marche	marchais marchai
Passé	ai marché	avais marché eus marché
Futur	marcherai aurai marché	marcherais aurais marché"

"Moment du passé" is almost an exact equivalent for "past standpoint," and according to Robert's diagram both the past definite and the imperfect are brought into relation to it; both, according to him, are "present at a past moment."

[1] *Questions de grammaire française.*

Brinkman[1] brings out very clearly the importance of "standpoint" for the understanding of tense-force. He calls "subjective" those tenses which emphasize the relation of the act of the verb to a definite standpoint "des betrachtenden Subjekts, des Sprechenden"; and "objective" those that express the action of the verb from the standpoint of the "acting subject." Brinkman's scheme, in a somewhat simplified form, is shown on p. 498.

It should be noticed that while Brinkman holds to one standpoint throughout, in the table of tenses "from the standpoint of the speaker," he is not able to do so in his table of "objective time of action"; in this he alternates between (*a*) standpoint of the speaker, and (*b*) and (*c*) standpoint of the "acting subject." According to the first table, the imperfect expresses "objective presence" to the past standpoint of the speaker; according to the second table, the imperfect together with the past definite express "objective present action from the standpoint of the acting subject in the past."

This grouping together of imperfect and past definite that is to be found in a majority of grammars (even outside of those that have been considered here) has not, however, failed to find opponents. A very vigorous attack upon this view of imperfect and past definite has been made, e.g., by This,[2] who feels so strongly an essential difference between the two tenses that he proposes to assign the past definite to a different mode, the "narrative." A somewhat similar view is held by Kalepky,[3] who says (p. 503) that the past definite is "mehr als blosse Tempus und Modusform, es ist zugleich Vorstellungskategorie für Zeitseiende und darf darnach nicht mit [*den Indikativen des*] présent, imparfait, futur, conditionnel, in eine Reihe und auf dieselbe Stufe gestellt werden." That Brunot avoids doing this has already been mentioned; and it would undoubtedly be easy to find others who take a similar position. In this connection it is, however, well to remember that there is no hard-and-fast dividing line between *mode* and *tense-force*. The *future* and *past-future* express a very different "mode of action" from the present (Lücking's *ideal* action as opposed to *real* action), so different that the *future* and

[1] *Syntax des Französischen und Englischen*, 1885.

[2] "Zur Lehre der Tempora und Modi im Französischen," *Gröber Festschrift*.

[3] "Zur franz. Syntax," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Phil.*, XVIII.

NACH DEM STANDPUNKTE DES SPRECHENDEN

Standpunkt des Sprechenden	Objektive Zeit der Handlung	Zeitformen
I) Vom Standpunkte der Gegenwart	*a*) als objektiv gegenwärtig *b*) als objektiv vergangen *c*) als objektiv zukünftig	je loue j'ai loué je louerai
II) Vom Standpunkte der Vergangenheit	*a*) als objektiv gegenwärtig *b*) als objektiv vergangen (als vergangen und bedingt) *c*) als objektiv zukünftig	je louais j'avais loué j'eus loué j'aurais loué je louerais
III) Vom Standpunkte der Zukunft	*a*) als objectiv gegenwärtig *b*) als objektiv vergangen *c*) als objektiv zukünftig	je louerais j'aurai loué (laudaturus ero)

NACH DER OBJEKTIVEN ZEIT DER HANDLUNG

Objective Zeit der Handlung	Gesichtspunkt	Die Zeitformen
I) Die objektiv gegenwärtige Handlung	*a*) vom Gesichtspunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts, Sprechenden	j'aime
	b) vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit	j'aimais j'aimai
	c) vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Zukunft	j'aimerai
II) Die objektiv vergangene Handlung	*a*) vom Standpunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts	j'ai aimé
	b) vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit	j'avais aimé j'eus aimé
	c) wenn bedingt vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Zukunft	j'aurai aimé
III) Die objektiv zukünftige Handlung	*a*) vom Standpunkt des betrachtenden Subjekts	j'aimerai j'aimerais
	b) vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Vergangenheit	j'aimerais
	c) vom Standpunkt des handlenden Subjekts in der Zukunft	(amaturus ero)

past-future tense-force is not infrequently accepted by the language as a perfect equivalent for the subjunctive mode-force. While I hope to show that it is not necessary to resort to the creation of a new mode-name for the explanation of the real difference between past definite and imperfect, I heartily agree with those who separate imperfect and past definite, against those who group them together.

Meyer-Lübke,[1] in his consideration of tenses, says that Latin expresses by its tense-forms two entirely different things: "le moment de la durée" ("Zeitstufe") and "la modalité de l'action" ("Aktionsart"). The first designates the time of action as present, past, and future; in Latin and the Romance languages timeless verb-forms do not enter into consideration. The "Aktionsart" indicates whether an action is durative, iterative, momentaneous, inchoative, or completed. Literary Latin had a present, and also a preterite that marked duration and one that did not, and a future. These statements are based to a great extent on Herbig's article, "Aktionsart und Zeitstufe,"[2] to which Meyer-Lübke refers; and a closer consideration of Herbig's opinions will help to throw a considerable light on the subject.

Herbig holds that "Aktionsart" and verbal action are indissolubly united; that in speech every verbal concept must enter into some relation to "Aktionsart"; but that the subjective time-spheres ("Zeitstufen") are categories that stand outside and above the simple verb-action. Individual verbal forms may assume a relation to them, but they are nowise obliged to do so.

Herbig considers "time-sphere" ("Zeitstufe") a later development of "Aktionsart," and says that this progress (for he considers it so) was due to the shifting of the attitude of the speaker. First, the speaker only considered the *kind* of action and rendered it accordingly in his speech; later he came to consider the action of the verb, even in its *temporary relation* to the actual present in which he spoke, and rendered it accordingly. In other words, the development of the idea of "time-sphere" in connection with verbal action was really a step on the road of greater subjectivity, and it will aid in the comprehension of the history of tense-force in French if we bear in mind

[1] *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, 119.

[2] *Indogermanische Forschungen*, VI.

that this language has traveled far on this road, and has not yet stopped its progress.

Elsewhere Herbig remarks that we may no longer distinguish the tenses from the essence of the verbs themselves. If, taking Herbig's clue, we inquire why this is so, we find that the verb-modifications that denoted originally "Aktionsart" only, and were characteristic of those verbs to which a given "Aktionsart" was essential, by their development into tense-forms (which was the result of their entering into some relation to time-sphere), became, so to speak, a rigid frame into which eventually even those verbs could be forced whose own essence logically excluded the "Aktionsart" upon which the given tense had been molded. Herbig himself shows (p. 200) that "der modus indicativus temporis presentis und die actio perfectiva schliessen begrifflich einander aus." Nevertheless a perfective verb like "come" is often used in the present indicative tense. Yet when we say "I come," the real meaning is (*a*) I am doing the act that will result in my coming, (*b*) I have just come, (*c*) I came (historical present), (*d*) I shall or will come.[1]

This discrepancy between tense-force and "Aktionsart" is especially noticeable in the passive voice. Clédat[2] says, "quand un mur est construit, on ne le construit plus, mais quand un homme est redouté, on le redoute encore."

All the examples that Vising gives (in his above-mentioned article) of the "imperfectum conatus" are perfective verbs: "écraser, enlever, oublier, tuer, étouffer, suffoquer, crever," and the peculiar tense-force is fully accounted for by the discrepancy of the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb and the real tense-force of the imperfect.

One of the constituent elements of tense-force is then "solidified Aktionsart," the other is "time-sphere." Time-sphere ("Zeitstufe") is, according to Herbig, the result of an increase of subjectivity in the attitude of the speaker, who brought the verbal concept into subjective relation with the actual time of his speaking. Looked at from the moment of actual speaking, time naturally appears to the

[1] The essential "Aktionsart" will, of course, be greatly influenced by the context. Thus in "I read Latin" the verb is "durative," in "I read the whole book," it is perfective, while in "I read through the five volumes of his works," the verb is iterative perfective.

[2] "Double valeur des temps du passif," *Revue de Philologie Française et Provençale.*

speaker in three divisions, "spheres": past, present, and future; the present being felt as somewhat more than merely a point dividing past and future. And the action of the verb seen from the time of speaking will appear, (A) as a whole, (B) in some distinct stage of progress. The action "as a whole" will be felt to be momentaneous," or "durative."[1]

A) According to the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb, the simple (1) *momentaneous verb* may appear as (2) *momentaneous-inchoative* or (3) *momentaneous-perfective;* the durative verb, by stressing beginning, duration, or completion may be (4) *durative-inchoative*, (5) *durative-intensive*, (6) *durative-perfective.*

B) The act that appears in some distinct stage of progress may be (7) *begun and in progress*, or (8) *completed.* Or the beginning which is tacitly implied in every action that is seen in progress may drop out of sight altogether and leave the action (9) *in progress*, with no consideration of beginning or end, but with the important difference that continuation logically implies the reality of a beginning, but by no means necessarily of the end of the action thus viewed.

If now we bring these different possible tense-forces into a diagram and ask what tenses, if any, express them, we get the following scheme, which it is profitable to compare with Piazza's Italian one given above.

Past Time-Sphere	Present Time-Sphere	Future Time-Sphere
A, 1) La foudre frappa l'arbre.	1) La foudre frappe l'arbre.	1) La foudre frappera l'arbre.
2) Le coup partit.	2) Le coup part.	2) Le coup partira.
3) La balle le tua.	3) La balle le tue.	3) La balle le tuera.
4) Il apprit l'anglais.	4) Il apprend l'anglais.	4) Il apprendra l'anglais.
5) La guerre dura longtemps.	5) La guerre dure longtemps.	5) La guerre durera longtemps.
6) Il bâtit la maison.	6) Il bâtit la maison.	6) Il bâtira la maison.
B,	7) J'étudie l'anglais depuis quelques mois.	
8) Les ateliers se vidèrent.		
	9) Il pleut sans cesse.	

[1] Mätzner denies the difference between momentaneous and durative action, since all action must have some duration, however short. Even admitting that "durative" and "momentaneous" are not essentially different, it is impossible not to insist that they do denote a very important distinction. And in the whole discussion of tenses it is well to bear in mind that we rarely have to deal with mutually exclusive opposites, but rather with frequently overlapping phases of one phenomenon.

Moreover, the context can change the action of the verb into iterative action, e.g., *La foudre frappait les arbres, Il lut les cinq volumes des œuvres de cet auteur, Il bâtit plusieurs maisons.*

The imperfect, past definite, past-future (conditional), future perfect, pluperfect, and past anterior find no place in this scheme of tenses. Why not? Because their tense-force implies not only "time-sphere" but a specialized phase of time-sphere, "standpoint" in this sphere. If time-sphere, according to Herbig, arose because the speaker brought the objective "Aktionsart" into subjective relation to the actual moment of speaking, standpoint became differentiated from pure time-sphere when the speaker took one more step on the road of subjectivity, allowing his mind to assume a definite standpoint in each time-sphere from which to view the action of the verb, primarily in relation to this subjective standpoint and secondarily, if at all, in its relation to the actual time of speaking. As far as the present is concerned, this increased subjectivity only stresses the standpoint; it by no means changes it. It would be foolhardy, indeed, from the point of view of the Romance languages to attempt to decide when and in what way standpoint was differentiated from time-sphere; whether they came into being simultaneously or consecutively.

This much seems evident, however: some tenses mark a relation both to time-sphere and to standpoint; some to standpoint only; one to time-sphere only, or at least principally. The first are, e.g., present and future; the second imperfect, past indefinite, pluperfect, past anterior, past-future, future perfect; the last one is the past definite. Much has been said and written on the difference between imperfect and past definite, and yet if my surmise should prove true, the difference would reduce itself to just this: the imperfect always implies a relation to the definite standpoint in the past time-sphere, and this relation is the one of a present to the subjective past standpoint. The past definite, on the contrary, either enters into no relation with a subjective standpoint at all, remaining thus a typical "time-sphere tense," with an unstressed relation to the time of actual speaking, or by stressing this relation, it may become a "standpoint tense"; but the standpoint is then always the present and never the past one. In modern French, however, it seems safe to say that the past definite is only a "time-sphere tense."

From the present standpoint the speaker, as we have seen, can perceive the *present* action of the verb either as a whole or in progress. The verb-action "as a whole" may be momentaneous or imply duration. With the action in progress the beginning may be stressed, or beginning and end may be equally disregarded. Since the action of the verb can be seen in all these different phases, when present to a present standpoint, there is no reason why it should not be seen in a similar way when present to the past standpoint. The imperfect expresses the action in all these possible present phases in relation to a past standpoint.

SUBJECTIVE PAST STANDPOINT
(Objective Present Action)

A, 1) Quelques minutes après il se jetait à la rivière.[1]
2) Le bateau partait le lendemain.[1]
3) Elle sortait du Sacré Cœur.[1]
4) Walter s'installait dans son nouveau domicile.[2]
5) Autrefois la guerre durait plus longtemps qu'aujourd'hui.
6) Il construisait une maison.
L'empereur finissait comme il avait commencé.[2]
B, 7) Il y avait longtemps que nous étions en Angleterre.[3]
8)
9) Il pleuvait sans cesse.

(The context, moreover, can introduce iterative force: "Le bateau partait tous les jours à dix heures," "Autrefois les guerres duraient plus longtemps qu'aujourd'hui," "Il construisait des maisons.")

The imperfect in a sentence like "Il n'avait pas fait dix pas qu'il s'arrêtait, battait l'air de ses deux bras, et tombait d'un seul coup par terre,"[4] has been called the "pictorial imperfect," and explained as being used "where normally the past definite might be expected." And it does take the place of the past definite in a certain sense, but not in the sense of bodily substitution. What really happens (if my surmise is correct) would rather be that the more subjective standpoint is substituted for the vaguer, less subjective time-sphere. Once given the past standpoint, any action that appears in the present from that standpoint, whether it be seen as a whole or in a stage of

[1] Taken from Stenhagen, *Neuere Sprachen*, II, 311.
[2] Vising, VII, 41.
[3] E. de Pressensé, Le petit marquis.
[4] Armstrong, *Syntax of the French Verb*.

progress, whether its beginning, or its duration or its completion be stressed, must of necessity take the imperfect and can take no other tense. It is this increasing encroachment of the more subjective past standpoint for the vaguer and less subjective past time-sphere that explains the preference modern French shows for the imperfect in many cases where Old French still commonly used the past definite. See on this point Vising,[1] and Morf.[2]

At the risk of repetition, it is necessary to insist that past time-sphere and past standpoint do not stand over against each other as mutually exclusive opposites. Standpoint is time-sphere (though all time-sphere is not standpoint) rendered, often only transiently and momentarily, more precise, more subjective.

In the following sentence: "Devenu songeur outre mesure, il lisait les *Pensées* de Pascal, il lisait la sublime *Histoire des variations* de Bossuet, il lisait Bonald, il lut saint Augustin, il voulut aussi parcourir les œuvres de Swedenborg," etc.;[3] and in the sentence (quoted by Kalepky, Mätzner and Seeger), "Les accusés avaient des défenseurs, ils n'en eurent plus, ... on les jugeait individuellement, on les jugea en masse," the change in tense from imperfect to past definite indicates that the definite standpoint assumed in past time while looking at the action of the first verbs fades for the second into mere time-sphere; and the moment this happens the past definite and not the imperfect becomes the required tense.

But is such a change from a more to a less subjective attitude possible within the same sentence? *Some* change in attitude is generally admitted, even in sentences like "Il arriva pendant que je *parlais*," of which Mr. Armstrong[4] says, "The activity, viewed from a standpoint in the past was occurring, was going on."[5] In this simple, commonplace sentence we have then, according to Mr. Armstrong's definitions, first the attitude of a looker-on at a present

[1] *Franz. St.*, VII, 11.

[2] "Die Tempora Historica im Französischen," *Neuere Sprachen*, XI, 308.

[3] Balzac, *Ursule Mirouet*, chap. vii, ed. Ollendorff, 1901, p. 105; example kindly suggested to me by Professor William A. Nitze.

[4] *Syntax of the French Verb*, p. 30.

[5] And in "The French Past Definite, Imperfect and Past Indefinite," *Modern Philology*, VI, 3: "The imperfect then is the tense used to stress continuation or repetition in the past. . . . . Properly speaking, the imperfect is a present in a past. The speaker, instead of looking back into the past as he does when he uses the past definite, transfers himself to the time of action, so that he is a looker-on."

action, "the standpoint *of a contemporary spectator*" (p. 30, note), then the attitude "*of looking back into the past*" ("the past definite," says Mr. Armstrong, p. 35, "is the form which expresses past time"). This "past time" corresponds exactly to what I have called "time-sphere," and the past definites "*eurent*" and "*jugea*" in the one sentence, and "*arriva*" in the other equally express past time-sphere, a "looking backward" on the part of the speaker, while the imperfects equally express a "looking-on" from "a standpoint in the past." If in one sentence we feel that the past definites have inchoative force and practically stress the completion of the preceding imperfects (the tense which is considered incapable of expressing completion!), it is merely a question of context. Nothing more is needed, it seems to me, to account fully for the tense-use in these sentences than to account for it in the commonplace, "Il arriva pendant que je parlais."

Again, the difference between the imperfect and past definite seems to be that the former has specialized its function of "present to a subjective past standpoint," and the latter never has entered into any relation to the past standpoint at all. It remained the typical past time-sphere tense, but also entered into (or, more exactly, stressed its existing relation to) present time, inclusive of present standpoint. In this force it eventually had a most formidable rival in the past indefinite, and it is claimed that in modern French the past definite has completely lost its force of present perfect ("logisches Perfekt"), a force that still survives in Italian and some other Romance languages.[1] Here again it may be well to point out that there is no opposition between the use of the same verb-form as logical perfect (present perfect) and as historical perfect, "pure time-sphere tense." The difference lies only in the greater or lesser stress laid on the subjective attitude of the speaker.[2]

Given the time-sphere (and the past definite is the true past tense of the time-sphere), the present standpoint is implied, weakly subjective compared to the more strongly subjective standpoint, but

[1] For an opposite view, it may be well to quote Mätzner: "Beide Zeitformen stehen auf demselben Boden der Vergangenheit, welche der Redende nicht mehr von seiner Zeitsphäre aus betrachtet, indem er sich vielmehr aus dieser schlechthin auf den Boden der objektiven Vergangenheit versetzt."

[2] Mätzer, p. 329: "Der Unterschied zwischen absoluten und relativen Tempora ist nicht durch die Natur derselben bedingt; jede Zeitform ist in einem gewissen Sinne relativ."

strongly subjective when compared to mere "Aktionsart." There is no past definite nowadays that has no connection with the actual time of speaking.[1] This time of speaking cannot help to imply, even if it fails to stress "present standpoint." Thus Mr. Armstrong (*Syntax of French Verb*, p. 35) says of the past definite, "It is the true past tense, and represents a looking backward." But a looking backward necessitates a point of vantage from which to look, a "standpoint," and since this standpoint is evidently not the past nor the future one, it can only be the present one. If these views prove acceptable to those competent to judge, the error of Ayer, Lücking, Mätzner, and others in grouping the past definite and imperfect together in their classification of tenses becomes apparent, and its cause can be determined. It consists in a failure to discriminate sufficiently and consistently between "time-sphere" and "standpoint," a failure that cannot help obscuring the difference between the specialization of function of the imperfect and past definite.

Granted—at least for the time being—that the past definite expresses a looking backward (from the less subjective time of speaking, if not from the more subjective present standpoint), how will the action of the verb thus looked back upon appear to the speaker? It seems to me that it is logically impossible to view the act "looked back upon" except as a whole. The tense-force of the past definite is therefore comparable to a frame which of itself must supply beginning and end. But beginning and end of the action imply some duration. Moreover, all other things being equal, the backward look will tend to bring into relief, to *stress* completion. The "Aktionsart" of the verb (easily affected as we have seen by the context) can easily shift the stress, without, however, allowing beginning and end to drop completely out of sight, as is so frequently the case with the imperfect.

Combining the tense-force of the past definite with the possible "Aktionsarten"[2] of the verb, we get the following results:

[1] For an almost "timeless" use the following example taken from Vising, *Franz. St.*, VII, 27, can be quoted, "Le temps détruisit toujours les liaisons des méchants."

[2] A comparison with the different "Aktionsarten," as Brugmann specifies them (*Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 493), may be of interest here. He distinguishes between: (1) punktuelle (momentane, perfektive, aoristische); (2) kursive (durative, imperfektive); (3) perfektische Aktion, expressing, "ein Zustand des Subjectes der sich aus einer vorhergehenden Handlung desselben ergeben hat: *er*

A, 1)	Momentaneous:	La foudre frappa l'arbre.
2)	Momentaneous-inchoative:	Le coup partit.
3)	Momentaneous-perfective:	La balle le tua.
4)	Durative inchoative:	Elle apprit son malheur. Je sus ce qui en était.
5)	Durative:	
	(duration unstressed)	Charlemagne fut un grand roi.
	(duration stressed)	La guerre dura longtemps.
6)	Durative perfective:	La neige fondit. Les ateliers se vidèrent.
	Iterative:	
	(durative-perfective)	Il lut les cinq volumes des œuvres de cet auteur.
	(momentaneous-inchoative)[1]	Chaque jour la belle découvrit de nouvelles bontés de ce monstre.

It should be noted that while perfective "Aktionsart" and completed stage are akin, they are not, however, identical. Still an "imperfective" durative verb forced into the "completing" tense-frame of the past definite, will produce a "cumulative" effect similar to the one produced by a perfective verb placed in the imperfect tense. "Le jour après il mourait" conveys completion to our mind just as well as "La guerre dura longtemps"; only in the first case this sense of completion is caused by the "Aktionsart" of the verb itself; in the second, by the tense-force.

When it happens that the essential "Aktionsart" and the tense-force or tense-frame exactly coincide, the "cumulative" result is a peculiar sense of fitness that tends to leave the impression of being the use *par excellence* of the given tense. Thus the fact that the imperfect does not of itself provide any limiting, completing frame, and is naturally very frequently used with durative, imperfective verbs, has tended to create the impression that to stress duration is

hat ausfindig gemacht, er weiss"; (4) iterative Aktion (geht in intensive über); (5) terminative (durativ-perfektive). His first practically covers my first three; his second, my fifth; his third, my fourth, which I have called "durative inchoative," stressing the incipient "Zustand" rather than the preceding "Handlung," which does not seem to have, from the modern French standpoint, the importance it undoubtedly had for Brugmann; his fourth "iterative" seems in French to be usually the result of the context, being rarely inherent in a verb itself. This point would require, however, closer investigation. His fifth would correspond to my sixth, and could aptly assume his designation, "terminative."

[1] Other iterative combinations are undoubtedly possible. The examples given may suffice for the present.

the vital function of the imperfect; the fact that the imperfect represents the action of any verb as present to a past standpoint, and that, therefore, the "Aktionsart" of the verb could of itself supply beginning and end, has been overshadowed.

This "completing frame" that the tense-force of the imperfect fails to supply, is always supplied by the past definite, and the "Aktionsart" of the verb will easily stress beginning and end, and bring them out with great relief. Viewed in this light, it is easy to see that the discordant opinions I have had to record contain all a certain measure of truth, though not the complete truth.

A special examination of the other tenses of the indicative (especially of the pluperfect and past anterior) would be of interest, but it shall not be undertaken here. If the principles I have tried to elucidate are accepted, their application to the other tenses of the indicative is obvious. A summary of the foregoing discussion may not be out of place, however, before returning to its application to elementary teaching.

A clear comprehension of tense-force is greatly helped by a survey of its gradual development. In their most primitive stage verb-forms denoted "Aktionsart" only, and while we have no timeless verb-forms in French today, we still have a timeless use of the present, and very rarely of a past definite.[1] The next stage of development is marked by the verb-forms that denoted time-sphere as well as "Aktionsart," and these verb-forms have given origin to our tenses. A third stage (in point of development, if not in point of time) is reached by intensifying the subjective attitude already initiated by the time-sphere tenses, through the assumption by the mind of the speaker of a definite standpoint in time-sphere, beside the moment of actual speaking.

Tenses as we have them today are a crystallization of "Aktionsart" and time-sphere, which have become indissolubly welded. But the essential "Aktionsart" of individual verbs still has more or less affinity with, or antagonism to, different tenses, and stresses their force or modifies it. In this combination of tense-force with the varied "Aktionsart" of different verbs must be sought the explanation of the apparently contradictory uses of the same tense.

[1] Compare example quoted on p. 506, note.

The following diagram will give a survey of the development of tense-force:

TIMELESS VERB-FORMS
(No distinct verb-forms in French)
Present
Past definite (very rare)

TIME-SPHERE

Past Definite	Present	Future
Standpoint Past	Standpoint Present	Standpoint Future

(*Diagram given on first page*)

The third stage is the most important in the teaching of modern French, since it is the really living one; it should therefore be presented first and most vividly to beginners. The diagram is, however, capable of expansion, and the introduction of the various tense-uses, due to the essential "Aktionsart" of the verb, is merely a question of space, and the stage of advancement of the students. If I have succeeded in establishing my case, the claim will hold good that at no further stage of advancement would the student of French be called upon to take a different view of the nature of tense-force in French than he was made to take in the first place; and all later necessary distinctions can come as a natural development of the first elementary presentation. Should this elementary presentation really succeed in conveying the truth about the real nature of tense-force without the need of cataloguing long lists of "different uses" of the same tense, perhaps it is not too sanguine to hope, "dass das Wesen der Sache erfasst ist."

C. J. CIPRIANI

CHICAGO

HUMAN AUTOMATA IN CLASSICAL TRADITION AND MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE[1]

In the second volume of his well-known treatise, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (2d ed., Florence, 1896, 2 vols.), Domenico Comparetti has enumerated the various automata which were ascribed to the magic art of Virgil in the Middle Ages.[2] Many other automata are noted in W. A. Clouston's *On the Magical Elements in the Squire's Tale with Analogues*, in Part II of John Lane's *Continuation of Chaucer's "Squire's Tale,"* Chaucer Society's Publications, Second Series (issue for 1889). Clouston's treatise has a wider scope than Comparetti's, as far as this particular matter is concerned, and his list of examples, drawn from oriental as well as occidental sources, includes all sorts of wonderful contrivances, from magical steeds like that in the Squire's Tale to Major Weir's staff.[3] He does not devote, however, any especial attention to the French mediaeval romances. On the other hand, examples from these works have latterly been collected by Adolf Hertel in his Göttingen dissertation (1908), entitled *Verzauberte Örtlichkeiten und Gegenstände in der altfranzösischen erzählenden Dichtung*, pp. 17 ff. For some years previously I had myself been interested in the subject of human automata in literature and in my reading of the romances had noted

[1] I have limited myself to human automata, although this is, of course, only one branch of the general subject of automata. I have accordingly excluded animal automata endowed with intelligence such as are found in literature from the dogs of gold and silver that keep watch at the doors of the palace of Alcinous, *Odyssey*, vii. 91 ff., to the copper lions that guard the *ponz de l'espee* that leads into the kingdom of Gorre in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS 337 (cf. Freymond's analysis in *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XVII, 65) and beyond.

[2] For the modern period Comparetti is supplemented by C. G. Leland's *Unpublished Legends of Virgil*, New York, 1900. Notice especially as bearing on the subject of this article, the story (pp. 152 ff.) called "Virgil, the Wicked Princess, and the Iron Man." The princess calls in young men, feasts them, and sleeps with them, but at breakfast next day they are poisoned. A young friend of Virgil suffers death in the adventure, so Virgil makes an Iron Man, who goes through the experience of the rest, but the poison, of course, has no effect on him. The automaton takes her to an underground cavern where the ghosts of her murdered lovers are. There she is compelled to drink poison.

[3] For instances of broom and pestle which, by magic, fulfil all commands, carry water, etc., see the article, "La fabula del pistello da l'agliata," Reinhold Köhler's *Kleinere Schiften*, II, 435 ff. (3 vols. Berlin, 1898–1900).

instances of the occurrence of this conception.[1] My list tallies substantially with Hertel's, but he has omitted some examples and has made no attempt to trace any historical connection between those that he gives. Such a connection, however, is traceable in the majority of cases. Furthermore, he merely offers the general suggestion that such conceptions are probably of oriental origin. This, I believe, is true in the main and should have been taken into account by Comparetti[2] in his study of the Virgil legend, since Southern Italy was peculiarly exposed to oriental influences. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that conceptions of this kind, as the following pages will show, were common in Greek literature and may have penetrated thence into the oral traditions of Western Europe.[3] In any event, it is interesting to bring together the two sets of examples —ancient and mediaeval.

The earliest human automata in literature are those described in the *Iliad*, xviii. 417 ff., in connection with the visit of Thetis to Hephaestus concerning the shield of Achilles. It is to be observed that these "handmaidens of gold" are endowed with intelligence, a point that is not always clear in the mediaeval examples. The lines are as follows:

> But there were handmaidens of gold that moved to help their lord, the semblances of living maids. In them is understanding at their hearts, in them are voice and strength and they have the skill of the immortal gods. These moved beneath their lord.—*The Iliad Done into English Prose*, by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers, London, 1907.

The following are the remaining examples in Greek literature, as far as they are known to me, which I give (in chronological order) with such comment as seems necessary in individual cases:

[1] In his note on the "Salle aux Images," J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan, par Thomas*, II, 312, note 2 (Société des Anciens Textes Français) had already cited three instances, *Huon de Bordeaux*, the prose *Lancelot*, and the continuation of Chrêtien's *Perceval*. See also some examples in F. Wohlgemuth's *Riesen u. Zwerge in der altfranzösischen Dichtung*, 37 f. (Leipzig, 1907). The figure in *Fierabras*, 2483 ff., however, is certainly a giantess, not an automaton. Similarly the figure cited by Hertel, p. 17, from *Fergus*, 2126 ff. (p. 58), is merely a statue.

[2] Comparetti, II, 19 ff., argues convincingly that the legend of Virgil originated at Naples. Clouston, p. 305, is inclined to believe that the notion of Virgil's magical images was introduced into Europe by the Arabs through Spain.

[3] One has to reckon also with the possibility of independent invention—for, after all, the conception even of human automata is not a very far-fetched one. It is most likely, however, that with the Greeks also the notion of automata was of oriental origin. The story of *Talus* is ascribed to Phoenician influence in L. Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, I, 136, 4th ed., Berlin, 1894.

Pindar, *Olympia*, vii. 94 ff., praising the skill of the people of Rhodes in the arts, says: "Works of art like unto living and moving creatures used to go about their streets."[1]

Plato, *Euthyphro*, Teubner ed. of Plato, I. 17, Socrates says:

> Your words, Euthyphro, are like the handiwork of my ancestor Daedalus; and if I were the sayer or propounder of them, you might say that this comes of my being his relation and that this is the reason why my arguments walk away and wont remain fixed where they are placed.[2]

We have evidently here an allusion to automata fashioned by Daedalus—whether human or not, it is impossible to say.

The most famous of all such conceptions in literature, perhaps, is Talus, the man of brass, in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, IV, ll. 1636 ff., whom Zeus gave to Europa as a guardian of Crete:

> Who was a survivor of the brazen race of ash-born men among men semi-divine.[3]

It is to be observed, however, from these lines that Talus was not the work of an artificer or magician, as is usually the case with such figures, but a survivor from the Age of Brass—the last of the χάλκειον γένος of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, ll. 143 ff., which passage Apollonius here evidently has in mind, only he interprets the adjective in a literal sense. The passage in Apollonius is too long to

[1] So translated in a note to the passage in C. A. M. Fennell's edition. This seems to me a better interpretation than "were placed in the high roads." W. Christ in his edition of Pindar (Leipzig, 1896), sees in the line a reminiscence of the above-quoted passage from the *Iliad*.

[2] *The Dialogues of Plato, translated into English* by B. Jowett (4 vols., New York, 1892), I, 296. This passage is cited by Fennell in the note referred to above. Socrates uses the same image in Plato's *Meno*. See Teubner ed. of Plato, iii. 357.

[3] Hesiod says, *loc. cit. infra*, that Zeus created the men of the Age of Brass from ash-trees. For phrases in Greek writers which seem to imply that man was originally created from trees or stones, see note to the *Iliad*, xxii. 126, in Walter Leaf's edition (2d ed., 1900–2). Similar are Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 314, and Juvenal's *Satires*, vi. 12.

In an instructive note on Talus—the best I have seen on the subject—H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes: Les Argonautiques: Traduction française suivie de notes critiques* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1892), p. 402, says that only in Apollonius and Eustathius (twelfth century) is Talus represented as given to Europa by Zeus. See Eustathius' *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1825–26), II, 238. Commenting on *Odyssey*, xx. 302, he describes how Talus caught strangers that came to Crete, leaped into the fire with them, and, holding them to his breast, grinned sardonically as they were consumed. Usually Talus is a brass giant made by Hephaestus and given by him to Minos to guard Crete. But only Apollodorus (quoted below) seems to state this distinctly. According to Cinaithon—see Pausanias, VIII. 53, cited by the French translator—Talus was the father of Hephaestus.

give in its entirety. It is sufficient to say that being of brass, Talus was invulnerable except for an artery-like pipe which, filled with ichor, runs down the side of the ankle. He prevents the Argonauts from landing by throwing stones at them, but Medea by her enchantments causes him to strike the vein against a sharp-pointed rock, so the vital fluid runs out and he perishes.

In the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus Atheniensis, p. 33 (Teubner ed.), we have a description of Talus, according substantially with that of Apollonius of Rhodes—only Apollodorus says that Hephaestus gave the man of brass to Minos, and he mentions various accounts of his end: Medea ran him insane by her arts or under the pretense of rendering him immortal, she pulled out the nail which kept in the vital fluid, and some even said that Poias had slain him by shooting him in the ankle, that is, in the one vulnerable spot.[1]

Just as Apollonius interprets Hesiod in a literal sense and regards the men of the Brazen Age as really made of brass, so for Lucian the men of the Golden Age were really made of gold. In his *Cronica* (Teubner ed. of Lucian, III, 305 f.) the priest says to Cronos (Saturn) that if a man of the Golden Age were to turn up in his (the priest's) time, he would be immediately torn to pieces, so eager would everybody be to get a piece of him. See *ibid.*, p. 312 in the *Epistolae Cronicae*, for the same conception. In Lucian this might be regarded merely as a humorous fancy, but the similar passage concerning

[1] Apollodorus, p. 18, relates of a Talus of Athens that he was the nephew of Daedalus whom he rivaled in ingenuity. Daedalus at last killed him, being jealous of his skill. Evidently this Talus was not a man of brass, and he has little in common with the Cretan Talus save his name. H. de la Ville de Mirmont in the above-mentioned note speaks of the difference between the Athenian and Cretan traditions concerning Talus. He quotes a saying preserved by a scholiast from Sophocles' lost play, *Talos*, to the effect that "it was the decree of fate that this giant should die." This seems to imply the same conception of Talus as in the Cretan tradition.

In his *Observations on the "Fairy Queen" of Spenser* (2 vols., London, 1862) Thomas Warton, I, 97, cites the passage concerning Talus in Plato's *Minos* (Teubner ed. of Plato, iv. 453). Plato, however, rationalizes the legend. According to Apollodorus, Talus made the circuit of Crete three times a day; according to Plato three times a year. In Plato he is merely a strict minister of justice and was called "brazen," simply because he carried with him the laws engraved in brass. Talus, the "yron man," plays a considerable part, of course, in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book V, as the attendant of Artegall. The same character doubtless suggested to Spenser, Disdain, the giant of gold, who guards a gate in the Cave of Mammon, Book II, Canto VII, st. 40 ff.

There are references to Talus as the man of brass who makes the circuit of Crete in Lucian's *Works* (Teubner ed.), II, 160 (*Saltatio*) and III, 108 f. (*Philopseudes*). In the latter Lucian implies that the automata of Daedalus (cf. above Plato's *Euthyphro*) were wooden. The walking statue of Pelichus, the Corinthian general, in this same passage is not an automaton. It belongs rather in the realm of ghost-stories.

Talus in Apollonius of Rhodes makes it seem likely that such conceptions with regard to the Age of Gold, of Brass, etc., were not peculiar to these authors.

Let us turn now to the mediaeval romances.[1] The earliest example I am familiar with in works of this class occurs in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ll. 352 ff. (ed. E. Koschwitz, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1900), a poem of the first half of the twelfth century. In the description of the wonders of the palace at Constantinople something is apparently wanting immediately before l. 352. The passage accordingly begins abruptly:

De cuivre et de metal tresjetet dous enfanz.
Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
Se galerne ist de mer, bise ne altre venz
Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
Il le font torneier et menut et sovent,
Come roë de char qui a terre descent.
Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
Com tabors o toneires o granz cloche qui pent;
Li uns esguardet l'altre ensement en riant
Que ço vos fust viaire que tuit fussent vivant.

These lines do not appear to have influenced the later romances.

[1] The introduction of human automata (apparently endowed with intelligence) into works of this class was no doubt favored by the common notion of the Middle Ages, ultimately derived from the patristic writers, that oracles were really the voices of evil spirits concealed in images of the pagan deities—indeed, that the gods of Greece and Rome were merely devils. This is well illustrated, for instance, in the following passage of the *Roman de Thèbes*, II, 106 ff. (ed. of L. Constans for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1890):

Encor n'erent pas crestiien
Mais por le siécle tot paiien:
L'un aouroient Tervagan,
L'autre Mahom et Apolan;
L'un les estoiles et les signes,
Et li auquant les ymagines;
Li un fisent ymages d'or,
Qu'il pendoient en leur tresor,
L'un de keuvre, d'estain, d'argent,
Cèles de fust la povre gent.
De çou quidoient avoir dons.
Et li dius lor donnast respons:
Ce n'ert pas voirs, ains estoit fable,
Car çou erent li vif diable
Qui les respons a els donoient
Et les caitis en decevoient.

Cf. with this *Estoire del Saint Graal*, Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1909), I, 45 (devil in an image of Mars); *Perlesvaus*, Branch XXX, 15. The devil would even enter an image of the Virgin Mary. See Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum*, II, 668 (London, 1893). In *Enfances Guillaume* (Léon Gautier's *Les épopées Françaises*, 2d ed., IV, 298) a man enters an image of Mahomet and simulates the oracle. Even for John Milton, oracles are the utterances of devils. See *Paradise Regained*, I, 430 ff. This conception of oracles is familiar also to Mahometans; cf. *Les cent et une nuits, traduites de l'arabe* par G. Demombynes, p. 302, Paris, 1911.

Probably[1] the next in date of the passages is the one in the *Eneas* (*ca.* 1160), ll. 7691 ff., ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891). Describing the tomb of Camilla, the poet says:

Ja mais la lanpe ne charra
tant com li colons la tendra;
il la tendreit toz tens mais bien,
se nen esteit seul une rien:
un archier ot de l'altre part,
tresgetez fu par grant esguart,
endreit le colon ert asis
sor un perron de marbre bis;
son arc tot entesé teneit
et cele part visot tot dreit.
Li boldons esteit encochiez
et esteit si apareilliez
que le colon de bot ferist,
tantost com de la corde issist.
Li archiers puet longues viser
et toz tens mais l'arc enteser,
mais ja li boldons n'en istreit,
se primes l'arc ne distendeit
li laz d'une regoteore,
ki apareilliez ert desore,
ki teneit l'arc toz tens tendu.
A un sofle fust tot perdu:
ki soflast la regoteore,
et el destendist en es l'ore
et li archiers idonc traisist
dreit al colon si l'abatist,
donc fust la chaeine rompue
et la lanpe tote espandue.

Salverda de Grave[2] sees rightly in the satyr of the Chambre de Beautés of the *Roman de Troie* (*ca.* 1160), Constans' ed., II, 374 ff., the influence of this archer. The passage in question is too long to

[1] The relative date of the *Eneas* and *Roman de Troie* is not altogether settled.

[2] Introduction, xxix, note. He also calls attention to the fact that this lamp and archer are found in the Virgil legend. Cf. the *Image du monde* (*ca.* 1245) quoted by Comparetti, II, 200 f.—somewhat similar also in Conrad of Querfurt (end of twelfth century), *ibid.*, II, 186. Salverda de Grave is inclined to believe that *Eneas* is earlier than the Virgil legend. I believe myself that the latter in all probability took over this particular feature from the romances. No existing text of the legend is so old as the *Eneas* or *Roman de Troie*. The first romance that makes any considerable use of the Virgil legend is the *Cleomadès* of Adenès li Rois (end of the thirteenth century). Even in Italy the diffusion of the legend was slow. See Comparetti, II, 139.

quote in full. We have there four automata, two female and two male. One of the female figures held a magic mirror, the other performed somersaults on its column. One of the male images played on all sorts of musical instruments and scattered flowers. The figure of an eagle sat on this image at which "un satirel hisdos" was constantly shooting. The second of the male images showed every man what he most needed.

In the Salle aux Images of Thomas' *Tristan*, I, 309 ff. (*ca.* 1170), ed. J. Bédier, (2 vols., Paris, 1902–5, for the Société des Anciens Textes Français), we have no doubt an imitation of the Chambre de Beautés of the *Roman de Troie*. At least, the images in the latter probably suggested those in the former.[1] In the *Tristan* poem, the hero has images of Iseult of Cornwall, Mark, etc., made and placed in this hall (in Brittany). Iseult's image is guarded by one of the giant, Moldagog, which was constantly brandishing an iron club (p. 312).

Contemporary with Thomas' *Tristan*—whether somewhat earlier or somewhat later it is impossible to say—is the *Roman d'Alexandre* of Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, edited by H. Michelant as Vol. XIII of the "Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart" (Stuttgart, 1846). In the section of this work called by the editor, *Fontaine de Jouvence*, Alexander comes to a bridge (p. 343) defended as follows:

> de l'autre part de l'pont ot i. tresgeteis
> ii enfans, de fin or, fais en molle fondis.
> li i. fu lons et grailes, l'autres gros et petis;
> members orent bien fais, vis formés et traitis;
> si com l'os aproca et il oent les cris,
> cescuns saisit i. mail, s'est li pas contredis,
> par desous ot i. brief que i. clers ot escris,
> qu'est fait par ingremance desfendre à l'plaseis.

Alexander retires, but an old Persian who is accompanying him says that he will stop the images. This is the way he does it (p. 344):

> Pres de l'encantement est cil ajenellies
> et saut de l'pont en l'iave et puis est redreciés.
> ses mains tendi en haut et revint sor ses piés,
> puis se rabaise en l'iave, ii. fois i est plonciés.

[1] See Bédier's note to p. 309.

à la tierce fois quant il fu essechiés,
voiant tous caus en l'iave li enfés bronciés
par tel air en l'iave que tous est depeciés;
voiant les ious le roi, est des poisons mangiés.
puis que li i. d'aus fu en l'iave périlliés,
ne pot durer li autres que ne soit depeciés.
i. diables l'enporte ki fu aparilliés,
les jambes li pecoient, les bras li a brisiés.

This feature of the French poem is not found in the Greek and Latin versions of the Alexander legend. Like the whole episode with which it is connected—also unrepresented in these versions—it is, no doubt, of oriental origin.[1] We have here for the first time the two automata defending the entrance to something—a conception which, as we shall see, recurs in several of the later romances.

Later on, in the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Michelant's ed., p. 445), we have two similar figures guarding with "bastons d'argent" the splendid tomb which Alexander had erected over the Admiral:

com autre campion vont-il esciermissant.

So it would seem that in both these instances the automata are endowed with intelligence.

Probably the next in date of the examples is the one found in *Floire et Blancheflor*[2] (end of twelfth century), p. 231, ed., E. du Méril (Paris, 1856). Here again we have doubtless oriental influence, since the whole story seems to be of oriental origin. In this case, after all, the automata are merely the result of illusion. The King is trying to divert Floire who is grieving over his separation from Blancheflor. An enchanter performs wonderful tricks for his amusement. Among other things he causes a bird to appear with a wheel in its beak.

La roëlle estoit un topace,
Qui plus estoit clere que glace;

[1] See Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, II, 182 (2 vols., Paris, 1886). The exact source, however, is not known.

[2] The oldest extant version is a redaction apparently of one composed between 1160 and 1170. Cf. Joachim Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor*, pp. 4, 9, Paris, 1906. Reinhold, pp. 119 ff., disputes the oriental origin of the story, believes that the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the Old Testament Book of Esther were the true sources. In *Le moyen âge* for January–February, 1909, pp. 23 ff., however, G. Huet seems to prove that Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (including Cupid and Psyche story) was not known to the Middle Ages—at least until the thirteenth century.

Et si estoit douze piés lée.
Une ymage i avoit formée;
D'or estoit, grant com un vilains:
Une harpe tint en ses mains,
Et harpe le lai d'Orphéy:
Onques nus hom plus n'en oi
Et le montée et l'avalée:
Cil qui l'oent moult lor agrée.
Atant es vous un chevalier
Mervilleus saus sor son destrier;
De cors n'avoit mie deus pies;
De gambes ert si alongiés,
Asses plus que toise et demie;
Lors cantoit clere melodie.

Human automata are also found in several of the principal Arthurian romances. The exact order of composition of these romances has not been fixed, but I have adopted that which seems to me most probable:

First in the *Conte del Graal*, ll. 13353 ff. (ed. Potvin, 6 vols., Mons, 1866–71), in the so-called *Livre de Karados*, really a separate biographical romance, inserted in the first continuation to Chrétien's poem.[1] The passage runs as follows (describing the entrance to Alardin's tent):

Car a l'issue de la tente
Estoient par encantement
II. ymages d'or et d'argent;
Del pavellon li uns fermoit
L'uis et l'autres desfermoit;
Jà n'i eust autre portier;
Et encore d'autre mestier
Servoient, car l'une est manière
De bien harper à grant manière;
L'autre ymage del autre part
Ens en sa main tenoit un dart,
Jà n'i veist entrer vilain
Ne le ferist trestout a plain;
Et l'autre ymage qui tenoit
La harpe une costume avoit:

[1] Cf. Miss J. L. Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 14, 16 (2 vols., London, 1906–9). The *Livre de Karados* belongs to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

Pucièle ne s'i puet celer;
Qui ensi se face apiéler
Por oec que soit despucelée,
Tantos come vient à l'entrée
La harpe sone la descorde;
De la harpe ront une corde.

In the image of the harper here we have simply a new application of the *motif* used later on in this same *Livre de Karados* (*Conte del Graal*, ll. 15640 ff.), where no knight is able to drink out of a certain horn, unless his wife is chaste.[1] This test of chastity no doubt suggested also the test of nobility with which the other figure is concerned.[2] The writer was, besides, probably familiar with the archer of the *Eneas* and *Roman de Troie* (see passage quoted above).

The prose *Lancelot*[3] contains examples: cf. H. O. Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1910), III, 144, 151, 191, in the Dolerouse Garde episode. In the first two passages it is a question of the copper effigy of an armed knight on horseback over the second gate who falls as soon as the man destined to conquer the castle passes the first gate. This effigy, however, does not defend the castle. It is different with the two copper knights of the third passage which guard the entrance to a chamber in the cave with their swords. Lancelot passes them with great difficulty, casts into a well the monstrous man with black head and flaming mouth who guards another door, and comes to a copper damsel who holds the keys of the enchantments in her right hand. He takes them, goes to a copper pillar in the midst of the room where he finds the inscription: "Ichi desferme la grosse clef et le menue desferme le coffre perilleus." He opens the pillar and then the coffer, despite the effort to frighten him made by the devils in the latter. On going forth he discovers that the enchantments have all been undone and the copper images broken.

[1] For such chastity tests—a widespread *motif*—see F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 257 ff.

[2] Hertel, p. 18, cites also the figures in the *Chevalier au cygne*, p. 116, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1874 (thirteenth century redaction), which pointed to anyone who rendered a false judgment.

[3] This is commonly assigned to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It may possibly belong, however, to the end of the twelfth century.

From the closing years of the twelfth century we have brazen men in the Virgil legend[1]—in Conrad of Querfurt the brazen archer whose arrow started the eruption of Vesuvius—in Gervase of Tilbury the brazen trumpeter who blew back the ashes from this same mountain—in Alexander of Neckham, the spearman of brass at Rome who pointed in the direction from which danger was impending—but the first text cited by Comparetti, which ascribes to Virgil the invention of automata who guard something with their weapons, is a version of *L'image du monde*, composed about 1245—so long after this conception had become a commonplace of the romances, without reference to Virgil. It is plain from this that the Virgil legend was influenced by the romances—probably more than vice versa. The copper images in the prose *Lancelot* were no doubt suggested by the descriptions in Thomas' *Tristan* and the *Roman d'Alexandre*, cited above.

In its turn the *Lancelot* passage, I believe, served as the model for the *Perlesvaus*.[2] See Potvin's ed., *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 63 f., 201 ff. In the first of these passages Gawain comes to a castle guarded by a lion and by two "vileins de cuivre marssis qui fichiez estoient el mur et descochoient par anging quarriaus d'arbaleste par grant force et par grant air." More extensive is the passage (201 ff.) describing Perceval's adventure at the Copper Castle. "Il avoit dedanz le chastel mout de gent qui le cor[3] de cuivre aouroient et qui ne créoient en autre Dieu." There were evil spirits in this image whose utterances were accepted as oracles. The entrance to the castle was guarded by two men "fez par l'art de nigromance" who kept striking with two big iron mallets. Perceval crosses the bridge which leads to the entrance. A voice from above the entrance tells him that the "vileins de coivre" cannot harm so good a knight as he is. So it turns out, for they cease their blows, as he passes in. He finds the

[1] Cf. the texts assembled by Comparetti, *Virgilo nel medio evo*, II, 185 ff.

[2] The date of the *Perlesvaus* is much disputed. It seems to me manifestly subsequent to the prose *Lancelot*, even if we accept the theory that the extant MSS preserve only a later redaction of the romance. W. A. Nitze puts it between 1200 and 1212. See his *Old French Grail Romance, Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 103. But A. Jeanroy, *Revue critique*, October 10, 1904, agrees with Birch-Hirschfeld that it belongs in the second third of the thirteenth century. This, I believe, is too late.

[3] So throughout Potvin's text—that is, "horn." I have no doubt, however, that the true reading is "tor" =bull.

inhabitants all worshiping the image within. He summons them to a meeting in a hall of the castle, and the voice bids him compel them to run the gauntlet of the two copper men—"car la porra-il bien esprouver liquel voudront Dieu croire et liquel non" (p. 203). Out of one thousand five hundred only thirteen stood the test. The rest were destroyed by the copper men. The evil spirit who was in the "cor de coivre" issued forth and the "cor" itself melted.

In the episode of the Turning Castle (pp. 194 ff.) a little before the one just quoted, there are on top of the castle copper cross-bow archers and trumpeters, who, of course, prove ineffectual against Perceval. The romancer even attributes to Virgil the invention of this castle when the philosophers went in quest of the Earthly Paradise. We have here again, however, an instance of the Virgil legend absorbing material which was originally independent of it. The Turning Castle is a Celtic conception.[1]

Curious is the automaton representing a beautiful woman with which Mordrain, before his conversion, was in the habit of lying,[2] according to the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand Saint Graal*, as it is often called), Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, 83: "Cele samblance estoit de fust la plus bele qui onques fust ueue en guise de feme si gisoit li rois o lui carnelment et le uestoit al plus richement quil pooit et li auoit fait faire vne cambre dont il ne quidoit mie que nus hons morteus peust trouver luis." The *Estoire del Saint Graal* was composed early in the thirteenth century. Mordrain's strange custom reminds one of the remarkable story told in the pseudo-Lucianic dialogue, *Amores*, Teubner ed. of Lucian's Works, II, 214 ff., according to which a young man fell so desperately in love with the statue of Aphrodite (by Praxiteles) in her temple at Cnidus that he secreted himself in the building one night to have access to the image of the goddess.[3]

Doubtless in imitation of the prose *Lancelot* we have a copper knight defending the entrance to a castle in the prose *Tristan* (*ca.*

[1] See G. Huet, *Romania*, XL (1911), 235 ff.

[2] For a similar custom (with sexes reversed) in the actual marriage rites of many heathen peoples in the Far East, see W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (pp. 270 ff.), herausgegeben von F. von der Leyen, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905.

[3] Cf. also the singular story, Plutarch's *Moralia*, vii. 46 f. (Teubner ed.), of how Zeus excited Here's jealousy by a female image of wood.

1220), E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 223, Paris, 1890. Morgain la Fée established the enchantments of the castle. Galahad is to overthrow the copper knight at the same moment that Girflet reads a certain inscription over the castle-gate.

About the same date[1] as the prose *Tristan* is *Huon de Bordeaux*. We have in this poem (ll. 4562 ff.; ed. F. Guessard and C. Grandmaison, Paris, 1865) a description of how two copper men with flails guard the entrance to the castle of Dunostre, built by Julius Caesar. The fairy-king, Auberon, describing it, says:

> Et s'a .ii. hommes a l'entrer de l'ostel;
> Tout sout de keuvre et fait et compasé,
> Si tient cascuns .i. flaiel acouplé;
> Tout sont de fer, moult font a redouter.
> Tout ades batent et yver et esté,
> Et si vous di, par fine verité,
> Une aloete qui bien tost set voler
> Ne poroit mie ens el palais voler
> Que ne fust morte; ne poroit escaper.

A great giant named Orguilleus inhabits the castle. In ll. 4715 ff. it is described how Huon goes to Dunostre and finds the automata, as Auberon had described them. At first he does not know what to do, but he sees a gold basin hanging near by, on which he strikes three times. A maiden hears it and comes to his assistance. She opens a door and a wind issues forth which overthrows the figures.

These figures were, no doubt, suggested by those in the Dolerouse Garde episode of the prose *Lancelot*, cited above.[2]

In the Middle High German poem *Diu Crône* (*ca.* 1220) by Heinrich von dem Türlin (ll. 6993 ff.; ed. G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852) we have a black figure with a horn—the work of a necromancer—which gave warning by its blasts, whenever a strange knight came to the castle. This reminds one of Virgil's brazen spearman, described by

[1] On this subject see Carl Voretzsch, *Die Composition des Huon von Bordeaux*, p. 88, Halle, 1900.

[2] In his Halle dissertation (1910), *Die Einflüsse der Arthurromane auf die Chansons de Geste*, p. 34, G. Engel explains them as imitations of those in the *Conte del Graal* ll. 13353 ff., quoted above, but they are evidently much more like the figures in the prose *Lancelot*. For a summary of discussion as to this Dunostre episode of *Huon de Bordeaux*, see Engel, *ibid.*, 33 ff.

Alexander of Neckham, Comparetti, II, 193, who pointed with his spear in the direction from which there was danger impending. *Diu Crône* is, of course, based on French materials—largely lost.

We will not dwell on the automata ascribed to Virgil in *Cleomadès* (end of the thirteenth century) (pp. 52 ff.; ed. A. Van Hasselt, Brussels, 1865). Most of these seem derived from the Virgil legend which grew up at Naples and are sufficiently discussed in Comparetti's treatise. In any event I see no especial influence of the romances in this passage. By the fourteenth century Virgil's fame as a magician was so well established that a poet was at liberty to father on him any wonderful conception. Thus the author of the *Dame de lycorne* (first third of the fourteenth century) (ll. 3882 ff.; ed. F. Gennrich, Dresden, 1908) ascribes to him the invention of the two copper knights that fight under a turning tree.

Contemporary with the *Dame de lycorne* is *Li bastars de Buillon*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1877. Here (pp. 129 f.) we have the two men of gold that guard the rose with their flails until the knight who is destined to pluck it shall come. Paulin Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXV, 605 ff., (1869), considers this an imitation of the episode in the prose *Lancelot*, quoted above. The flails, however, seem to show that the writer had rather *Huon de Bordeaux* in mind.

It will be observed that the mediaeval automata, unlike those in Homer and Apollonius, have only a very limited intelligence, if intelligence it can be called. They are created for some single function—usually to guard an entrance—and nothing more.[1] In this regard they resemble more nearly similar figures in oriental stories. I have made no full collection of these latter. Clouston, pp. 304 f., has given one or two examples from the Arabian Nights, and there are some other instances in the same collection. Thus in the tale called *Djaudar*[2] a copper trumpeter announces the approach of a stranger, just like the figure in *Diu Crône*, cited above, and in

[1] Notice, however, the example cited by Clouston, p. 298, from the Sanskrit *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, translated by C. H. Tawney, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1880–81 (Bibl. Indica, New Series, No. 456). Here we have a vast city, the inhabitants of which are all wooden automata. Clouston gives the reference as Vol. I, p. 290. On looking up the matter I found that this reference is wrong, and in the time that I was able to give to it I did not discover what is the right reference. No doubt, however, the passage is in one of the two volumes.

[2] V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, V. 265 (Liège and Leipzig, 1901).

The Enchanted Horse[1] a golden trumpeter gives warning, as soon as a spy enters the town, and causes him to drop dead.[2] In the former case it turns out that an evil spirit is in the automaton. The following passage (cited by Clouston, p. 304) in W. F. Kirby's *The New Arabian Nights: Select Tales Not Included by Galland or Lane* (p. 215; London, 1882) reads quite like the one in the *Perlesvaus*, for example. It is in the story called *Joodar of Cairo and Mahmood of Tunis.* Misram, in his endeavor to deliver a maiden from captivity, has to go to the Castle of Pillars. He receives from Shilshanum the following directions: "Go through this hall into another, the door of which you will open with the third golden key. Here you will see two copper statues holding European bows in their hands and arrows which crush the hardest rocks to powder. As soon as they take aim at you, touch their bows with your sword and they will fall from their hands."

I have no doubt that oriental tales similar to these, penetrating into Europe by way of Constantinople, Southern Italy, or Spain, constituted originally the chief source of such conceptions in the romances and in the Virgil legend.

Modern literature lies outside of the scope of this article; so, in conclusion, I will content myself with citing as the most famous instance of an automaton in the fiction of recent centuries: E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann.* Through its derivatives, the opera, *Contes d'Hoffmann*, and the ballet, *Coppelia*, the automaton in this tale, representing a beautiful girl, is particularly well known to the present generation.[3] In the work of the modern writer the *motif* is,

[1] V. Chauvin, *ibid.*, p. 225.

[2] For the copper knight, who points the way, in the famous "City of Brass" tale, see Victor Chauvin, V, 33; cf., too, the *Ville de cuivre* in Gaudefroy Demombynes, *Les cent et une nuits*, p. 317, Paris, 1911. Earlier in the same story (pp. 302 ff.) occurs the idol animated by an evil spirit. Demombynes, p. 306, note 1, speaks of these magic statues, so frequent in oriental tales, as suggested by the monuments of Egypt and classical antiquity.

I have made no systematic search of folk-tales for the automaton *motif.* Despite its title, the widespread tale *L'homme de fer* contains no automaton. Cf. E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, 1 ff. It is a story of the Aladdin's Lamp type. In F. Panzer's *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910, I observe (p. 28) an iron man made by a smith. He talks and helps his maker. This is cited from a folk-tale. So *ibid.*, p. 47, iron and wooden children.

[3] Hoffmann's *Serapion's Brüder* fairly swarms with automata, the best of them being the Talking Turk. None of them, however, is equal to the heroine of *Der Sandmann.* The sole source of Hoffmann's automaton lore was Wiegleb's *Unterricht in der natürlichen Magie*, 20 vols., Berlin, 1786–1805. Cf. P. Sucher, *Les sources du merveilleux chez*

of course, used with an art infinitely superior to anything which the Middle Ages can exhibit. The latest example I have observed is in Anatole France's *L'île des Pingouins*, p. 156 (1907), where the Franciscan monk finds in Ireland a beautiful woman who sang to the lute, but in the end turned out to be an automaton. This may be a reminiscence of Hoffmann.

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E. T. A. Hoffmann, pp. 104 ff., Paris, 1912. A common swindle in the age of Cagliostro was fortune-telling by automata. Someone, however, was, of course, always concealed in the contrivance.

The most elaborate use of the automaton *motif* in literature is to be found in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *L'Ève future* (1886), to which my colleague, Professor L. P. Shanks, has called my attention. The heroine of this book, Hadaly, evidently suggested by Hoffmann's Olympia, is an automaton invented (or created) by Edison. The scene of the story is Menlo Park.

INDEX TO *THE LIFE-RECORDS OF CHAUCER*

The Life-Records of Chaucer, as published by the Chaucer Society in 1900, comprises all that was known of the poet and his family at that time. The collection is invaluable, but the lack of an *index nominum* much impairs its usefulness. This lack I have now undertaken to supply.[1]

The records here indexed are found in the following pages of the volume: pp. 12–38, 105–113, 139–342.[2]

All contemporary names have been included, except those of kings and queens and that of Geoffrey Chaucer. Official titles are usually omitted. Christian names are generally modernized and their variations in spelling disregarded. In surnames, however, all variants have been recorded, except in the matter of final *e* and in the case of the name *Chaucer*. The preposition *de* and the articles *le* and *la* are retained, but not alphabetically considered. When, however, a surname occurs both with and without *de*, *le*, or *la*, it has not been thought necessary to specify which form is used in each particular instance.

The references are to *page* and to *number of entry*. The date of each entry, as fixed by the editor, is also given.

The following abbreviations have been used:

A = Ambassador
B = Business associate
F = Family
GH = John of Gaunt's household
J = Justice of Peace
KH = King's household
P = Associate in Parliament
UH = Countess of Ulster's household

[1] I am greatly indebted to Professor Tatlock, who has been at pains to answer numerous questions. My wife has had the kindness to give the references a final checking in the manuscript.

[2] Certain records which have come to light since 1900 have of course not been included in this Index. I may mention, for example, those of Geoffrey Chaucer, first cited by Professor O. E. Emerson (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI, 19) from R. Delachenal's *Histoire de Charles V*, II, 241, and printed in full from the record by Dr. Samuel Moore (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 79); John "Chaufcire," *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LX, 179, note (pointed out to me by Professor Tatlock); Nicholas Chaucer, *Grocers Company, Copies in Facsimile of MS Records*, I, 1345–1428 (London, 1886, ed. Kingdon).

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THE HEYWOOD CIRCLE AND THE REFORMATION[1]

By using the rather pretentious title above I do not wish to imply that I intend to treat exhaustively the various fortunes that befell John Heywood and his Catholic friends and relatives in the course of the Reformation in England. My object is rather to present a series of notes which, I believe, will clarify certain minor points in the career of Heywood, and which taken together will strengthen the evidence pointing to the dramatist's youthful residence at North Mimms in Hertsfordshire and his early admission to the group which clustered around Sir Thomas More. Naturally we should expect the various members of this remarkable circle, drawn together by common intellectual interests and bound to one another by intermarriage and a common religion, to have experienced similar fortunes. That such was the case will appear in the following pages. Especially interesting to us is the apparent intimacy that existed between Heywood and the other members of the group throughout these experiences.

According to an early writer, John Heywood was introduced to the court by Sir Thomas More, an admirer of his musical talent and witty conversation. That he was for a long time intimately associated with Sir Thomas there can be no doubt, since Stapleton in acknowledging the sources of his information for the *Vita*[2] of More mentions together with Jno. Clement, Wm. Rastell, and others "Joannes quoque Haiwodus quo per aliquot annos familiariter Thomas Morus usus fuerat"; and whatever may have occasioned Heywood's connection with the court, it is virtually certain that he enjoyed more or less favor at the hands of Henry VIII.

Before presenting the indications of royal favor, however, we may note that there are obviously several John Heywoods mentioned

[1] I am unwilling to publish this article without expressing my thanks to Professor J. M. Manly for several valuable suggestions and for the loan of books. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor C. R. Baskervill for whom the paper was originally prepared.

[2] *Tres Thomae*, ed. of 1612, p. 152. The work appeared originally at Douay in 1588. The words *Multis annis familiarissimus*, which John Pits later used to describe Heywood's relationship to More (cf. *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 237), are also of interest in this connection.

in government documents between 1520 and 1558. In some cases, therefore, we cannot be certain that the dramatist is concerned.[1] The situation is further complicated by the fact that the name Heywood is sometimes spelled Hayward and vice versa.[2]

Under the circumstances, then, we are not quite sure that the "singer" is referred to when we read among the grants of February, 1521, that "John Haywod, the King's servant," was granted an annuity of ten marks "as had by Th. Farthyng, deceased, out of the issues of the Manors of Makesey and Torpull, Northt." (*L. and P.*,[3] III, Pt. 1, p. 445). Collier, taking this to be a certain reference to the dramatist, could not understand why a few years later Heywood should be receiving quarter wages of 50*s*. His explanation was that Heywood after receiving the annuity was made Master of certain children, hence his salary as singer was reduced to £10 annually.[4] Collier did not know, however, that in April of the same year the annuity of 10 marks was declared invalid (*L. and P.*, III, Pt. 1, p. 479). The quarterly payments of 50*s*. to "John Heywood player at virginals" which confused Collier are explained by the following grant: "To John Haywood, upon a warrant dated November 8, 20 Henry VIII, for his pension of 10£ a year, to be paid quarterly from Michaelmas last, 50*s*." (*L. and P.*, V, 306). Quarter wages of 50*s*. to "John Haywood, player on the virginals," are recorded at various times from March, 1529, to Christmas, 1545.[5]

[1] Some references may be cited. In December, 1520, "John Haywood, singer" was paid 100*s*. (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ed. by Brewer and Gairdner, III, Pt. 2, p. 1543). There can hardly be any doubt here. Among the disbursements for the same year, however, a "John Haiwode, yeoman of the crown," is paid for bringing news from Ireland (*ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 499), and in 1523 and 1526 a "John Haywod" was collecting rents for Sir Adrian Fortescue (*ibid.*, III, Pt. 2, p. 1317; IV, Pt. 3, p. 3116). In a document of August 8, 1544, of "the wages paid to labourers sent into France" a "John Heywood" is given as one of the captains of the men (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 2, p. 20).

[2] Two interesting cases may be noted. Wriothesley in writing of Heywood's recantation in 1544 speaks of "Hayward" (*Chronicle*, I, 148). In 1604 Dean Sutcliffe accused Robert Parsons of being the bastard son of "Haywood" who was "in his time a mad ieasting knave" (cf. *Miscellany of Catholic Record Society*, II, 43). The dean has reference to John Hayward who after receiving the living of Nether Stowey, Somersetshire, discovered Parsons and sent him to school. See E. L. Taunton, *Hist. of the Jesuits in Eng.*, p. 14, where the form John Heywood is retained.

[3] Hereafter the abbreviation *L. and P.* will be used for Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*.

[4] *Annals of Stage*,[2] I, 73–74.

[5] *L. and P.*, V, 309; XIII, Pt. 2, p. 528; XVI, 184, 704; XVII, 478; XX, Pt. 2, p. 515.

Other items are more doubtful. A letter dated July 28, 1539, from John Whederykke, clerk, late of St. Osith's, concerns a farm and is addressed to "John Heywoode, gent," (*L. and P.*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 577). On November 21, 1540, a "John Heywood" leased the Manor of Brokehall, Essex,[1] in the king's hands by the attainder of Thos. Crumwell, for 21 years, at 14£ 18*d.* rent and 18*d.* increase" (*L. and P.*, XVI, 172). Possibly the same person is recorded, January 10, 1533, in the following list of recipients of plate, the receivers of New Year's gifts from the king: "To the Earl of Wiltshire, Thos. Hermage, the bp. of Ely, Sir John Daunce, Sir Francis Brian,—Heywood, lord Dacris of the South, etc." Along with such worthies appear "Anth. Toote, graver," "Vincent, clock-maker," and others (*L. and P.*, VI, 14). With such records should be compared the grant by the crown to John Heywood on November 10, 1558, of the lease of Bolmer Manor and other property in Yorkshire at a rent of £30 (*Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 112).

Other documents are concerned with less important matters. On November 4, 1541, a "tenement, &c., in tenure of John Haywoode, and formerly leased to Thos. Yong, in the parish of St. Peter in Woodstreete," was granted by the crown to Morgan Phillipp, the king's goldsmith (*L. and P.*, XVI, 576). On June 23, 1545, "two messuages" in "tenure of John Heywood and John Coke in Whitechurch parish, Dors.," were granted to Wm. Beryff and John Multon (*L. and P.*, XX, Pt. 1, p. 661). In the same year land in Burstall, Oxon, in the tenure of "John Heywoodde" and others was turned over to Robt. Browne (*ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 545). Among the grants of March, 1546, to Geo. Rythe and Thos. Grantham in fee for £1,596 was included property "in tenure of John Haywoodde in Kylby, Leic." (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 243).

As was said above, it is not always possible to decide whether the dramatist is really referred to in some of the various documents containing the name of John Heywood; and extreme care should be exercised before stating with assurance when and where he was concerned. Until reliable evidence to show the contrary is brought

[1] It is perhaps worth while to note in this connection that Barnaby Googe in his translation *On Husbandry* quotes Heywood regarding Essex cheese (Hazlitt's ed. of Dodsley, I, 326). On the early fame of Essex cheese-making, see the *Victorian County Histories, Essex*, II, 369–70.

to bear, however, we are perhaps justified in believing that he held considerable crown land in tenure during the reign of Henry VIII, and that he enjoyed a rather prominent place among his fellows. This would be in keeping with the circle in which he moved and the prominent position of his sons at Oxford and elsewhere. And such indications of prosperity and favor are not entirely without interest in connection with his religious experiences.

So far as I have observed, no especial inconvenience seems to have been occasioned the Heywood circle until several years after the death of More. The Six Articles which Henry rather harshly enforced (cf. Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, pp. 259–64) could have caused no trouble to the religious consciences of persons with such pronounced Catholic views. Their trouble, it seems, arose from a too sanguine desire to see the Articles employed in the interest of Catholicism, a desire which in 1544 led some of them into serious difficulties with respect to the Act of Supremacy.

Encouraged by the institution of the Six Articles, certain Catholics, prominent among whom were Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, Serles, and Willoughby, undertook to overthrow Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Much evidence against him was collected and elaborate accusations were drawn up.[1] Owing, however, to Henry VIII's staunch friendship for the archbishop, the commission which was to seek out his misdeeds was changed, as it were, into a commission with the archbishop at its head to inquire into the "confederacy" of the plotters.[2] Cranmer's commission began its operations in August, 1543, but after sitting for six weeks it accomplished nothing owing to the fact that the chief agents, Cocks and Hussey, were secretly favorable to the Papists. But Morice, the archbishop's secretary, seeing the state of affairs, wrote to Dr. Butts. As a result of his letter Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor were appointed at the head of a new commission to investigate Kentish conditions. In a few hours the whole plot was unearthed, and heaps of damning papers were accumulated and carried to Lambeth for the king's perusal. The chief agents against Cranmer were thrown into prison and kept there until early in 1544 when most of them were

[1] Summarized in Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, I, 167–69.

[2] For full accounts see Strype, *Cranmer*, I, 144–77; Pollard, *Cranmer*, pp. 147–56; Dixon, *Church Hist.*, II, 334–38; *L. and P.*, XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 291–378.

liberated as the result of a general pardon granted by Parliament, a pardon, says Morice, secured by the great labor of "thair frendes."

Following the decidedly prejudiced accounts of Morice, Foxe, and Strype, some historians have stressed the ease with which the plotters escaped punishment. But this was not entirely the case. As a result of the agitation Symonds, London, and Ockham were deservedly punished. Bishop Gardiner lost permanently the king's favor. Others who had been so unfortunate as to involve themselves with the Act of Supremacy, either directly or indirectly, as a result of the investigation, were dealt with most harshly. Germain Gardiner, Jno. Larke, and Ireland were executed; Heywood barely escaped.

After this brief and general account of the plot against Cranmer, let us turn to a more detailed discussion of the part played by Heywood and his friends in the Kentish agitation. "The chief witnesses" against the archbishop, says Strype,[1] "and the persons concerned as vouchers and informers were Roper, Balthazar, a surgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinsal, Germain Gardiner." This seems to have been the case; and in a set of "Interrogatories" drawn up by Cranmer in 1543 to be used against Jno. Parkehurst, the first question reads: "First, what communication by word or writing you had with Mr. Roper, Balthasar the Surgeon, Heywode, Mr. Moore, Jermen Gardiner, Mr. Bekensale, or with either of them, and to what effect such communication hath been" (*L. and P.*, XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 297–98). The same set of questions asks what communication was had "with the chancellor of London, Dr. Cole or Dr. Clemen,[2] and my lord of Winchester's chaplain, Mr. Medowes, touching my Lord's Grace, Dr. London, these new opinions or enormities in Kent." As will be shown later, the former friends of Sir Thomas More are well represented in the list of names above. The retaliatory accusations urged against them seem to have been somewhat varied; their fortunes were especially so.

That the "Mr. Moore" mentioned above was John More, son of Sir Thomas, is revealed by the grant of April 24, 1544, when "John More of *Chelsith, Midd.*, alias of Bamburgh, Yorks., alias

[1] *Memorials of Cranmer*, I, 169.

[2] Doctor John Clement the physician, friend and protégé of More.

of London," was pardoned of "all treasonable words with the detestable traitors, John Eldryngton, Germain Gardyner, John Bekynsale, John Heywood, Wm. Daunce, John Larke, clerk, John Ireland, clerk, Roger Ireland, clerk, with restoration of goods" (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 285). Here Heywood is associated with other members of the More circle—Wm. Daunce, the husband of More's daughter, Elizabeth, John Larke, the parish priest of Sir Thomas, and John Ireland, his chaplain.

Some of the persons associated with Heywood seem to have escaped with comparative ease. More and Daunce were duly pardoned.[1] The pardon of John Ireland is dated June 28, 1545.[2] Neither Balthasar the surgeon[3] nor Dr. Clement seems to have been seriously inconvenienced. The latter in the "Augmentations of 1546" is not paid his £3 6*s.* 8*d.* as royal physician (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 311; Pt. 2, p. 444), but this was no doubt due to his election in 1544 to the presidency of the College of Physicians.[4]

The "Mr. Roper" of Cramner's "Interrogatories" is of course William Roper, the husband of Sir Thomas More's favorite daughter, Margaret. According to an old writer,[5] his offense was relieving "Maister Bekenshowe, a learned man,"[6] with his alms, as a result

[1] Daunce's pardon is dated April 24, 1544 (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 284–85). Neither More nor Daunce seems to have had further trouble with Henry. In May, 1546, the latter as son and heir of Sir John Daunce was granted the lands held by his father (*ibid.*, XXI, Pt. 2, pp. 243–44); and in a muster-book for the French army in 1544 a John More, probably the one pardoned above, is placed among the king's household as furnishing "2 Billemen, pikes and other" (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 162). More died in 1547.

[2] *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 125.

[3] Balthasar Guersie or Guarsy was an Italian surgeon to Queen Catherine. For the chief facts of his life see Munk, *College of Physicians*, I, 57.

[4] Munk, I, 26.

[5] Cf. Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, II, 121.

[6] In order to correct a mistake which has crept into the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, it may be well to point out a few facts in the life of John Bekinsau or Bekynsal. *D.N.B.* after saying that Bekinsau was Greek reader at Paris shortly after 1530, states that "having returned to England, Bekinsau married, and so vacated his fellowship" (IV, 141). Is all of this true? On June 5, 1537, he wrote to Dr. Knight that he expected to return to England *cum pannis* after midsummer (*L. and P.*, XII, Pt. 2, p. 13). This he seems not to have done, since on October 29, 1538, he wrote from Paris to Cromwell that he had married a French woman, "which he did to avoid his friends soliciting him to be a priest" (*ibid.*, XIII, Pt. 2, p. 277). In October, 1539, Cromwell granted "Berkensau, a scholar of Paris," £10 (*ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 2, p. 343; cf. also V, 748–749); and at least as late as October 26 of the same year he was still in Paris (*ibid.*, p. 138). By 1543 he had returned to England, and on May 6, 1544, "John Bekynsawe, of Borowclere, Hants, alias John Beckensall of London," was pardoned of treasonable intercourse in Paris with Reginald

of which he was sent to the Tower. That he was actually imprisoned and released on the payment of a fine is shown by the following entry in the accounts of the king's jewels and plate: "Feb. 29, [154$\frac{3}{4}$] brought in to the King, by Sir Richard Southwell, one of the general surveyors, for the fine of Wm. Roper being in the Tower of London, 100£." (*L. and P.*, XVII, p. 147). He is included in a 1544 list of commissioners for Kent (*ibid.*, XX, Pt. 1, p. 316); and his name appears in the muster-book of August of the same year (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 152). His subsequent career is well known. He remained in England until his death, gaining a reputation for his charity and suffering various inconveniences on account of his faith and his generosity to his persecuted friends.[1] This sometime radical Protestant who, according to Harpsfield, Stapleton, and Cresacre More, was converted to Catholicism by his father-in-law and wife, remained true to his new religion until the end; and Guzman de Silva writing to the Spanish king on July 10, 1568, stated that Roper's children were all "strong Catholics" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1568–79, p. 52).

Others did not fare so well. Germain Gardiner, Bishop Gardiner's secretary, was attainted, and in March, 1544, was executed. On March 8, 1544, Richard Richardson, the king's chaplain, was presented to the parish church of Chelsea,[2] vacant by the attainder of Larke (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 175). Together with John Ireland, he had been martyred at Tyburn on March 7 of the same year.[3]

Heywood's experiences were somewhat different from those associated with him in the "Interrogatories." On April 12, 1544, Lord St. John and Sir Edmund Pecham were commissioned "to

Pole and others (*ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 377–78). In 1546 he published, with a dedication to the king, his *De supremo et absoluto regis imperio*, a work which, according to Bale, was written "only for lucre." Whatever may have been Bekinsau's intentions, his book apparently accomplished its purpose, for in 1546 the author was granted a pension (*L. and P.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 142) and, it seems, also an annuity of £25 (*ibid.*, p. 148). For his subsequent career see *D.N.B.* and Wood's *Athen Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, col. 308.

[1] See Birt, *The Eliz. Religious Settlement*, pp. 517, 434; *Spanish Papers*, 1568–79, p. 52; *D.N.B.*, etc.

[2] Larke was appointed to the rectory of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, on March 29, 1530 (Hennessy's ed. of Newcourt, *Novum repetorium*, p. 120).

[3] Hennessy (*Novum repetorium*, p. xxiii), and others following him, date Larke's execution March 7, 1554/55. This is of course, a slip for 1544. Cf. Bridgett, *Life of More*, p. 143, and Sander, *The Anglican Schism* (trans. of Lewis), p. 155. Sander stated that about the same time Ashby, James Singleton, John Risby, and Thomas Rice were also executed "because they would not acknowledge the royal supremacy."

take the account of Sir Ric. Southwell, one of the General Surveyors, of money, plate, jewels, corn, cattle, and received by him, which came to the King by the deaths of Ric. Nyke, late bishop of Norwich, and of Sir Geo. Lawson, and by the attainders of Jane late Lady Rocheford, Germyn Gardener, late of London, John Haywood, late of London, John Larke, clerk, late parson of Chelsey, Midd., and John Ireland" (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 277). Here is a rather grewsome list. But Heywood, it seems, was "not of mind to be a martyr." A general pardon was dated at Westminster, June 26, 1544, and delivered June 30, to "John Heywode, late of London, *alias of Northmymmes*,[1] *Herts.*" (*L. and P.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 504). His recantation for denying the king's supremacy was made public at Paul's Cross at the time of the sermon there on Sunday, July 6, 1544 (*ibid.*, p. 532; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1846, V, 528–29).

[1] This reference to North Mimms together with the offender's repeated association with the More group makes it practically certain that it was the dramatist who got into trouble about the Act of Supremacy. Heywood is said to have made More's acquaintance at Gobions, the latter's seat at North Mimms (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331). Here, according to a passage in Peachem's *Thalias Banquet* (1620), More wrote his *Utopia* and Heywood his *Epigrams* (Warton, ed. 1871, IV, 80, note). In his *Compleat Gentleman* Peacham further says that in his birthplace More and Heywood both dwelt and "had fair possessions" (ed. of Gordon, p. 95). There is no doubt about More's owning property at North Mimms. A "messuage called Gobeans [apparently owned by Sir Thomas' father before him] in Northmymnes, Herts.," is mentioned in 1540 among the possessions of Thos. More, attainted (*L. and P.*, XVI, 350). In June, 1546, it was in the king's hands by the death of Alice More (*ibid.*, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 575). After the death of Jno. More his widow "received from Queen Mary a regrant of his grandfather's confiscated property at North Mimms" (*D.N.B.*, XXXVIII, 447). In his will (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 238) Wm. Rastell gives to Ellis Heywood the possessions at North Mimms which possibly had been acquired through the marriage of William's father to Sir Thomas More's sister. Surely there is no reason to reject Peacham's statement that Heywood also owned fair possessions there.

The pardon furthermore raises the interesting question of the dramatist's birthplace. Reed, Fairholt (*Percy Soc.*, XX, p. i), and Swoboda (*Heywood als Dramatiker*, pp. 11–13) decide in favor of North Mimms; John Pits (cf. *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 237) and Hazlitt (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, I, 325) credit London with being the place of his birth; Ward (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331) and Chambers (*Med. Stage*, II, 443) do not decide between the two places; and Pollard (*Rep. Eng. Comedies*, p. 3) affirms that the tradition of Heywood's birth at North Mimms apparently arose from his owning land there.

The pardon certainly shows that Heywood resided at North Mimms at one time or another. If he resided in London from January, 1515, when he is first mentioned in connection with the court, until the date of his pardon, then his youthful residence at North Mimms would fit in with the tradition that he first met Sir Thomas there and with the assertions of Stapleton and Pits that he had been for many years familiar with More. Bang (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 246) is inclined to think that Heywood received his property at North Mimms through his marriage with Eliza Rastell. This is possible, but it is perhaps more probable that he inherited it from his own relatives. It is perhaps worth while to note in this connection that Heywood's father-in-law, John Rastell, at least died poor, leaving to his son William only 40*s.* and to John Rastell, Jr., a small annuity (Duff, *Westminster and London Printers*, p. 185).

How narrowly he had escaped is brought out by Wriothesley (*Chronicle*, I, 148): "The 6 day of July Hayward recanted his treason at Pawles Crosse, which had bene afore condempned to death and brought to be layd on the hardell for denyinge the supremacye of the Kinges Majestie against the Bishop of Rome." Just why Heywood was pardoned at the last minute does not appear.[1] He does not seem to have been further disturbed during Henry's reign. On December 25, 1545, he was paid his quarter wages of 50*s*. as "player on the virginals" (*L. and P.*, XX, Pt. 2, p. 515); and a John Heywood, perhaps the dramatist, was holding crown land in tenure during the years 1545 and 1546.[2]

The experiences of Heywood and his group during the reign of Edward VI are not altogether clear. Under February 7, 1550, Wriothesley wrote in his *Chronicle* (*Camden Soc.*, II, 34) that the sheriffs of London had seized upon the houses of the "ranke Papistes" Anthony Bonvise, Doctor Clement, physician, Balthasar, surgeon, and Rastell "which maryed Doctor Clementes daughter . . . . because they had fled the realme and conveyed theyr cheife substance and goodes out of the realme." In some cases more exact information is possible with respect to the process referred to above.

Balthasar is of course Guersie who has been implicated in the Kentish troubles of 1543. I have not learned the exact date of his departure from England or the cause of his flight. In all probability

[1] As was said above, Morice states that the pardon of the offenders was secured through great exertion of their friends. A passage in Sir John Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, p. 41, is of interest here. "What think you," he asks, "by Haywood, that escaped hanging with his mirth? The king, graciously and (as I think) truly persuaded that a man that wrote so pleasant and harmless verses, could not have any harmful conceit against his proceedings; and so by the honest motion of a gentleman of his chamber, saved him from the jerk of the six stringed whip." Ward (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 331) follows Oldys and Fairholt in referring Harington's allusion to an incident during the reign of Edward VI. This, however, is wrong, since Harington is obviously speaking of Henry VIII. Ward further remarks that Harington has confused the Six Articles ("six stringed whip") and the Act of Supremacy. This may be the case, yet it is possible that he really meant what he said. Heywood and his fellows got into trouble indirectly at least as a result of the Six Articles. How Harington might have been misled by Heywood's experiences in 1544 is perhaps illustrated by a more modern blunder. Forgetting that Heywood recanted in 1544 and that Edward VI died in 1553, the writer of the unsigned article on Heywood in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* has the startling assertion: "Under Edward VI, he [Heywood] was accused of denying the King's supremacy over the church, and had to make a public recantation in 1554."

[2] *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 661; Pt. 2, p. 545; XXI, Pt. 1, p. 243.

he left about the same time that Rastell and Clement fled and for very similar reasons.[1]

On September 25, 1549, Anthony Bonvise "craftely and rebelliously took flight to Antwerp[2] with all his family," his brother Benedict having departed for the same place without license on April 5, 1548.[3] Perhaps foreseeing trouble, Anthony by an indenture dated July 4, 1547, had granted Crosby Hall and other property to "Richard Heywood, and John Webbs, gentlemen, and their heirs to the use of the said Anthony for his life." After Bonvise's decease the property was to pass "to the use of Peter Gowte . . . . and his heirs; for default, to the use of Anthony Roper, son of Wm. Roper, Esq. and his heirs."[4] The reason for his flight and an account of his life abroad are given by Sander:[5]

> Seeing even the traces of the Catholic faith being removed from England, he went to live in the University of Louvain, not indeed to carry on his business as a merchant of this world, but to attend to the business of the next. . . . . There he gathered around him and comforted those who were in exile for the faith, especially the physician John Clement and his wife, John Storey . . . . Nicholas Harpsfield . . . . John Boxall . . . . and the lawyer, Wm. Rastell, with his wife, who died in Louvain.

Perhaps on account of his high position, his former intimacy with More,[6] his close friendship with Pole,[7] and his activity regarding the much-debated question of the Sacrament, Dr. Clement seems to have been especially distasteful to the Reformers. In a reply, May 18, 1560, to a letter of Cole, Jewel accused Clement of tearing out and casting into the fire certain leaves of Theodoret (*Works, Parker*

[1] Balthasar returned to England during the reign of Mary, and on December 22, 1556, he was admitted a fellow to the College of Physicians. He was buried on January 10, 1558 (Munk, I, 57).

[2] *Inquisitiones post Mortem for London*, ed. Fry, I, 115.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[4] *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, I, 183. This passage is of interest in showing the intimate connection between Bonvise and the More circle. Was the Richard Heywood mentioned above a brother of the dramatist? For other references to him, see *L. and P.*, XX, Pt. I, p. 309; XXI, Pt. I, p. 648.

[5] *The Anglican Schism*, pp. 201–2. Bonvise does not seem to have returned to England during the reign of Mary (cf. *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 67; *ibid., Foreign*, 1553–58, pp. 197, 212, 367). He died at Louvain on December 7, 1558.

[6] Gillow, *Bibliog. Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, I, 499.

[7] Cf. especially the letter written by Pole to Genova in behalf of Thos. Clement, an English law student and the son of Pole's "old and very dear friend" (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1555–56, pp. 393–94).

Soc., I, 52); and in his *Apology* (printed 1562) he explains that this event took place "but few years past" in the presence of "certain honest men" including Peter Martyr. The destroyed leaves, we are informed, taught that "the nature of bread in the communion is not changed or abolished, or brought to nothing" (*ibid.*, IV, 785–86). This accusation probably began in 1549 when Martyr was causing such a stir at Oxford about the Sacrament; and it may have had something to do with Clement's flight. Harding's reply to the *Apology* (printed 1564) contains a vehement denial of any such irreverence to old texts by the doctor and former teacher of Greek, a denial, however, which does not seem to have satisfied Jewel.[1] Clement probably left[2] England in December, 1549, at the same time when his son-in-law fled with "his whole family" to Louvain "contrary to the allegiance which he owed the King, deceitfully and rebelliously."[3]

Adequate motives for the flight of Clement and Rastell in the fall of 1549 are not easily found. It is not at all probable that either had been implicated in the revolts of the previous summer, or had violated the Act of Uniformity, which had become operative at Pentecost.[4] The best explanation appears to be that, seeing with the fall of Somerset in October and the reconsideration of religious matters by the parliament which met on November 4, a beginning of the end of the short era of comparative religious freedom[5] which England had enjoyed under Edward VI, they were unwilling to take any chances with the new order of things owing to their former activities in behalf of Catholicism, and therefore voluntarily left

[1] *Works* of Jewel, IV, 786.

[2] Together with Pole, Dr. Story, Guersie and a few others he was exempted from the general pardon granted by Edward VI in 1552 (Gillow, *Bibliog., Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, I, 499). On August 28, 1552, an inventory was taken of his goods remaining in the house of Marshfoot in the parish of Horn-church, Essex (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 44). He returned to England in March, 1554, and practised his profession in Essex, but after Elizabeth's accession he again went abroad, where he died, July 1, 1572 (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxienses*, I, 289). In a memorandum drawn up in 1576 by the College of Physicians, "Dr. Clement at Louvain" is instanced among the "electors who have fled for religion out of the realme [but who] have been kept in their offices . . . . until they died" (Birt, *Eliz. Religious Settlement*, p. 445).

[3] An inquisition of February 27, 1551, states that Rastell fled on December 21, 1549, whereas another one gives December 1 as the date of the flight (*Inquisitiones post Mortem*, I, 109, 116).

[4] Dodd, *Church History* (ed. Tierney), II, 31–32, and appendix.

[5] A. F. Pollard, *Eng. under Somerset*, chap. iv; cf. also his *Life of Cranmer*, pp. 258–60.

their native land[1] without the royal permission. This, however, would hardly explain Bonvise's leaving in September.

Having profited, perhaps, by his experience under Henry VIII, Heywood seems to have avoided trouble during the reign of Edward VI, a period marked by comparatively little religious persecution. According to Puttenham, the epigrammatist was "well benefited" by Edward for the "myrth and quicknesse of his conceits"; and the same author further states that he was a great favorite of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland (*Percy Soc.*, XX, p. vii). The good will of Dudley would surely account for the lack of any trouble at this period, though it is just a little odd that one who showed favor to Knox and other reformers should have been especially gracious to the Catholic Heywood. But Northumberland, it must be remembered, was a reformer for political reasons; and at the time of his execution in August, 1553, he recanted, avowing himself a strong Catholic. If Puttenham's statement is to be accepted at all, then we must at least suppose that any intimacy between Heywood and Dudley ceased at the accession of Mary, certainly before the unfortunate events that resulted in the death of the duke and Lady Jane Grey. Possibly the famous epigram *Of Rebellion*, in which Heywood deftly vows his loyalty to the queen under all circumstances,

[1] Rastell returned to England during Mary's reign. In October, 1555, he was made sergeant at law (Foss, *Judges of Eng.*, V, 535) and on October 25, 1558, he was appointed to the Queen's Bench (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 107). On the day after Elizabeth's accession all judges were reappointed regardless of their religion (Foss, V, 536). On February 23, 1559, Rastell was appointed by the queen a "Justice Itinerant and of the assizes in the Counties of Durham and Sadberg" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 122). He incurred the enmity of Pilkington (Pilkington, *Works, Parker Soc.*, p. 628); and on May 3, 1560, Bishop Young wrote rather warmly to Parker that "Mr. Serjeant Rastell" and Mr. Warner [Jno. Warner, Warden of All Soul's] had exerted themselves extravagantly in behalf of "Thos. Clement whose prebend Mr. Gwynne now has" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 114). For reasons which it is unnecessary to give here I believe that this Thos. Clement was Rastell's brother-in-law. On January 3, 1562 (not 1563 as is sometimes said), Rastell left England without the royal license, and his property, including his library, was forfeited to the crown (Douthwaite, *Gray's Inn*, p. 172; *Law Magazine*, February, 1844 [XXXI], pp. 55–60). It is generally supposed that he fled on account of his religion, but this is by no means certain. The Inns of Court and lawyers in general were not seriously molested during the first years of Elizabeth's reign; and a passage in a letter of January 17, 1562, written by Bishop Quadra to the Spanish king, is of interest in this connection. "The cause of his going," writes the bishop, "although it is publicly said to be on account of religion, I am told by some of his friends is to avoid signing an opinion which seven or eight lawyers are to give on the succession to the crown." The object of the plan, explains Quadra, was to exclude the Scots Queen and Lady Margaret and to secure ultimately a monarch sufficiently "heretic" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558–67, p. 224). Rastell died in Louvain, August 27, 1565.

was the result of his former connection with Northumberland. Whatever may have been his position, it is certain that the dramatist remained undisturbed in England under Edward. Between October 1 of the second year of his reign and October 1 of the ensuing year four quarter wages of 50*s.* to "John Haiwood plaier on the Virginalles" are recorded in the King's Book of Receipts and Payments;[1] and in the early part of 1553 a play "of children" was "set out by Heywood" at court.[2]

It is unnecessary to rehearse the prosperity of Heywood under Mary. Rather full accounts are to be found in Ward's article in *D.N.B.* and in Swaboda's *Heywood als Dramatiker*. A question more in point is his relation to the religious settlement under Elizabeth.

Perhaps misled by Anthony à Wood's vague assertion[3] that Heywood *after* Mary's death "left the nation for religion sake," scholars[4] have generally assumed that this took place immediately after the queen's decease on November 17, 1558. There is every reason to believe, however, that Heywood remained in England for a considerable time after the accession of Elizabeth. In Machyn's *Diary* (*Camden Soc.*, p. 206) the following passage appears:

> The V day of August [i.e., 1559] the Queen(s) grace removyed from Eltham unto Non-shyche, my lord of Arundell(s), and ther her grace had as gret cher evere nyght, and bankettes; but the Sonday at nyght my lord of Arundell(s) house mad her a gret bankett at ys cost, the wyche Kyng Henry the VIII byldyd, as ever was sene, for soper, bankett, and maske, with drumes and flutes, and all the mysyke that cold be, tyll mydnyght; and as for chere has nott bene sene nor hard. [On Monday] the Queen('s) grace stod at her standying [in the further park] and ther was corse after; and at nyght the Queen . . . . and a play of the chylderyn of Powlles and ther master Se[bastian], master Phelypes, and master Haywood, and after a grett bankett, etc.

It is curious that Strype, who consulted MS Cotton Vitellius, F. V. "when it was perfect," should have omitted "Master Haywood" in virtually transcribing the passage above.[5] All things

[1] *Trevelyan Papers* (*Camden Soc.*), Pt. 2, pp. 18, 25, 31, 33.

[2] *Loseley Manuscripts*, ed. Kempe, pp. 89–90.

[3] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 349.

[4] Ward, however, says at the accession of Elizabeth "or later" (*D.N.B.*, XXVI, 332).

[5] *Annals of the Reformation* (ed. 1824), I, Pt. 1, p. 290. For examples of Strype's carelessness see Nichols' preface to Machyn's *Diary*, p. vi. Strype, and not Machyn, has been followed with respect to this passage. Cf. for example, Nichols, *Prog. of Eliz.* (ed. 1823), I, 74; Collier, *Drama*,[2] I, 169.

considered, however, there seems to be no reason for doubting the authenticity of this reference to "Master Haywood's" presence at Nonsuch in August, 1559, or for believing that the person referred to here is any other than the one who at various times before this date is associated with the entertainments by Children at Court. And why assume that Heywood left England for "conscience sake" immediately after Elizabeth's accession? There was virtual religious freedom at least until June 24, 1559, when the Act of Uniformity became operative (Birt, pp. 23–26); and as late as November 16 of the same year the Reformation was decidedly uncertain (*ibid.*, pp. 174–75). True, the Act of Supremacy had caused some agitation before this date, but comparatively few people seem to have fled.[1] If he was connected with St. Paul's, as seems probable, then Heywood must have experienced the Southern Visitation which began on August 11, 1559, when the Visitors sat in the chapter house of St. Paul's (Machyn, p. 206). By *experienced* I do not mean that he conformed. He could have been absent, as some were, or have refused subscription to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity without causing himself serious difficulty for the time being at least. That this visitation, as indeed that of July 1562, was mild and accompanied by few deprivations is abundantly proved.[2] As one example of the comparative leniency of the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the experiences of Sebastian Westcote may be cited at this point. His case was perhaps not exactly a typical one, yet on account of the association of his name[3] with that of Heywood by Machyn and his connection with dramatic history, one is perhaps justified in inserting here a brief account of his adventures with the reformation under Elizabeth.

At the St. Paul's Visitation of August, 1559, Westcote refused to comply with the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy,[4] and on

[1] On May 10, 1559, Bishop of Aquila after stating that the Oath of Supremacy was to be administered at once to the English bishops, who are ordered not to leave London, continues: "An infinite number of people would leave the country if they would let them, which they will not, and I am not sure whether they are wise in this" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558–67, p. 69).

[2] Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, pp. 117, 131; Birt, *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, p. 171; Frere, *Eng. Church under Eliz. and Jas.*

[3] Machyn's "Master Phelypes" is probably Robert Phillips, the famous singer (Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, I, 450), who is mentioned in a list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel supposedly drawn up in the reign of Edward VI (Stopes, *Wm. Hunnis and the Children of the Chapel*, pp. 21, 23).

[4] Strype, I, 251; Birt, p. 171.

November 3 of the same year he was given until the next sitting to make his decision.[1] In the meantime he was, according to the *Novum Repetorium*,[2] appointed, in 1560, sub-dean or first minor canon of St. Paul's. Apparently nothing was done to him at the Visitation of 1561; and in August, 1563, Grindal in a letter to Dudley states that Westcote had been deprived (in July) only after every effort had been exerted to induce him to subscribe.[3] "He was," says Birt (pp. 441–42), "Master of the Choir of St. Paul's, hence his influence among the choristers had to be counteracted or removed; he remained in London, doubtless under the protection of Lord Dudley, and in 1577 was returned as living under the shadow of his old home in 'St. Gregory's by Paul's,' and is still called Master of the Children of Paul's Church, being valued at 100 pounds in goods." In a list of "Prisoners in the Marshalsea," Westcote is described[4] among "Papists at Liberty" as "sent in by commandment from the honorable lords of the Consell for papistry 21 December Anno 1577 and was discharged by my sayd lords of the counscell the 19 daye of Marche Anno 1577 [1578]." His deprivation was obviously confined to his sub-deanship, since he is regularly the payee for the Paul's Children at Court performances from Christmas 1561/2 to Christmas, 1581.[5]

Before returning to Heywood, it will be well to note a few points in connection with his sons, Ellis and Jasper, and their movements during the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (XXVI, 329) states that after being admitted B.C.L. at Oxford, July 18, 1552, Ellis Heywood was opposed to the Reformers, and hence withdrew to the Continent where he was received into the family of Cardinal Pole, becoming later a secretary to him. According to the same work, Ellis does not seem to have accompanied the cardinal to England during Mary's reign. I am not sure about all this, for whereas Pole did not arrive in London until November 24, 1554, an Ellizeus Heywood, A.M., was admitted

[1] Strype, *Annals*, I, 253.

[2] Ed. of Hennessy, p. 61.

[3] *Remains of Grindal, Parker Soc.*, p. 262.

[4] *Catholic Record Soc., Miscellanea*, I, 70.

[5] E. K. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Review*, II, 4–9; Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, pp. 15–19; Stopes, *William Hunnis*, pp. 319–21.

prebend at Eccleshall, Lichfield, on June 22 of the same year (Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, I, 601). He was perhaps not in England at the time of Elizabeth's accession. In 1556, he was residing in Florence where his *Il Moro d'Heliseo* was published in that year; and in 1559 he was probably a student in Paris, since on August 1, 1559, Throckmorton wrote[1] to Cecil: "Here are arrived two gentlemen from Italy, Mr. Phitzwilliam and Mr. Haywood, who remain as students at Paris." He entered the Society of Jesus in 1566;[2] and he had returned to his native land before 1573 when he came from England to Anvers.[3]

In discussing the 1559 Visitation at Oxford, C. G. Robertson[4] writes that Jasper Heywood, a Fellow of All Soul's, probably had to leave the college in June on account of his religion. This is the accepted view. It is not at all likely, however, that Jasper was forced to leave at that time. In the first place, he is not mentioned along with the two Fellows who were expelled in June, 1559, for non-compliance. Oxford was especially noted for its strong Catholic sympathies; and the authorities recognizing this fact had the visitors of 1559 make a "mild and gentle, not rigorous, reformation" (Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, pp. 131, 174–75). Nor was it until 1564 that real pressure was brought to bear by the Reformers upon Oxford.[5] Again, if Jasper had been expelled in 1559, then it is rather strange that he should have dedicated his *Thyestes* (Pub. 1560) to Sir John Mason who on June 20, 1559, was elected chancellor of Oxford and who was one of the Visitors for that year (Birt, p. 272). Nor should we expect to find the *Hercules Furens* (published in 1561) dedicated to Wm. Herbert, ardent favorer of a zealous Protestant revival and member of the committee in 1558 to discuss ecclesiastical conditions with the queen. All things considered, we can feel rather sure that Heywood's leaving Oxford was not the result of compulsion. In 1561 he was admitted into Gray's Inn,[6] and deciding to become a priest, he left England—probably with his uncle, Wm. Rastell,

[1] *Cal. State Papers, Foreign*, 1558–59, pp. 434, 436.

[2] H. Foley, *Records of the Eng. Province of the Soc. of Jesus*, I, 388.

[3] *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.

[4] *Hist. of All Soul's College*, p. 67.

[5] Birt, pp. 278, 507, etc.; Frere, *Eng. Church under Eliz. and Jas.*, pp. 65–66.

[6] Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, p. 29.

on February 3, 1562. Having been ordained abroad,[1] he was on May 21, 1562, admitted to the Society of Jesus at Rome.[2]

It would not be surprising to find that John Heywood remained in England as long as his son and brother-in-law. And there is some slight evidence that he remained as long, even longer. In 1562 Thomas Powell issued the *Epigrams* with a "newly added syxt hundred" "newly invented and made by John Heywood." No. 62 of these reads

> Thanks to God and good people Powles goeth up well:
> Powles goeth up? but when goeth polling down; that tell.

This seems to be an allusion to the rebuilding by public subscription of St. Paul's, struck by lightning and partially destroyed on June 4, 1561 (Machyn, p. 259). The work of rebuilding was considered a national duty. Large contributions were offered for the work, and within a month after the fire all four of the great roofs were covered with a slight roof of wood and lead to keep out the rain. On November 1, 1561, the lord mayor, aldermen, and all the crafts of the city went in state to hear the sermon at the famous cathedral; and before the end of the year "all the long rooffes were raysed of new and strong timber."[3] If the lines above are a reference to the rebuilding of St. Paul's, then it is hardly such as would have been made by a fugitive in Malines.

Less convincing is another reference. Strype[4] after stating that he omits the "names of the lesser Canons, and of the Vicars choral" who were present at the Visitation of St. Paul's in April, 1561, goes on to say that the Visitors adjourned until the following May 29, "at which time also appeared Whitbroke, Lake, Haywood, and Pen, Minor Canons," arraigned about their marriage. After a consideration as to what should be done with them,

> it was found by ordinances of the Dean formerly made, that married Canons should not be bound to be present at the common table in their college of petty canons, but should be permitted to be by themselves with their families,

[1] Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, p. 268.

[2] For his return to England in 1581 and his experiences there, see *D.N.B.*, XXVI: Law, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Eliz.; Catholic Record Soc., Miscellanea*, I, 111–12; *ibid.*, IV and V; Foley, *Records of Soc. of Jesus*, I, 388.

[3] Machyn, pp, 260, 262; Hayward, *Annals of Eliz.*, p. 89.

[4] *Life of Grindal*, pp. 88–89.

and to have convenient victuals; and that beside in all dividends and common profits, the same should be had of the married as of others. And of these orders the Bishop approved.

Who is this "Heywood," married minor canon? The nearest approach to the name given in the *Novum repetorium* is "John Hayward," who was appointed junior cardinal or third minor canon in 1566 (ed. of Hennessy, p. 63). And who is John Hayward?

At least the close relationship between minor canons and the choir[1] and the various suggestions of Heywood's association with the Paul's Children rather tend to support the assumption that in 1561 he was actually a minor canon of St. Paul's. If it be urged that minor canons *ought* to be priests, then it may be said that there is nothing conclusive against believing that Heywood had taken orders by 1561. The careers of his sons and the expression "votre vénéré père" used in describing his admission into the Jesuit College at Anvers in 1576[2] are at least not opposed to any such supposition. One of the "Jests" as given by Warton[3]-Hazlitt is as follows: "When Queene Mary tolde Heywoode that the priestes must forego their wives, he merrily answered: Then your grace must allow them lemmans, for the clergie cannot live without sauce." Possibly his having taken holy orders would explain more adequately why the queen should be talking to him about such matters. On the other hand, it is not easy to reconcile John Heywood, married priest, with the John Heywood, who is said to have been a sort of official jester to the Catholic Mary. And owing to the prominence of the name "Heywood" in ecclesiastical affairs of the time,[4] one is surely not justified in stressing Strype's vague reference.

My remoteness from documents that would perhaps settle the matter is my excuse for other conjectures. Heywood, John Pits

[1] See *Novum repetorium*, ed. of Hennessy, p. 59; Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 134–35.

[2] *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.

[3] *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, IV, 80, note 3.

[4] Jno. Bridgewater, says Bang (*Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 235), has in the index of persons to his *Concertatio Ecclesiae* a John Heywood "Sacerdos" in addition to "Joan Heiuodus N[obilis] obijt E[xul]." Is Bridgewater's "Sacerdos" the John Hayward who aided Parsons? (see above). A "Thos. Haywoode," monk at St. Osith's, Essex, was pensioned in 1540 (*L. and P.*, XV, 542); a "Thos. Heiwood" officiated at the wedding of Wm. Bel and Dorothy Daniel, May 7, 1582 (*Catholic Record Soc., Miscellanea*, I, 119); a "Stephen Heywood" was granted a pension in 1534 on the dissolution of Byndon Abbey (*L. and P.*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 519); in 1574 Oliver and Thos. Heiwood, priests, were apprehended at Mass (Holinshed, *Chronicle*, IV, 324–25).

seems to say, "extat Londini anno Domini 1576." And Bang[1] asks: "Wohl nur druckfehler für 1556?" The date 1576 is impossible; yet I am inclined to ask whether Bang's 1556 is only a *druckfehler* for 1565 or 1566 or 1567. At least I am not convinced that Heywood left England before 1567. *The Recantation of Famous Pasquin of Rome*, published in 1570 by John Daye,[2] contains a reference to Heywood and other "Louanistes" who "ran away." In 1573 he was living at Malines,[3] "venu d'Angleterre, persécuté pour la foi"; hence in all probability he was the same person who on April 18, 1575, wrote to Burghley from that place "'where I have been despoiled by Spanish and German soldiers of the little I had', and thanking him for ordering the arrears from his land at Romney to be paid to him, and speaking of himself as an old man of seventy-eight."[4] Burghley's good will, implied in this letter, would help to explain Heywood's prolonged stay in England. He was, an octogenarian, admitted in 1576 to the Jesuit College at Anvers,[5] and in a list made out on January 29, 1576/7, "of all such as are certified into the Exchequer to be fugitives over the seas, contrary to the stat. 13 Eliz.," John Heywood holding land in Kent is included as being resident at Louvain.[6] This document used by Collier is, as Birt has pointed out,[7] evidently a copy of a former one of December 26, 1576. The statute referred to is the act known as "13 Eliz. Cap. 3" passed in 1570 against fugitive or "fleeing" Papists and "depriving them of their lands and possessions, and nullifying any transfer they may have made thereof in order to escape any such confiscation." Since the property thus passing into the crown's possession became ready incentive to Elizabethan graft, lists of fugitives were eagerly sought after. If Heywood fled early, it is, therefore, probable that his name occurs in some list anterior to that of December 26, 1576. Perhaps he left England as a result of the active hostility to Catholics which accompanied the rebellion of 1569 and which perhaps found fullest expression in the stringent parliamentary acts (13 Eliz. Cap.

[1] *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 238.
[2] Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Pt. I, p. 83.
[3] *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.
[4] *D.N.B.*, XXVI, 332.
[5] *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 236.
[6] Collier, *Bibliog. Catalogue*, I, 39.
[7] *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, p. 545.

2 and 3) of 1570. At any rate there is no especial reason for believing that during the first years of Elizabeth's reign John Heywood who apparently had twice taken the Oath of Supremacy in Henry VIII's time and who had prosperously survived the reign of Edward VI should have been "persécuté pour la foi."

So much for conjecture. The whole question, I believe, can be settled by a study of the unpublished lists of Papists which are preserved in the Public Record Office and which Birt has so ably used in his book on the religious settlement under Elizabeth. From such documents certain facts regarding the social position, property, and whereabouts of Heywood would perhaps be gleaned, together with other facts concerning various members of the Heywood circle.

NOTE.—After the preceding article was in type my attention was called to Professor C. W. Wallace's *Evolution of the English Drama*, which appeared some time after my paper was announced. Professor Wallace has found new facts regarding Heywood's appointment as server to his Majesty's chamber; and he has noted most of the references above to grants, etc., to "John Heywood," which he believes refer in all cases to the dramatist. For reasons already given I prefer to be somewhat more conservative.

This is not the place to discuss Professor Wallace's unconvincing assignment to Cornish of various plays usually credited to Heywood, but it may be said that Heywood's "uncompromising" Catholicism, necessary for such procedure, is surely questionable, as, I think, the preceding pages show. Professor Wallace writes (p. 83) that Heywood as a result of this "uncompromising Catholicism" left England immediately after Elizabeth's accession; and on page 84, in noting that Heywood is associated with Westcote and the Paul's Boys at the Hatfield House entertainment of 1552, he asserts positively that Heywood could not have been connected with Paul's. Yet, strange to say, he fails to discuss in this connection Heywood's association with the same man and boys at Nonsuch in August, 1559, as given in the Camden Society edition of Machyn's *Diary*. Nevertheless he cites (p. 105, note 4) Machyn's *Diary* in connection with this latter entertainment, while in his Table (p. 199) he refers the reader to the account of the entertainment as found in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, where the reference to Heywood is not found. If Professor Wallace has evidence to show that the allusion to "Master Heywode" is a later addition in the Camden Society edition of Machyn (cf. my discussion of this point above), then of course this circumstance will probably modify somewhat my views.

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BEN JONSON

NOTES ON *UNDERWOODS* XXX AND ON THE *NEW INN*

Underwoods XXX is an epistle written by Jonson to Sackvile, Earl of Dorset, in acknowledgment apparently of money that the earl has sent him to relieve his necessities. Gifford tells us that it was the favorite poem of Horne Tooke, who knew it by heart and quoted it on all occasions. It is indeed an excellent piece of work, and Gifford rightly says that Horne Tooke's fondness for it "throws no discredit upon his judgment." No one, however, seems yet to have noticed that at least a third of the epistle is made up of passages taken from Seneca.

Lovell's discourse on "true valour" in the *New Inn* is directly connected with *Underwoods* XXX through the fact that certain important lines in it are almost identical with lines in the epistle. This fact was noted by Gifford, and Tennant, the latest editor of the *New Inn*, 1908, while taking note of the parallel, has endeavored (see pp. xlix ff.) to find the chief source for the discourse in Aristotle. Undoubtedly Jonson is in some measure indebted to that philosopher, but his debt to Seneca is much greater, and the discourse again is made up largely of direct quotations from his works; in one place Cicero is also laid under contribution.

Underwoods XXX, 1–4: If, Sackvile, all that have the power to do
Great and good turns, as well could time them too,
And knew their how and where; we should have then
Less list of proud, hard, or ingrateful men.

De beneficiis I. i: beneficia nec dare scimus nec accipere. . . . . Nec mirum est inter plurima maximaque vitia nullum esse frequentius quam ingrati animi. id evenire ex causis pluribus video: prima illa est, quod non eligimus dignos, quibus tribuamus . . . . beneficia sine ullo delectu magis proicimus quam damus. . . . . Multos experimur ingratos, plures facimus . . . . nos illam [turbam ingratorum] augemus. . . . .

5–6: For benefits are owed with the same mind
As they are done, and such returns they find.

De ben. I. i: reddit enim beneficium qui libenter debet. . . . . Eodem animo beneficium debetur, quo datur.

7–12: You then, whose will not only, but desire
To succour my necessities, took fire,
Not at my prayers, but your sense; which laid
The way to meet what others would upbraid,
And in the act did so my blush prevent,
As I did feel it done as soon as meant.

De ben. II. i: Optimum est antecedere desiderium cuiusque, proximum sequi.

II. ii: Molestum verbum est, onerosum, demisso voltu dicendum, rogo. huius facienda est gratia amico et cuicumque, quem amicum sis promerendo facturus, properet licet, sero beneficium dedit qui roganti dedit. Ideo divinanda cuiusque voluntas et, cum intellecta est, necessitate gravissima rogandi liberanda est: illud beneficium iucundum victurumque in animo scias, quod obviam venit.

13–14: You cannot doubt but I who freely know
This good from you, as freely will it owe.

De ben. II. xxx: quoniam qui libenter beneficium accipit, reddidit.

"Libenter," i.e., "freely," is Seneca's customary adverb in speaking both of the action of giving and of that of receiving a benefit in the proper spirit.

15–22: And though my fortune humble me to take
The smallest courtesies with thanks, I make
Yet choice from whom I take them; and would shame
To have such do me good I durst not name.
They are the noblest benefits, and sink
Deepest in man, of which when he doth think,
The memory delights him more, from whom
Than what, he hath received.

De ben. I. xv: Tunc iuvat accepisse beneficium et supinis quidem manibus, ubi illud ratio ad dignos perducit, non quo libet casus [cf. l. 30 below]. et consilii indigens impetus differt. quod ostentare libet et inscribere sibi. Beneficia tu vocas quorum auctorem fateri pudet? at illa quanto gratiora sunt quantoque in partem interiorem animi nunquam exitura descendunt, cum delectant cogitantem magis a quo quam quid acceperis?

II. xviii: Haec autem hoc primum censebit non ab omnibus accipiendum.

I. ix: Non quanta quaeque sint, sed a quali [dentur], prospiciendum.

22–32: Gifts stink from some,
They are so long a coming, and so hard;
Where any deed is forced, the grace is marred.
Can I owe thanks for courtesies received
Against his will that does them? that hath weaved
Excuses or delays? or done them scant,
That they have more oppressed me than my want?
Or if he did it not to succour me,
But by mere chance? for interest? or to free
Himself of farther trouble, or the weight
Of pressure, like one taken in a strait?

De ben. I. i: Quis nostrum contentus fuit aut leviter rogari aut semel? quis non, cum aliquid a se peti suspicatus est, frontem adduxit, voltum avertit, occupationes simulavit, longis sermonibus et de industria non invenientibus exitum occasionem petendi abustulit et variis artibus necessitates properantis elusit? In angusto vero conpressus aut distulit, id est timide negavit, aut promisit, sed difficulter, sed subductis superciliis, sed malignis et vix exeuntibus verbis? Nemo autem libenter debet quod non accepit, sed expressit. gratus adversus eum esse quisquam potest, qui beneficium aut superbe abiecit aut iratus inpegit aut fatigatus, ut molestia caret, dedit? Errat, si quis sperat responsurum sibi, quem dilatione lassavit, exspectatione torsit. . . . . ne tarde quidem, quia, cum in omni officio magni aestimetur dantis voluntas, qui tarde facit, diu noluit.

The same topic is treated in I. vii, and at length in II. i.

For l. 28, cf. II. v:

Nihil aeque amarum quam diu pendere. aequiore quidam animo ferunt praecidi spem suam quam trahi. . . . . Inde illae voces, quas ingenuus dolor exprimit: "*Fac, si quid facis*" et "*nihil est tanti: malo mihi iam neges.*" Ubi in taedium adductus animus incipit beneficium odisse, dum exspectat, potest ob id gratus esse?

With l. 30 cf. casus under 15–22 above, and see:

I. xv: neque enim cordi esse cuiquam possunt forte ac temere data.

The point is treated at great length in VI. vii–ix. In VI. xii, Seneca answers in the negative the question, Si quis sua causa nobis profuit, eine debetur aliquid?

33: All this corrupts the thanks.

The phrase is taken from the "gratiam corrumpimus" of *De ben.* I. i.

33–34: less hath he won
That puts it in his debt-book ere't be done.

The general sentiment is everywhere in Seneca, but Jonson seems to have particularly in mind *De ben.* I. ii:

nemo beneficia in calendario scribit, nec avarus exactor ad horam et diem adpellat . . . . turpis feneratio est beneficium expensum ferre.

35–36: Or that doth sound a trumpet, and doth call
His grooms to witness.

De ben. II. xi: Non est dicendum quid tribuerimus. . . . . Ne aliis quidem narrare debemus. qui dedit beneficium taceat, narret qui accepit . . . . Quid opus est eloqui?

And for this sentiment and the pride which Jonson goes on to reprobate, see the last part of the same chapter:

Nihil aeque in beneficio vitandum est quam superbia. quid opus adrogantia voltus? quid tumore verborum? ipsa res te extollit. detrahenda est inanis iactatio: res loquentur nobis tacentibus. Non tantum ingratum, sed invisum est beneficium superbe datum.

37–38: In that proud manner, as a good so gained,
Must make me sad for what I have obtained.

De ben. II. xiii: O superbia magnae fortunae! o stultissimum malum! ut a te nihil accipere iuvat! ut omne beneficium in iniuriam convertis.

[42. For the expression "throw away" a benefit, cf. "proicimus" under 1–4 above.]

43 ff.: No more than he doth thank, that will receive
Nought but in corners, and is loth to leave
Least air or print, but flies it: such men would
Run from the conscience of it if they could.
As I have known some infants of the sword,
Well known, and practised borrowers on their word,
Give thanks by stealth, and whispering in the ear,
For what they straight would to the world forswear.

De ben. II. xxiii: Sunt quidam, qui nolunt nisi secreto accipere. testem beneficii et conscium vitant . . . . ita accipienti adhibenda concio est: quod pudet debere, ne acceperis. Quidam furtive agunt gratias et in angulo et ad aurem: non est ista verecundia, sed infitiandi genus. ingratus est, qui remotis arbitris agit gratias. . . . . Verentur palam ferre, ut sua potius virtute quam alieno adiutorio consecuti dicantur.

51–52: And speaking worst of those from whom they went
But then fist-filled, to put me off the scent.

De ben. II. xxiv: Alii pessime loquuntur de optime meritis. tutius est quosdam offendere quam demeruisse, argumentum enim nihil debentium odio quaerunt.

75–78: I not deny it, but to help the need
Of any is a great and generous deed;
Yea, of the ungrateful: and he forth must tell
Many a pound, and piece, will place one well.

De ben. I. ii: Beneficia in volgus cum largiri institueris,
Perdenda sunt multa, ut semel ponas bene.

103 ff.: Cannot a man be reckoned in the state
Of valour, but at this idolatrous rate?
I thought that fortitude had been a mean,
'Twixt fear and rashness; not a lust obscene,
Or appetite of offending, but a skill
Or science of discerning good and ill.
And you, sir, know it well, to whom I write,
That with these mixtures we put out her light;
Her ends are honesty and public good;
And where they want, she is not understood.

Of course, the doctrine of the mean is characteristically Aristotelian (cf. *Nic. Ethics*, tr. Welldon, II. vii: "In regard to feelings of fear and confidence, courage is a mean state. On the side of excess, he whose fearlessness is excessive has no name, as often happens, but he whose confidence is excessive is foolhardy, while he whose timidity is excessive and whose confidence is deficient is a coward." See also the long discussion of courage in III. x), though it is not only Aristotle, but also Seneca, that Jonson has here in mind. In fact, he is quoting from *Ep.* 85. 28:

Non dubitarent, quid conveniret forti viro, si scirent, quid esset fortitudo. non est enim inconsulta temeritas nec periculorum amor nec formidabilium adpetitio; scientia est distinguendi, quid sit malum et quid non sit.

And when Jonson says that her ends are honesty and public good, he is simply in harmony with the whole spirit of Stoic ethics, according to which fortitude is one of the four cardinal virtues, and he who really possesses one of these possesses them all, since they are all but aspects of virtue herself. They are but different points of view from which she is regarded (see Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 1911, 293–94).

There are in fact two considerations which should have suggested to Tennant that Lovell's discussion of "true valour" in the *New Inn*, IV, iv, 38–222, did not arise mainly out of Aristotle. No doubt the doctrine of the mean at once directs our attention to Aristotle, and there is no doubt that Jonson had certain passages from the *Ethics* particularly in mind, as for example in the discussion of the valor of ignorance. But it is noteworthy that he allows "true valour" much less scope than Aristotle does, and more particularly is it important that his "true valour" is not Aristotle's "courage" (Aristotle means by courage practically what we all do when using the term), but once more the Stoic "fortitude." For that reason, as will be seen in what follows, Jonson feels that he can apply to "true valour" what Seneca says about *sapientia*. In short, the discourse on valour is made up, aside from the few lines having a direct source in Aristotle, of extracts from the *De ira* and the *De contumelia*. The point of contact between *Underwoods* XXX and the *New Inn* is found in the fact that ll. 105–8 of the former are practically repeated in the *New Inn*, IV, iv, 41–45; indeed the passage in the *New Inn* is even a somewhat closer translation of the corresponding Senecan passage:

> A certaine meane 'twixt feare, and confidence:
> No inconsiderate rashnesse, or vaine appetite
> Of false encountring formidable things:
> But a true science of distinguishing
> What's good or evill.

And l. 110 finds its echo in *New Inn*, IV, iv, 113–14:

> If any other
> Respect be mixt, we quite put out her light,

wherein there is again an echo of Seneca *De ira* I. viii. 3:

> aut quemadmodum ex confusione se liberabit, in qua peiorum mixtura praevaluit?

New Inn, IV, iv, 56–57:

> If they [unworthy things] be done to us, to suffer them,
> Is valour too.

Compare *Ep.* 67. 10:

> illic est fortitudo, cuius patientia et perpessio et tolerantia rami sunt.

From 66 on we begin to accumulate our parallels with the two other pieces of Seneca mentioned above.

66: Vertue is never ayded by a vice

De ira I. ix. 1: numquam enim virtus vitio adiuvanda est se contenta.

67–68: What need is there of anger, and of tumult?
When reason can doe the same things, or more?

De ira I. xi. 2: Deinde quid opus est ira, cum idem proficiat ratio?

69–70: O yes, 'tis profitable, and of use,
It makes us fierce, and fit to undertake.

De ira I. vii: Numquid, quamvis non sit naturalis ira, adsumenda est, quia utilis saepe fuit? Extollit animos et incitat. Nec quicquam sine illa, etc.

Seneca treats the point at length, and in I. ix, directly attacks Aristotle's argument, which was to the effect of ll. 69–70:

Ira: inquit Aristoteles, *necessaria est. nec quicquam sine illa expugnari potest, nisi illa inplet animum et spiritum accendit.*

71–77: Why so will drinke make us both bold, and rash.
Or phrensie if you will, do these make valiant?
They are poor helps, and vertue needs them not.
No man is valianter by being angry,
But he that could not valiant be without:
So, that it comes not in the aid of vertue,
But in the stead of it.

De ira I. xiii: "Utilis, inquit, ira est, qui pugnaciores facit." Isto modo et ebrietas: facit enim protervos et audaces . . . . isto modo dic et phrenesin atque insaniam viribus necessariam . . . . et mortis timor. . . . . Sed ira, ebrietas, metus aliaque eiusmodi foeda et caduca inritamenta sunt nec virtutem instruunt. quae nihil vitiis eget, sed segnem alioqui animum et ignavum paulum adlevant. Nemo irascendo fit fortior, nisi qui fortis sine ira non fuisset. ita non in adiutorium virtutis venit, sed in vicem.

78–79: And 'tis an odious kind of remedy,
To owe our health to a disease.

De ira I. xii. 6: abominandum remedii genus est sanitatem debere morbo.

(This is again used at the end of *Underwoods* VIII, where Jonson applies it to jealousy.)

We come then to an interesting passage, ll. 106 ff.

> The things true valour is exercis'd about,
> Are poverty, restraint, captivity,
> Banishment, losse of children, long disease:
> The least is death.

Tennant remarks, p. lv.; "Aristotle enumerates somewhat the same list of evils: 'We fear, in fact, all things that are evils, such as infamy, poverty, disease, loss of friends, and death. But of all things terrible death is the worst: it is indeed, the extreme of evils, since to the dead man, as it seems, nothing further can befall, whether good or evil.'" And in a note, Tennant objects to the reading "least" in l. 109, saying: "To follow Aristotle's reasoning, we must read *last* for *least:* The *last* is death. It is true that Jonson does not follow Aristotle's line of argument on some minor points: but it seems easier to believe this a printer's error than to receive it as a philosophical utterance." On the contrary, it is precisely a philosophical utterance, but not Aristotle's. It is most excellent Stoical doctrine. We need not cite the legion passages that could be brought forward to show that, for the Stoics, death was no evil and in fact a refuge from evils. The following lines are closely related to the present passage.

De cont. x. 4: Alia sunt quae sapientem feriunt, etiam si non prevertunt, ut dolor corporis et debilitas aut amicorum liberorumque amissio at patriae bello flagrantis calamitas.

> 115–17: And as all knowledge, when it is remov'd
> Or separate from justice, is cal'd craft,
> Rather then wisdome; so a minde affecting,
> Or undertaking dangers, for ambition,
> Or any selfe pretext, not for the publique,
> Deserves the name of daring, not of valour.

Here we must turn aside for the moment from Seneca to Cicero *De officiis* i. 19:

Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: "Non," inquit, "solum scientia, quae est remota ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda, verum etiam animus paratus ad periculum, si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi inpellitur, audaciae potius nomen habet quam fortitudinis."

135 ff.: He can assure himselfe against all rumour!
Despaires of nothing! laughs at contumelies!
As knowing himselfe, advanced in a height
Where injury cannot reach him, nor aspersion
Touch him with soyle!

De cont. x. 3—xi. 2: sapiens autem a nullo contemnitur. magnitudinem suam novit nullique tantum de se licere nuntiat sibi et omnis has, quas non miserias animorum, sed molestias dixerim, non vincit, sed ne sentit quidem . . . . haec vero minora ne sentit quidem nec adversus ea solita illa virtute utitur dura tolerandi, sed aut non adnotat aut digna risu putat . . . . habet . . . . pulcherrimam virtutem omnium [animi], magnanimitatem: illa quicquid eiusmodi est, transcurrit ut vanas species somniorum visusque nocturnos nihil habentis solidi atque veri. Simul illud cogitat, omnes inferiores esse, quam ut illis audacia sit tanto excelsiora despicere.

148 ff.: The purpose of an injury 'tis to vexe
And trouble me: now, nothing can do that
To him that's valiant.

De cont. v. 3: Iniuria propositum hic habet, aliquem malo adficere. Malo autem sapientia non relinquit locum. unum enim illi malum est turpitudo, etc.

150 ff.: He that is affected
With the least injury, is lesse then it.
It is but reasonable, to conclude
That should be stronger, still, which hurts, then that
Which is hurt. Now no wickednesse is stronger,
Then what opposeth it.

De cont. viii. 2: Denique validius debet esse quod laedit eo quod laeditur. non est autem fortior nequitia virtute, etc.

155 ff.: Not Fortunes selfe,
When she encounters vertue, but comes off
Both lame and lesse.

De cont. viii. 3: Nŏn habet ubi accipiat iniuriam. ab homine me tantum dicere putas? ne a fortuna quidem, quae totiens cum virtute congressa est, numquam par recessit.

159 f.: There may an injury
Be meant me, I may choose, if I will take it.

De cont. vii. 3: Hoc loco intellegere nos oportet posse evenire, ut faciat aliquis iniuriam mihi et ego non accipiam.

And a few lines below:

si iniuriam accepi, necesse est factum esse. si est facta, non est necesse accepisse me.

161 ff.: But we are, now, come to that delicacie,
And tendernesse of sense, we thinke an insolence
Worse then an injury, beare words worse then deeds;
We are not so much troubled with the wrong,
As with the opinion of the wrong! like children,
We are made afraid with visors! Such poore sounds
As is the lie, or common words of spight.

De cont. v. 1–2: Dividamus, si tibi videtur, Serene, iniuriam a contumelia: prior illa natura gravior est, haec levior et tantum delicatis gravis, qua non laeduntur homines, sed offenduntur. tanta est tamen animorum dissolutio et vanitas, ut quidam nihil acerbius putent: sic invenies servum qui flagellis quam colaphis caedi malit et qui mortem ac verbera tolerabiliora credat quam contumeliosa verba. Ad tantas ineptias perventum est, ut non dolore tantum, sed doloris opinio vexemur, more puerorum, quibus metum uncutit umbra et personarum deformitas et depravata facies. lacrimas vero evocant nomina parum grata auribus et digitorum motus, etc.

166 ff.: Such poore sounds
As is the lie, or common words of spight,
Wise lawes thought never worthy a revenge.

De cont. x. 1: Est minor iniuria, quam queri magis quam exsequi possimus, quam leges quoque nulla dignam vindicta putaverunt.

169: ff. And 'tis the narrownesse of humane nature,
Our poverty, and beggery of spirit,
To take exceptions at these things. He laugh'd at me!
He broke a jest! a third took place of me!
How most ridiculous quarrels are all these?
Notes of a queasie, and sick stomack, labouring
With want of a true injury! the maine part
Of the wrong, is, our vice of taking it.
Lat. Or our interpreting it to be such.

De cont. x. 2–3: Hunc adfectum movet humilitas animi contrahentis se ob factum dictumque inhonorificum: "ille me hodie non admisit, cum alios admitteret. sermonem meum aut superbe aversatus est aut palam risit. et non in medio me lecto, sed in imo collocavit." et alias huius notae, quae quid vocem nisi querelas nausiantis animi? in quae fere delicati et felices incidunt. non vacat enim haec notare cui peiora instant. Nimio otio ingenia natura infirma at muliebria et inopia verae iniuriae lascivientia his commoventur, quarum pars maior constat vitio interpretantis.

178 ff.: If a woman or child
Give me the lie, would I be angry? no,
Not if I were i' my wits, sure I should thinke it
No spice of a disgrace. No more in theirs,
If I will thinke it, who are to be held
In as contemptible a ranke, or worse.

De cont. xii. 1: Quem animum nos adversus pueros habemus, hunc sapiens adversus omnes.

And Seneca goes on to show that all insults are to be looked down upon just as are those of children. So in xiv:

Tanta quosdam dementia tenet, ut sibi contumeliam fieri putent posse a muliere.

Line 183 is a practically direct translation of a passage in Seneca that I well remember, but which I cannot at the moment find.

184 ff.: I am kept out a Masque, sometime thrust out,
Made wait a day, two, three, for a great word,
Which (when it comes forth) is all frown, and forehead.

Here of course, as we know from l. 184, Jonson is drawing on his own experiences; but the topic, and the kind of injuries spoken of, are evidently suggested by the very part of *De cont.* which Jonson translated in the preceding lines, for chaps. xiii, xiv are largely devoted by Seneca to a discussion of the injuries that great men and their vulgar attendants offer, frowns, delays, and the like.

200 f.: If light wrongs touch me not,
No more shall great; if not a few, not many.

De cont. xv. 2: In quantumcumque ista vel numero vel magnitudine creverint, eiusdem naturae erunt: si non tangunt illum parva, ne maiora quidem. si non tangunt pauca, ne plura quidem.

202: ff. There's naught so sacred with us but may finde
A sacrilegious person, yet the thing is
No lesse divine, cause the prophane can reach it.
He is shot-free, in battayle, is not hurt,
Not he that is not hit. So he is valiant,
That yeelds not unto wrongs; not he that scapes 'hem:
They that do pull downe Churches, and deface
The holiest, Altars, cannot hurt the God-head.

De cont. iii. 3–4: Nihil in rerum natura tam sacrum est, quod sacrilegium non inveniat, sed non ideo divina minus in sublimi sunt, si exsistunt qui magnitudinem multum ultra se positam non tacturi adpetant.

Involnerabile est non quod non feritur, sed quod non laeditur: ex hac tibi nota sapientem exhibebo. Numquid dubium est, quin certius robur sit quod non vincitur quam quod non lacessitur, cum dubiae sint vires inexpertae, at merito certissima firmitas habeatur, quae omnis incursus respuit?

And iv. 2: Ut coelestia humanas manus effugiunt et ab his qui templa dirrunt ac simulacra conflant, nihil divinitati nocetur, etc.

210 ff.: A calme wise man may shew as much true valour,
Amid'st these popular provocations,
As can an able Captaine shew security,
By his brave conduct, through an enemies country.

De cont. iv. 3: immo nescio an magis vires sapientia ostendat tranquillitatis inter lacessentia, sicut maximum argumentum est imperatoris armis virisque pollentis tuta securitas in hostium terra.

214 ff.: A wise man never goes the peoples way,
But as the Planets still move contrary
To the worlds motion; so doth he, to opinion.

De cont. xiv. 4: non it qua populus, sed ut sidera contrarium mundo iter intendunt, ita hic adversus opinionem omnium vadit.

217 ff.: He will examine, if those accidents
(Which common fame cals injuries) happen to him
Deservedly, or no? come they deservedly,
They are no wrongs, then but his punishments:
If undeservedly, and he not guilty,
The doer of them, first, should blush, not he.

De cont. xvi. 3: "utrum merito mihi ista accidunt an immerito? si merito, non est contumelia, iudicium est. si inmerito, illi qui iniusta facit, erubescendum est."

194 ff.: For me now to be angry with Hodge Huffle,
Or Burst (his broken charge) if he be sawcy,
Or our owne type of Spanish valour, Tipto . . . .
Were just to make my selfe, such a vaine Animal
As one of them.

Here Jonson is applying to the persons in his play what Seneca says, *De cont.* xiv. 1, about the folly of taking offense at the actions of ostiarii, nomenclatores, cubicularii, etc.

This analysis of the material Jonson has made use of shows that he took little from Aristotle except the definition of courage and a few ideas like that concerning "ignorant valour." Upon these he grafted a large amount of Stoic morality from the pages of Seneca, thus transforming courage into fortitude and saying of fortitude

what in the pages of Seneca is often said of wisdom. The result, as a whole, is perhaps not to the credit of Jonson as a philosophical thinker, for it evidently troubled him little that the two systems of philosophy were inconsistent. Ben Jonson, like his namesake Samuel, and like other great moralists, Pope and Dryden, for instance, was not intended by Nature to reason philosophically. Of the four he had perhaps the most powerful intellect, at least in some respects; but he very probably would have seen nothing wrong in Johnson's method of refuting Berkeley. In any case, he was doubtless little concerned with pagan metaphysics, since all that had of course been once for all overturned by Christianity; perhaps on that account he felt that he need trouble himself little with such discrepancies. Might we compare his eclecticism with that of Cicero? At any rate, it was the art of life that he was interested in, and there he found the classics incomparable teachers, particularly Seneca, who appealed with such force and directness to all the men of the Renaissance, for reasons that are too obvious to need explanation.

In the remaining fifty or sixty lines of *Underwoods* XXX, I have noted nothing that seems to have its immediate source in Seneca or Stoic morality. The theme that Jonson treats, namely, that virtue is to be attained by assiduous practice and constant watchfulness, cannot be identified with any particular system of ethics. Aristotle tells us that we become virtuous by forming virtuous habits. The Stoics did not accept that statement as a matter of theory, but in practice they recognized a road to virtue which was in essence that of Aristotle. And it is of course in accordance with Christian ethics to say that we are made better by training in habits of right feeling and right action (naturally we leave out of consideration all academic questions of "sufficient grace," "necessary grace," and the like).

Perhaps it should be remarked that ll. 124–25,

> Men have been great, but never good by chance
> Or on the sudden,

seem to owe something in expression to the common tag, "Nemo repente fuit turpissimus," Juvenal ii, 83.

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THE PASSION GROUP IN TOWNELEY

In recent articles on the Towneley Mystery cycle I have endeavored to present the evidence which has led me to the following conclusions:[1]

1. That the Towneley, York, and true-Coventry cycles were indebted to a common liturgical source for their plays upon the events connected with Christ's birth.

2. That the same is true of Towneley and York in the Resurrection plays. These plays have been lost from true-Coventry.

3. That there is in T evidence of the work of four editors, one writing in couplets; one, in quatrains; one, called the Y or York editor, making extensive borrowings from York; and one, called the W or Wakefield editor, writing, in a unique stanza and a highly original style, the leading comedy scenes in the whole series of English cycles.

4. That a study of the work of the first two of these four editors makes it possible to say that the Y editor made his additions to the cycle last, since all the groups but his contain couplets and all, including his, contain quatrains.

5. The fifth point concerns itself with the method and results of the work of the W editor. First, it is evident that generally he rewrote old plays, following their order of development faithfully. Second, it is clear that the superior interest of his plays led to the dropping of others near them in the cycle. For instance, there are two shepherd scenes by this author, but there is no birth scene, which should be the central scene of the Christmas group. In the same way the superior interest of those trial scenes which he has revised has led to the dropping of the other similar scenes from the Passion group.

I have stated these conclusions thus at length, because I desire in their light to summarize briefly a study I have made of the Passion and Old Testament groups in T; to comment upon a few questions of editorship in connection with certain plays of the Passion group; and then to state as clearly as I can a summary of my opinion as to the development of the whole cycle, in order to round out my study of its characteristics. I shall discuss the questions of editorship after summarizing the study of the Passion group and before taking up the Old Testament plays.

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, No. 3; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, 4; XI, 2.

The conclusions at which I have arrived in regard to the Passion group as a whole are the result of a comparison of the plays in Y and T carried out as was the comparison of the Christmas and Resurrection groups. The effectiveness of that comparison, however, depended upon the fact that in both these groups I had liturgical plays with which to compare the cyclic plays, and that in the Christmas group I also had the plays of the true-Coventry cycle. In the Passion group, unfortunately, these checks are lacking, as no well-developed liturgical play on the Passion is preserved,[1] and the true-Coventry Passion group is lost. The evidence offered by the comparison of Y and T is, therefore, not so complete; but it is, of course, supported by the evidence of common liturgical origin in the Christmas and Resurrection groups. Without that support, indeed, it would be hardly substantiated.

The Passion group naturally divides into two sections, plays on Christ's ministry, and plays strictly upon the Passion. The comparison revealed that T plays 19 and 31, the ministry plays, showed so little similarity to the Y ministry plays that it was impossible to conclude they had a common source. On the other hand, the Passion plays proper, in spite of much editing and consequent dissimilarity in detail, showed enough of the original framework to indicate strongly that they had a common liturgical source. To these plays I especially direct attention. They include plays 20 through 24, and 32, in Towneley, and 26 through 36, in York.

It was found that T play 20, which includes the *Conspiracy to Take Jesus*, *The Last Supper*, *The Agony*, and *The Betrayal*, agrees in fundamental structure with the corresponding Y plays 26, 27, 28. It is this play which contains the most perplexing editorial problems in the group. T play 21, *The Trial before Caiaphas*, largely rewritten by the W editor, corresponds in the same way with Y play 29, except that it contains no scene of *Peter's Denial*. The next three scenes present in Y, *The Dream of Pilate's Wife*, *Jesus before Pilate*, *The Trial before Herod*, Y 30, 31, are not found in T, but the *Second Trial before Pilate*, Y 32, is T 22. This T play, besides containing direct borrowings from York, has been largely rewritten by the W editor, so that Y and T differ in the internal development of the scenes, but are upon

[1] Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 75, 423.

the same subjects and follow the same order in the development of incidents. The next Y play, 32, on *The Remorse of Judas* and *The Purchase of the Field of Blood* is not in T except for a fragment of the Judas scene inserted out of its natural order as T play 32. But the scenes on *The Judgment of Jesus, Christ Led to Calvary, The Crucifixion,* and *The Death and Burial* are in both cycles in the same order, though with considerable variation in detail, due here chiefly to editing in Y. Finally there is a T play on *The Talents,* or *The Casting of Lots for Christ's Garments,* not in Y, and clearly written by the W editor.

There is revealed in this summary much similarity in the general order of plays and episodes and considerable discrepancy. It is, however, possible to show how this discrepancy was doubtless due to editing and is in either case merely deviation from a common framework in the originals. For instance, Doctor W. A. Craigie has distinctly shown that the Passion play in York has been extensively edited by the insertion of episodes from the northern Gospel of Nicodemus;[1] and it is at the points where these episodes are inserted that we find Y in detail differing from T. On the other hand, it is quite possible to believe that the evident total omission of scenes from T arose because of the superior interest in the W editor's revisions, as was the case in the Christmas group. This cost the loss of the largely repetitive trial scenes which he did not revise; while his well-known habit of following in his revision the plan of the older play has retained for us the fundamental framework of the original scenes. Thus are explained the divergent paths by which these cycles have traveled from their liturgical base; and thus also are emphasized the numerous points at which, in spite of this divergence, they retain striking similarities in framework and development. The very presence, in spite of divergent editing, of such traces of fundamental similarity all through the group strengthens the force of any argument for the same liturgical source.

That the comparison, as far as it went, was conducted precisely as with the other groups, would indicate, it seems to me, a possibility that it points to a correct solution of the problems aroused by the similarities between the Passion scenes in the two cycles. And I also

[1] *An English Miscellany,* Article IX, pp. 53–61.

think that the neatness with which the application of this principle of similar liturgical source, along with the other points tabulated at the beginning of this article, solves the difficulties in connection with the various editing of T play 20, the first of the Passion group, is, in its small way, further evidence of the probability of a liturgical source. It is therefore worth while to examine the problems offered by this play.

Play 20 has been worked over by various editors, but nothing very definite has ever been discovered concerning their number and the extent of each man's work. There is considerable diversity of meter. The play contains stanzas by the W, the couplet, the quatrain, and the York editors. Davidson, in his analysis, traces what he thinks to be the work of six authors. Hohlfeld thinks the play to have been written in dependence upon the corresponding Y plays, 26, 27, 28.[1] It naturally falls into three divisions. (1) *The Conspiracy;* (2) *The Last Supper;* (3) *The Agony and Betrayal.* These can best be treated in turn.

The Conspiracy occupies the first forty-eight stanzas. It corresponds to Y play 26. Metrically it has two divisions: st. 1–6 in the W editor's favorite meter; st. 7–18 in the meter characteristic of many of the scenes in the York cycle. This meter Davidson calls the meter characteristic of the original or parent Y cycle, and he has proved by a series of complicated rhyme tests that these stanzas in T are a borrowing from an older version of the Y cycle than that now extant, which differed somewhat from the extant cycle.[2] The present discussion concerns the relation between these two sections. Was Y added to W, replacing a large part of the original scene, or is W simply a prologue added to Y after it was borrowed? This last would seem to be the most obvious explanation, if evidence of meter, etc., in other plays, as well as in this, did not indicate that the W stanzas found elsewhere were added to the cycle before the Y borrowings. In fact, this particular scene bears this out. Pilate, after calling for silence, tells who he is and how powerful he is. He has heard of a lazy rascal who is praised as a prophet. This man, Jesus, preaches that if he lives a year, he will destroy their law. Pilate is afraid,

[1] *Anglia*, XI, 296.

[2] Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, pp. 137–57.

but says he will protect their rights. Then he relates some of the things Jesus has preached and, at the end, advises that he be let alone, for if these things be true, his sect will spread and overcome every other. Plainly, Pilate is very well acquainted with Christ's preaching and deeds. Why, then, does Caiaphas appear in st. 7 and proceed to acquaint Pilate with all these charges? This continues until st. 26. The present introduction to the corresponding scene in Y would be more natural than this one. There Pilate vaunts in his usual way and ends by asking whether there are any who wish to make complaints; at which the priests present their charge against Christ. The W introduction was evidently never written for the scene as it stands, but for another scene along lines which managed the introduction of the priests somewhat differently. That this lost scene was otherwise along the same lines as the present one is proven by the prominence given to Pilate at the start, a characteristic, by the way, not present in the scriptural source. Again, the lost scene in the W stanza was in itself, probably, a revision of a still older scene along the same lines; as this has been found to be the favorite method of the W editor. The same thing is illustrated on the York side in this very quotation, of which the present Y play 26 is a rewriting and enlargement. Through this habit of rewriting along old lines, the original framework has been preserved as the basis of the present scenes. The quotation from Y extends throughout the Judas scene.

The Last Supper extends from the beginning of st. 49 through st. 70. It corresponds to Y play 27, a play, like the quotation from Y discussed above, from the Y parent-cycle. Its meter is couplets and quatrains. The couplets are forty-seven in number, all in st. 49.

In T the scene is somewhat confused. Both T and Y follow the chronology of John, chaps. 13 and 14; but T is very irregular as a result of editing. Y runs:

1. The foot-washing scene (John 13:1–20).
2. The scene of Judas and the sop (John 13:21–35).
3. Christ prophesies Peter's denial (John 13:36–38).
4. Exhortation by Christ. The exhortation is taken from Luke 22:28–38, but occurs chronologically according to John, as John 13:38, above, is followed by the exhortation of John 14:1–31.
5. Final stanza, including paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence."

The references to John show that the scene follows the chronology there given. As a matter of fact it is not a quotation from John but a composite from all four accounts. This is illustrated by 4, where Luke's exhortation is given in John's chronology. The same observation applies to T, which is, in outline, as follows:

1. Lines 314–45: John and Peter go and prepare the Passover. Not in Y.
2. Lines 346–52: John announces the Passover. Jesus prepares to wash the disciples' feet.
3. Lines 353–73: The scene of Judas and the sop.
4. Lines 374–81: Peter's denial prophesied.
5. Lines 382–83: Paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence." This evidently was once the end of the scene.
6. Lines 384–423: Foot-washing scene with exhortation. In the midst of this portion couplets end.
7. Lines 424–31: Prophecy of Peter's denial repeated.
8. Lines 432–87: Exhortation of John, chap. 14.
9. Lines 488–91: Paraphrase of John 14:31, "Arise, let us go hence."

A comparison of the two accounts reveals:

1. That the preparation of the Passover is omitted from Y. At this point in Y occurs the break between plays 26 and 27. When the break was made this episode was probably dropped.
2. That the foot-washing scene is only hinted at in T at the place where chronologically it should occur.
3. That the exhortation is missing between the first prophecy of Peter's denial and the first paraphrase of John 14:31.
4. That the rest of the foot-washing scene occurs after the first paraphrase.
5. That the prophecy of Peter's denial and the paraphrase are repeated.
6. That between them occurs a long exhortation founded on John rather than on Luke.
7. That through the foot-washing scene all is written in couplets, the rest in quatrains.

The couplet editor when he rewrote the older scene left out the exhortation, or else it was subsequently dropped. It is hardly possible that he altered the position of the foot-washing episode. The quotations from T and Y which follow occur in that scene. In Y they follow each other closely; but, while in the same order in T, there is between the first and the second of the quotations a break of thirty-two lines.

Y, play 27, st. 4, line 40: Do vs haue watir here in hast.
T, line 348: Yei, gyf vs water tyll oure hande,
Y, line 43: Commes forthe with me, all in feere.
T, line 380: Commys furth, both oone and othere;
Y, lines 45–46: Settis youre feete fourth, late see,
They schall be wasschen sone.
T, lines 384–85: Sitt all downe, and here and sees,
ffor I shall wesh youre feet on knees.
Y, lines 51–52: Peter, bott if þou latte me wasshe þi feete
þou getis no parte in blisse with me.
T, lines 392–93: Bot I the wesh, thou mon mys
parte with me in heuens blys.

Evidently the foot-washing scene was not all shifted. It is improbable that an editor, rewriting an older episode, would have shifted only part of it in this manner; nor would he have put it at the end of a scene whose real close was so clearly marked, as is this, by the biblical paraphrase noted. For a time, at least, the scene must have existed in the same order as in Y, except that the exhortation was lacking. The quatrain editor attempted to remedy that defect. Either the foot-washing scene was by some chance already shifted, or he shifted it in order to make it more easy to insert his exhortation. Probably the first was the case. At any rate, he repeats the closing words of the foot-washing scene and leads up through the prophecy of Peter's denial, found at the close of John, chap. 13, to the exhortation given in John, chap. 14, ending with the repeated paraphrase. Whether his work is an original use of quatrains, or an editing of a part of the York scene on the same subject cannot be told. If it is an editing, there are no phrases from York remaining. It is very evidently a piece of editorial patchwork intended to supply the missing exhortation.

The next scene, *The Agony*, st. 71–86, is largely rewritten in quatrains. It corresponds to the first part of Y play 28, which has been rewritten itself, as it is not in the meter of the parent cycle. This part of T may also be a rewriting of the older Y play, which has replaced the original T scene, as did st. 7–48. This is indicated by the single stanza in the meter of the Y parent-cycle, Y, st. 80–81, which occurs in the speech of Trinitas.

The Second Appearance of Judas follows, st. 87–103, for which

there is no biblical authority. It has already been shown that this is a W scene rewritten by the quatrain editor[1] and so is proof that W must have preceded Y.

The rest of the play, *The Betrayal*, is also in quatrains. That it was also borrowed from an older Y play than the present is indicated by the two Y stanzas which remain, 107–8 and 117–18, though these show a partial breaking-up into quatrains.

The play as a whole is evidently an old T play, large portions of which have been replaced by much-edited borrowings from Y. The portions which remain are themselves rewritings by the couplet and W editors of a still older play which must have borne close relations to Y in structure; for it contained that Judas scene which is independent of any biblical source and agreed with Y in raising Pilate to a prominent position in the play. It may, therefore, be assumed that the scenes from Y have taken the place of older scenes along the same lines. In spite of much re-editing the play has retained those fundamental characteristics in which it resembles Y and which they could both have attained only during a period in which they were identical.[2] Thus a study of T play 20 substantiates the theory of cyclic development upon which this study of T has been based. It is now necessary for us to consider some points in connection with the Old Testament group.

In the Old Testament group we face a situation which is quite different from any we have had before except in the plays composing the first section of the Passion group. When we compare these plays

[1] *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XI, No. 2.

[2] In this connection it is proper to call attention to a contribution to *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1911, by Miss Frances Foster, of Bryn Mawr College. Miss Foster endeavors to show by quotation a dependence upon the Northern Passion in the Passion group in T. She has made three comparative selections: (I) from T, XX, 250–81, included in the section which Davidson has shown to be from the York parent-cycle; (II) from T, XX, 314–29, which is the work of the couplet editor; (III) from T, XXII, 358–74, which is the work of the Wakefield man. The second selection is obviously a complete quotation from the Northern Passion imbedded within a mass of material similar to that found in the Passion. The other two show similarity in rhymes, if one allows himself to distort the order of the lines, and also similarity in phraseology in certain common, idiomatic catch-phrases. Now the second selection is obviously a direct indication of source. The other two in connection with the second might be considered a similar indication, if it were not that they are by totally distinct authors and that one of them was originally written for the Y cycle and borrowed by an editor of Towneley. The couplet editor, however, evidently borrowed from the Northern Passion in this instance and this fact raises an interesting inquiry regarding the couplet editor and his use of sources which I hope may at some time be worked out.

in the T and Y cycles we find it impossible to discover any relationship similar to that which has been traced in other groups. The plays of this group differ considerably in title and as markedly in the framework of those the titles of which are alike. It is a safe assumption, therefore, that if the plays of the Christmas group in the two cycles, for instance, sprang from the same liturgical source, the plays of this group did not thus spring, but must have been added to the cycles after they had commenced their separate development. At the earliest they must have been of the transitional period which marks the time when the cycles were undergoing their process of transfer from the church service to the trade gilds.

I have elsewhere touched upon one point in evidence of this.[1] The pseudo-Augustinian sermon detailing the prophecies concerning Christ's coming, which was the basis from which the Old Testament plays developed, was sometimes not expanded, but compressed into a prologue, prophetic in nature, attached to the Christmas scenes.[2] This appears to have been the case in the liturgical play that is the common source of Y, T, and true-Cov., for each of these cycles contains such a prologue, Y and T develop their Old Testament scenes along different lines, and true-Cov. is without any Old Testament scenes at all. Evidently Y and T were thus compelled to undergo a separate development in this group.

The T plays in the Old Testament group are upon the following subjects in order: (1) *Creation, Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve in Eden;* (2) *The Killing of Abel;* (3) *Noah and the Ark;* (4) *Abraham and Isaac;* (5) *Isaac;* (6) *Jacob;* (7) *The Prophets;* (8) *Pharaoh* (Y 11 borrowed); (9) *Caesar Augustus.* Those of Y are in order: (1) *Fall of Lucifer;* (2, 3) *Creation;* (4) *Adam and Eve in Eden;* (5) *Fall of Man;* (6) *Adam and Eve Driven from Eden;* (7) *The Killing of Abel;* (8) *The Building of the Ark;* (9) *Noah, His Wife, The Flood, etc.;* (10) *Abraham and Isaac;* (11) *Departure of Israelites from Egypt* (borrowed in T under title *Pharoah*). It is evident that through the story of Abraham the subjects of the scenes are practically the same, and that the chief variation comes in the rest of the series. These points are emphasized by a catalogue of the scenes in two other cycles

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, No. 3, pp. 427 and 433.

[2] Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 52 ff.

entirely outside of our discussion. In Chester the subjects in their order are: (1) *Fall of Lucifer;* (2) *Creation, Adam and Eve in Eden, Fall of Man, Adam and Eve Driven Out of Eden, The Killing of Abel;* (3) *Noah's Flood;* (4) *History of Lot and Abraham* including Isaac scene; (5) *Balaam;* (6) scene with *Octavian and Sybil* as part of the Nativity. This last is a prophetic scene. In so-called Coventry the subjects are: (1) *Fall of Lucifer, Creation, Adam and Eve in Eden;* (2) *Fall of Man, Adam and Eve Driven from Eden;* (3) *Killing of Abel;* (4) *Noah's Flood;* (5) *Abraham and Isaac;* (6) *Moses and the Two Tables;* (7) *The Prophets.*

The emphasis seems to have shifted from the prophecy, which was the essential thing in the old liturgical *Prophetae,* to events in Bible history. The story of man's fall is necessary to any complete account of Christ's life, since it gives the reason for that life. So it is not surprising that in every cycle which contains Old Testament plays we find at the beginning a play with that as a central episode. In the cycles it is broken up into various scenes, but was probably all one originally. Such a play, extending only through *Cain and Abel* and ending in a *Prophetae,* is preserved in the Norman-French *Ordo repraesentationis Adae.*[1] In the English cycles it seems to have included certain well-known scenes down through the life of Abraham; but after that there was much latitude allowed. Thus Y has only the *Departure from Egypt.* So-called Coventry has *Moses and the Two Tables* and a *Prophetae.* Chester has *Balaam and His Ass* and includes a scene between *Octavian and the Sybil* in the Nativity. T has *Isaac, Jacob, The Prophets, The Departure from Egypt,* and *Caesar Augustus,* another prophetic play; the most extended development of all at this point. Furthermore, although the titles of the first few plays agree to a large extent in all the cycles, the development of each is along separate lines. T is structurally different from Y, Chester, and so-called Coventry; and these are different from each other. A noticeable point in this connection is the position of the Lucifer scene in T, where it is not first, as in the other cycles, but imbedded in the story of the Creation. In Y this Creation story receives a much longer treatment than in T, and the method of conducting Adam and Eve into Paradise is different. The plays were

[1] Chambers, II, 70, 71.

evidently added to each of these two cycles at a period when they were no longer connected, as we were led to surmise by the absence of Old Testament plays in true-Cov.

Further, it is probable the *Prophetae* in T was added after the plays connected with the Fall. It has been remarked that there seemed to be a very definite idea in the minds of the transitional editors as to what subjects in connection with early biblical history should be treated. It would be only natural, then, to add these plays to the cycle first, leaving the remaining portions of the history to be covered as time went on. This argument furnishes a reason why T contains five plays between the *Abraham* and the *Annunciation* and Y only one. The very presence of the *Departure from Egypt* in T illustrates the method of this growth. It is a borrowing from Y and must, therefore, have been a late addition to T. This is borne out by the fact that it is not in the correct chronological position. Instead of being before the *Prophets*, as it ought, it is between that and another prophetic play, the *Caesar Augustus*. The question naturally arises, Which of the three was added first? This it is impossible to say, but the irregularity shows that some, if not all, were late additions, though the sources from which the *Prophets* and *Caesar Augustus* were obtained is not known.

In this connection Professor ten Brink's theory as to the sources of *Isaac* and *Jacob* is of interest.[1] He believes that the thirteenth-century *Harrowing of Hell* is the earliest English drama and that the second was a play on *Jacob and Esau*, which appears to have been composed not far from the mouth of the Humber, and probably to the north of the dialect line. This play is, he thinks, preserved in the two plays on *Isaac* and *Jacob* in T. He says:

> This play has been handed down in the Towneley collection; unfortunately it is mutilated at the beginning, and also divided into two parts: *Isaac* and *Jacob*. However, it originally formed, and, in fact, still forms, one drama, which was produced independently without regard to any cycle of mysteries, and indeed earlier than most of the others, probably than all the other parts of the cycle in which it was subsequently incorporated. All this can easily be proved by means now at the disposal of philology, but this is not the place for entering into the subject. Less certain is the local origin of the piece. The assumption that few of the rhyming words have been

[1] ten Brink, II, 244.

altered in their transmission could, for instance, allow of the supposition that the drama might have been produced in the Northeast-Midland territory, rather than in the southern districts of Northumbria, a supposition which would coincide very well with many other peculiarities of the work.

Pollard,[1] in discussing this opinion, raises the following objections:

1. *The Harrowing of Hell* is a dramatic poem, not a miracle play.
2. No one would act an isolated vernacular *Jacob and Esau.*
3. The play of *Abraham* would suggest a continuation to *Isaac* and *Jacob.*
4. Differences of dialect can be attributed to the removal from one district to another of a play-writing monk.

Yet he believes that the two plays do belong to an early period.

It might be still more probable that these two plays did commence their existence in some East-Midland cycle, and not as an isolated play, and were then borrowed by a T compiler, who was commencing to bridge the gap between the play on man's fall and the *Annunciation.* This would agree with the present theory and satisfy the philological considerations at which ten Brink hints, as well as the objections advanced by Pollard.

There are one or two other points about T which must be noticed. The first is in connection with the Lucifer scene in play 1, which seems to be a late insertion in the play. In every other cycle it comes first. Here it is rather awkwardly inserted after the fifth day of Creation. Besides, there are indications in other parts of the play that it originally contained no Fall of Lucifer. Every cycle opens with the sentence, "Ego sum alpha et Ω," followed by a translation, or explanation, in English. In the T cycle this is prefixed directly to the *Creation* in such a way that no scene could ever have intervened between the two. Again, st. 11, in couplets, seems to be a rough attempt by the couplet editor to connect the fifth day of Creation and the Lucifer scene. Finally at the very end of the play as it now stands, Lucifer in Hell recounts briefly, as though it had not been given elsewhere, the event of the Fall. This may have been the only reference to the Fall in the original play.

The play *Caesar Augustus,* play 9, is peculiar. It is based entirely upon Luke 2:2, and is essentially prophetic. The emperor is enraged that a virgin shall bear a child who will lay low his might (Augustus

[1] *E.E.T.S.* edition of the Towneley plays, Introduction, p. xxv.

and Herod seem to be confused). He asks counsel and finally sends out a messenger to command the folk to own him alone as Lord and to pay tribute. That it is a prophetic scene is made more evident by a comparison with Chester, where a similar scene is interwoven with the Nativity. In the Chester scene Octavian interviews the Sibyl when the Senators offer him the crown, and she prophesies concerning Christ. This is not the T scene, but it shows that the character of Octavian, or Augustus, in these plays had grown up in connection with the Sibyl, out of the old *Prophetae*. In the sermon of prophecy noted above, the Sibyl was one of the prophets quoted.

We have, then, in the Old Testament scenes in T and Y, two distinct series without any such connection as has been traced for most of the rest of the cycle. They must have been added after T and Y had commenced their separate development. In other words, they must be transitional. There are indications that they were not all added to each cycle at the same time; but that a play of several scenes centering about man's fall was first added, after which the gap between this and the *Annunciation* was gradually filled.

To outline clearly the results of this rather detailed investigation is a matter of some difficulty. It has to do with the chronology of the growth of the Towneley cycle. I believe that it started from certain plays included in the church service, which must have followed the use of York. Out of this liturgical drama were developed plays 10–19 inclusive, the Christmas group; plays 25–28, inclusive, the Resurrection group; with a strong probability that there was also a Passion play in this liturgy from which developed plays 20–23, inclusive, the second section of the Passion group with the exception of play 24, and including play 32. I believe, further, that the Old Testament plays, 1–9, inclusive; the first section of the Passion group, the plays on Christ's ministry, plays 19 and 31; play 24 on the Talents; and 29 and 30, the Ascension and the Judgment, were transitional or from the final, or trade-gild, period in the cycle's development. It is, of course, only in the final period of a cycle's growth that we can trace the work of editors, because we possess only the text of that period. In this cycle this development seems to be about as follows. There are traces of four editings, although it is not possible to say whether the last two are by different men. The W editor came first.

He always based his work upon an already existing play, so that in scenes with a liturgical source his editings preserve the original structure. The couplet editor, who followed him, never showed much originality and so retained the older structure and even a phrase here and there of the older text. He was followed by the editor who made the borrowings from York and who is, I am inclined to think, identical with the fourth, or quatrain, editor. His work was mainly in the substitution of scenes borrowed from Y for others already present in the cycle. The cycle as we now have it is, therefore, an evolution, certain steps in which it has been possible to trace in some detail. The field of such comparative study is by no means exhausted; a similar study with the emphasis upon York, for instance, would doubtless have its value. It is possibly sufficient to have pointed the way and at the same time to have furnished this detailed proof of my results.

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQGUR NORÐRLANDA

[*Continued*]

I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

6. *The sources of the Hrómundar saga Gripssonar.*—The saga whose sources we are to consider is then the lygisaga of Hrómundr Gripsson, composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century in Iceland. Its contents we shall understand to have been those of the Griplur, subject to supplement or correction by comparison with the Scandinavian folksongs and the notice in Sturlunga, notably then lacking those episodes in the Griplur connected with the Haddingjar.

We have already given expression to the conviction that an episode relating to a reputed great-grandson of a possibly historical Hrómundr Gripsson[1] suggested the central episode of the Hrómundar saga. But even the elaboration of this episode the author owed in good part, as we shall see, to other sources. The episode from the Landnáma alluded to is this: Leifr, Ingólf's cousin, goes just prior to their second expedition to Iceland, on a viking-trip to the British Isles. In Ireland he discovers a great *jarðhús* ("earthhouse"), which he enters. In the darkness the light from a sword enables him to discern the form of an armed man. This man he kills, securing the sword and considerable treasure besides. As a result of this exploit his name was lengthened to Hjǫrleifr (*hjǫrr*="sword"). Whether this story is true is in this connection of little moment, the circumstances are entirely those of real life, if we except the conception, natural enough to the naïve mind, of the weapon giving light sufficient to enable one to see its bearer. The *jarðhús* was a very common feature of house-construction in the Scandinavian saga-period; it was namely a subterranean recess, or more commonly passage-way, used for concealment or for escape in case the house were suddenly beset by foes.[2] That the story may have arisen as an attempt to etymologize

[1] Cf. *Landnáma*, pp. 6, 132.

[2] Cf. especially Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privatboligen på Island i Sagatiden*, pp. 251 f.

the name, Hjǫrleifr, is conceivable enough,[1] that its simple narrative is a derivative of the elaborately supernatural one of the Hrómundar saga is quite incredible.

Hrómund's adventure in Þráin's mound is one of a type not infrequent in the old Icelandic literature, of which a certain group are not without literary connection. Old Norse life in the viking-period furnished the custom of erecting in honor of distinguished chieftains and others imposing burial-mounds.[2] This form of burial was further common enough in the earlier iron-age and examples of it are preserved dating as far back as the close of the younger stone-age. That objects of adornment, often of great worth, were buried with the bodies is amply demonstrated by excavations of the mounds. In the viking-age naturally enough weapons were given strongly the preference over industrial implements and adornment, that is for the men, who must go equipped for Valhǫll. Even the war-horse was sometimes buried with its master. Excavations show further in some cases[3] that the mounds have at one time or another been entered and plundered. That this might have been undertaken in some cases as early as the viking or saga-period, there is no reason to doubt. In the sagas this procedure (*at brjóta haug*) is often alluded to, and it is related of many a viking-chieftain that he employed this means of replenishing his depleted purse[4] or that he thus secured an especially good sword. A certain Þorsteinn mentioned in the Landnáma (pp. 104, 216, 235) even bore the by-name *haugabrjótr*. Now it is a well-known feature of the Old Norse lower mythology that the soul of the departed might linger about the place where the dead body is buried.[5] Very frequent in the sagas are the episodes where the *haugbúi* recites a verse or otherwise expresses himself from his mound or where the *draugr* is encountered in or about his burial-place. This *draugr* demeans himself very much as a

[1] Cf. the similar story contained in Arngrímur Jónsson's excerpts from the Skjǫldunga saga (*Aarbøger*, 1894, 107) how the name of the legendary Danish king *Leifus* came to be changed to *Herleifus*, or that of the Rímbegla (ed. S. Björnsen, Hafniae 1780 and 1801, p. 318) how *Leifr* came to be called *Friðleifr*.

[2] Cf. S. Müller, *Vor Oldtid*, 649 ff., and for Norway especially G. Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*, 135 ff.

[3] Cf. S. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 651; Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[4] Cf. my edition of the Hálfs saga, chap. 5, and note.

[5] Cf. P. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, pp. 31 ff.

living human being, only being possessed of superhuman strength and commonly of a more than usual degree of human "cussedness." The approved methods of putting an end to his activities are to sever his head from his body and set the same beneath his rump, or impale his body with a stake or burn it to ashes. That there should be encounters of the grave-robbing vikings with the draugr is inevitable, and the means of settling the possession of sword and valuables often takes the form of a wrestling-match (*glíma*) between the hero and the draugr, as is the case in the Hrómundar saga. There is no absolute necessity in the natural order of things that the contest should take this form and there is little doubt that the stories in which this feature is found show the influence of a common literary tradition, and what the underlying tradition was, can I think be demonstrated. The earliest occurrence is in Saxo,[1] where it is related that two young Norwegians, Asmundus and Aswitus, entered into foster-brotherhood and that Asmundus upon his friend's death let himself be interred with him. Followers of the Swedish king, Ericus, attempted to plunder the mound and let down one of their number in a basket. Asmundus pulled the young man out of the basket, entered himself, and gave the signal to be pulled up, upon which he related his experiences in verse. It appeared that Aswitus had revived in the night and after consuming the horse and dog which had been consigned to the grave with him had attacked Asmundus, in the wrestling-bout which followed scratching with his claws the latter's face and tearing off an ear. Asmundus had then cut off the head of his assailant with his sword and impaled its body with a stake. This episode, loosely connected by Saxo with the story of Frotho, rests, as Olrik notes,[2] upon Icelandic material brought to Denmark by the Icelander *Arnoldus Thylensis* mentioned by Saxo as being with Bishop Absalon about 1168,[3] or otherwise. What Saxo knew about this legend of Ásmundr seems to have been mostly limited to the song with refrain which he has rendered into Latin verse. That this song, or the narrative in which it appeared, existed to a late period in Iceland is attested, as Olrik states,[4] by its appearance in the Egils

[1] Ed. Holder, pp. 161 ff.

[2] *Saxses Oldhistorie*, I, 66 f., 1892.

[3] Cf. Olrik, *op. cit.*, II, 286 ff., 1894.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 67.

saga einhenda of the fourteenth century.[1] According to this version Ásmundr (*berserkjabani*) has entered into foster-brotherhood with Aran, son of King Róðían of Tattaría. Upon the latter's death he is buried in a mound, sitting in full panoply of war upon a chair, accompanied by horse, dog, and falcon. Ásmundr seats himself in a chair by his dead friend's side. The first night Aran revives and kills and eats dog and falcon, the second night he attacks the horse and invites Ásmundr to share the repast, the third night he attacks Asmundr himself and tears off both his ears, whereupon the latter cuts off his head, burns his body to ashes, and takes his valuables. That the Hrómundar saga's account of Þráinn was based upon this same poem, which Saxo knew at least in part, cannot for a moment be doubted. The draugr sitting in his mound, his voracity even to cannibalism, the wrestling-match, the long claws with which the draugr scratches the face of his adversary, all these are common features, as is also the final decapitation and burning of the monster. The Hrómundar saga, despite its exaggerative elaboration of the material (for this exaggeration the revised form may be in part accountable), shows much more clearly the direct relationship to this song of Ásmundr than do any other of the sagas which have made use of the same tradition. The two other sagas which show clearly such usage are the Grettis saga[2] in the episode treating the struggle of Grettir with the draugr Kárr enn gamli and the Harðar saga Grímkelssonar[3] in the episode recounting Hǫrð's entrance into the burial-mound of Sóti víkingr. The latter saga is in the main a fictitious work from the fourteenth century,[4] the Grettis saga in its final form dates at the earliest from about 1300.[5] Both have drawn largely upon material of the type of the fornaldarsǫgur. Boer maintains that the episode in question of the Grettis saga formed part of the original saga,[6] which he believes was composed about 1250.[7] While both of these sagas have made use of the same tradition of the wrestling-match with a draugr in its mound, they show no necessary immediate dependence upon the Hrómundar saga any more than the latter does upon them and we may dismiss them from further considera-

[1] *Fas.*, III, 378 f.
[2] Ed. Boer, chap. 18.
[3] *Islendinga sögur*, II, 43 ff.
[4] Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, III, 81.
[5] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 751.
[6] *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.*, XXX, 53, 1898.
[7] *Grettis saga*, p. xxxii, 1900.

tion. The good sword Mistilteinn secured by Hrómundr in the mound is loaned from the Hervarar saga,[1] as is clear from the name of its original owner Sæmingr (*Griplur*, III, 52) and his localization in Samsey (not in Sweden!). Not only is the Hervarar saga the only other source assigning to Sæmingr the sword Mistilteinn, but the three other lists of Arngrím's sons[2] agree in not including him.[3] Sæmingr was, according to the Háleygjatal of Eyvindr skáldaspillir,[4] the name of the first of the kings of Hálogaland in northern Norway, a son of Odin.[5] For the choice of the name Þráinn for the draugr there is no immediate source to be demonstrated. The most natural incentive to the choice of the name lay in its meaning, if it were felt as the equivalent of *þrár*, "pertinax,"[6] and in the fact that it was not unfamiliar as the name of a dwarf[7] along with the primary form Þrár. That the dwarfs were intimately associated in the mythological fancy of the Scandinavians with the souls of the dead is apparent enough from some of the dwarf-names (e.g., *Dáinn* = "dead," *Nár* = "corpse," etc.), as well as from a variety of other considerations.[8] It must be mentioned however that Þráinn occurs elsewhere as a name of persons, e.g., in a metrical list of heroes included in a late version of the Qrvar-Odds saga,[9] in the Njáls saga[10] and in the Landnáma.[11] That the Þráinn of our source is represented as having been the king of Valland is worthy of note as the only non-Scandinavian localization in the original Hrómundar saga attested by the rímur. That Þráinn is called[12] *Hundings kundur* does not necessarily give us information of his father's name or even of a legendary family of heroes to which he may have belonged. The fact that the epithet

[1] Bugge, *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, p. 206.

[2] Saxo, Hyndluljóþ and Qrvar-Odds saga.

[3] Cf. Bugge, *Norræn Fornkvæði*, 156 f.

[4] Composed according to F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, I, 460, shortly after 986.

[5] Cf. *Hkr.*, I, 21 (compare 5); *Sn. Ed.*, I, 28, 554; II, 636; *Fms.*, IV, 3; *Óláfs saga helga*, ed. Munch and Unger, p. 2.

[6] Cf. Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum*, p. 916.

[7] Cf. *Vǫluspá*, 12 and *Sn. Ed.*, I, 66.

[8] According to Noreen, *Urgermanische Lautlehre*, p. 224, the words *dvergr* and *draugr* are themselves etymologically closely related.

[9] Ed. Boer, Leyden, p. 105.

[10] Ed. F. Jónsson (1908), chaps. 34 ff.

[11] *Þráinn svartipurs*, pp. 73, 193.

[12] *Griplur*, II, 38, 55.

is used in the rímur merely as a substitute for his own name or a pronoun referring to him would tend rather to signify that it is a kenning. As a matter of fact Hundingr as the name of a viking-chieftain is preserved in the Þulur[1] (the name is frequent enough in Saxo, the Edda and elsewhere) and, like other names of "sea-kings," is found in kenningar, e.g., in the *Íslendinga drápa* of Haukr Valdísarson.[2] *Hundings meyjar* in a stanza of the Hjalmtérs saga ok Qlvis[3] appears in the same way to have been originally a kenning. *Hundings kundur* would in that case mean approximately viking, or viking-chieftain, which corresponds entirely with what is related of his activities prior to his burial in the mound, barring the secondary supernatural features, and especially with the important statement[4] that he had conquered Valland. It is surprising that the rímur should have preserved this epithet, and it is not at all unlikely that they have it from one of the numerous verses of the original saga. That Þráinn was represented as the son or descendent of a Hundingr is possible enough, is confirmed however by no other source and I think under the circumstances improbable.

Svanhvít, Hrómund's beloved, is not mentioned in the Griplur until after the conclusion of this contest with Þráinn.[5] This love-story must however have formed in the original saga an element second only in importance to that of the plundering of Þráin's mound. The key to the author's source for this element of his story appears to lie in the name of his heroine, Svanhvít. This name is originally that of a valkyrie, as is shown by the relatively old Eddic poem, Vœlundarkviþa, in which a valkyrie of this name (or by-name) is married to a mortal Slagfiþr, Vœlund's brother. With this valkyrie the Svanhvít of the Hrómundar saga has, however, only the name in common. Quite different is the case with the Svanhvít (*Swanhwita*) known to Saxo,[6] a daughter of Hadingus, king of Denmark. The story of her love for Regnerus, king of Sweden, by Saxo loosely interwoven in his legend of King Frotho, rested, as Olrik has detected,[7]

[1] *Sn. Ed.*, I, 547.

[2] Stanza 3; Wisén, *Carmina Norræna*, I, 79; II, 55: *Hundings elgreynir.*

[3] *Fas.*, III, 483.

[4] *Griplur*, II, 39.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 8.

[6] Pp. 42 ff.

[7] *Sakses Oldhistorie*, I, 140, 1892; II, 11 f., 1894. Cf. already Uhland, *Schriften*, VIII, 132, 1873.

on an Icelandic poem, and the existence of this poem in Iceland is confirmed, quite as was that of the poem treating Ásmund's experience in the mound of his foster-brother, by the Hrómundar saga, the author of whose original version certainly made use of this poem, or at any rate of the legend connected therewith. The story of Regnerus and Swanhwita has been treated in a number of investigations;[1] as these however are primarily concerned with the demonstration of a relationship between Saxo's story and the Eddic Helgi-songs and have, though mentioning the Hrómundar saga, made use only of the corrupt version of the seventeenth century, it is not strange that the relationship of our saga to Saxo's story was not completely understood. Saxo's account is essentially as follows: Thorilda, the wife of Hundingus, king of Sweden, hated her two step-sons, Regnerus and Thoraldus, and sent them out to watch the royal herds, where they were tormented by a variety of monsters. Swanhwita, daughter of Hadingus of Denmark, heard about the matter and set out, accompanied by her sisters, for Sweden. They found the two youths engaged in their nightly vigil, surrounded by hideous monsters. Regnerus was ashamed of his menial occupation and his wretched clothing and informed the princess that he was the king's slave. She looked at him sharply and assured him at once that his bearing, his features, and the glance of his eye belied his assertion and proved him to be the son of a king. She revealed herself to him in her full beauty and gave him a sword as a betrothal gift. Then she spent the night in combating and destroying the monsters.[2] She thereupon married Regnerus, who became king of Sweden. After a contest with her brother, Frotho, the latter was reconciled to the marriage. Shortly after Regnerus' death Swanhwita also died of grief. That we have here essentially the situation portrayed in the ballads, viz., that the hero's clothes are not suited for his appearance at court and that the princess recognizes in him evidence of the fact that he is destined to become a king, is indisputable. For this correspondence there is under the circumstances but one adequate explanation, and that is that the source of the ballad, which, as we have seen, was the

[1] Cf. Bugge, *Studier*, II (1896), pp. 318 ff., and the literature there mentioned.

[2] Jantzen may well be right in assuming (*Saxo Grammaticus übersetzt und erläutert* 69, Fussnote 2, 1900), that something is wrong here, and that Regnerus must have employed his new sword for this purpose; cf. already Uhland, *Schriften*, VII, 203, 1868.

story of Hrómundr Gripsson, must have contained this episode, i.e., that it formed a part of the original lygisaga of Hrómundr, which had become considerably modified before the composition of the Griplur. That Swanhwita gave Regnerus a sword as a betrothal gift is emphasized by Saxo and quite corresponds with old Germanic usage, as Uhland notes.[1] The hero of the Hrómundar saga had, however, already his trusty sword Mistilteinn from Þráin's mound. The author lets Svanhvít accordingly present him with a shield.

That there is anything of old legendary tradition in the family-relations ascribed to Svanhvít is unlikely, as no mention of such can be found in any source certainly antedating the Hrómundar saga. Her father Gnóðar-Ásmundr is, it is true, frequently mentioned in the fornaldarsǫgur[2] and must have played an important rôle in the older heroic legend of Iceland, though the content of his original saga has by no means been established. As is so frequently the case in the later fornaldar and lygisǫgur, the personages of the saga have been genealogically attached to heroes from former generations. Whether the sister of Svanhvít was originally called Dagný or Dagmær is uncertain. In the *Griplur* the best MS *a* has Dagmær, though Finnur Jónsson has taken into the text the reading Dagný of *W* (now confirmed by *d*), which agrees with that of the seventeenth-century saga. The Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga and the Gríms saga loðinkinna support, as we noted above, the reading of *W* and *d*, the Hálfdans saga Eysteinssonar that of *a*, giving a balance of probability in favor of Dagný. The king, Ólafr liðsmannakonungr, it is entirely hopeless to attempt to find in any source antedating the Hrómundar saga. The epithet *liðsmannakonungr* means nothing in particular, as a *liðsmadr* was simply a warrior in the king's special troop (*lið*) and the epithet might accordingly apply to any king whatever of the viking period. His localization in Hǫrðaland in Norway by the Griplur is undoubtedly that of the original saga, as the whole contents of the saga correspond better with the conception of Ólafr as a Norwegian king, the Hrómundr of the Landnáma was a Norwegian and the precedent of the older fornaldarsǫgur was strong enough to make this choice

[1] *Op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 133 ff.; cf. especially his reference to Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 18.

[2] Cf. Register to *Fas.*

of location the most natural one.[1] In this king's service two brothers, Kári and Ǫrnólfr, are given especial prominence and are obviously to be conceived of as *stafnbúar* on the king's ship; Kári is at any rate definitely assigned this position. As a contrast to these two faithful warriors we find the two evil counselors, Bildr and Vóli (older Icelandic *Váli*). For the names of all these personages as also those of Hrómund's eight brothers it is futile to seek a definite source or even sources, as they are all drawn from the abundant supply of more or less typical Norse names. That a stafnbúi of the Norwegian king, Hákon enn gamli, was called Kári Eindriðason[2] can be nothing more than a coincidence. The two evil counselors have been compared by Boer[3] with Bolwisus and Bilwisus of the Hagbarthus-legend of Saxo.[4] This comparison is in the main unjustified. In the first place Bilwisus was not an evil, but a good counselor, the counterpart of his malicious brother; in the second place there is no great correspondence in the two stories anyhow, except in the one point that lovers are slandered by an evil counselor; and finally Boer's statement that Váli and Bildr are corruptions of Bǫlvíss and Bilvíss, is in no sense whatever true, as both are well-substantiated Old Norse names and have only the most superficial resemblance to Bǫlvíss and Bilvíss, while the very apparent contrast in meaning of Bǫlvíss and Bilvíss would tend to prevent such a corruption, and there is further no certain evidence that Bilvíss was known in an Icelandic version of the Hagbarð-legend.[5] If Boer's contention of an influence of the Hagbarð-legend is correct, it can apply only to the saga of Helgi Haddingjaskati interpolated in the later version of the Hrómundar saga which formed the basis of the rímur, and will be further discussed in that connection. Still less justified is the identification by Detter[6] of Váli with the Hrókr of the Hrólfs saga kraka.[7] There is absolutely no point of similarity between the two except an evil disposition, and the ring episode upon which Detter especially bases his comparison,

[1] Cf. Olrik, *Sakses Oldhistorie*, II, 280 ff., 1894.
[2] *Flat.*, III, 219.
[3] *P. B. Beiträge*, 22, 386, 1897.
[4] Pp. 232 ff.
[5] Cf. Olrik, *Sakses Oldhistorie*, II, 245, 1894.
[6] *PBB*, 18, 99, 1893.
[7] Ed. F. Jónsson, ch. 8 f.

represents a corruption of the dog-and-ring-exchange of the *Griplur* which has nothing in common with the episode of the Hrólfs saga. It may be said once for all that the prototype of the Old Norse evil counselor who slanders the young lovers is given in the person of Bikki[1] introduced into Scandinavia with the Ermanarich-legend. How this evil counselor came to be associated with Odin in the Hagbarð-legend is a question which does not concern us here. I can find no trace of it in the persons of Váli and Bildr of the Hrómundar saga, as in fact no influence of the Hagbarð-legend at all. It may further be noted that the slandered young person of the Ermanarich-legend bore in its Scandinavian form the name Svanhildr, which is suggestively similar to the Svanhvít of the Hrómundar saga. The recognition in the brothers Bildr and Váli of our saga of the brothers Baldr and Váli of the Baldr-myth[2] is, it seems to me, fruitless pains, for there is, if we except the sword Mistilteinn, which, as we have already noted, the Hrómundar saga had from the Hervarar saga, absolutely no point of contact between the story of Hrómundr and the Baldr-myth and it is almost inconceivable that the Icelandic saga of the thirteenth century or any other time should have made evil counselors out of Baldr and his brother Váli.[3] The Qrvar-Odds saga[4] mentions a Bildr among the sons of Arngrímr, it was seemingly not infrequent as a by-name[5] and it appears not to have been unknown in Denmark as well.[6]

An important episode in the saga was the battle of Elfarsker, and this brings us at once into a not unimportant literary tradition of the fornaldarsǫgur, viz., the viking-battle at Elfarsker, which may be merely an aspect of the somewhat stereotyped viking-battle of later sources generally. Of the Elfarsker (small islands at the mouth of the Götaelf below Göteborg; the Götaelf formed in the saga-period part of the boundary between Sweden and Norway), the Færeyinga

[1] *Sigurþarkviþa en skamma*, 63; prose introduction to *Guþrúnar hvǫt*, *Vǫlsunga saga*, chaps. 31, 40; *Sn. Ed.*, I, 366–68; *Saxo*, 279 f., *Sifka* of the *þiðreks saga;* cf. Ags. *Becca* and *Sifeca*, Ohg. *Sibicho.*

[2] Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 401, 1903; Niedner, *Zeitschr. f. d. Altert.*, XLI, 319, 1897; Mogk, *Grundr.*, I, 1064, 1891.

[3] Cf., however, Olrik, *Sakses Oldhistorie*, II, 26 f., 1894.,

[4] Chap. 29, stanza 8; cf. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn*, 138 f.

[5] Cf. F. Jónsson, *Aarbøger*, 1907, 235.

[6] Cf. O. Nielson, *Olddanske Personnavne*, pp. 12 f.

saga[1] reports that they were a favorite resort of vikings (*víkingabœli mikit*), which report is further confirmed by the Egils saga[2] with the explanation that there was here an especially good opportunity to prey upon merchant vessels, which in great numbers took the course through this group of islands. And the Færeyinga saga[3] gives in its simplest preserved form the tradition in question. Among the viking-exploits of the young Sigmundr Brestisson, which show various features we are accustomed to meet in the fornaldarsǫgur,[4] it is related that he with his cousin, Þórir Beinisson came once toward the close of summer to Elfarsker, that he anchored at an island, went ashore, and mounted to a vantage-point from which he saw on the other side of the island five ships, one of them a dragon-ship (*dreki*). Sigmundr had but three ships, each manned with a crew of forty men. Sigmundr returns, reports to his men and plans an attack. He orders his ships to be loaded with stones. The next morning they proceed to the attack. In the bow of the dreki stood a large man, who asked the name of their leader, upon learning which he introduced himself as Randvér from Hólmgarðr and demanded surrender or battle. Randvér lets three ships bear the brunt of the attack, holding himself aloof at the beginning. Sigmundr attacks first with a shower of stones, then with other missiles and finally hand-to-hand. The dreki and the other reserve-ship join in the fray. Sigmundr commands his men to board the dreki, a considerably larger and higher ship. Randvér rushes to meet him and a hard contest ensues. Sigmundr finally succeeds by a peculiarly dexterous feat in cutting off his adversary's right foot and then killing him. His followers flee with three ships. The crew of the dreki are all killed. After a few day's rest and recuperation Sigmundr and his men repair to Vík to meet Eiríkr jarl. It is expressly stated that Sigmundr and Þórir on their viking-trips did not molest merchants and this trait is predicated with remarkable fidelity of nearly all the other heroes of the various versions of the fight at Elfarsker.

[1] *Flat.*, I, 137.

[2] Chap. 48, 11; the Brenneyjar must be identical with the Elfarsker; cf. also *Fagrskinna*, chap. 9.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 *f.*

[4] Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 650.

This humane principle is made by Hjálmarr in the Qrvar-Odds saga[1] into a viking-law and accepted as such by his fóstbróðir, Qrvar-Oddr.[2]

Of the contest at Elfarsker the Qrvar-Odds saga has even introduced two versions. The first (chap. 15) is the struggle with *Hálfdan víkingr, son Hróa Upplendingakonungs*. He had thirty ships, one of them an immense *dreki*. Qrvar-Oddr rowed out to reconnoiter after anchoring his three ships, saw the fleet, and asked the name of the leader. After they had learned each other's identity and exchanged defiances, Oddr rowed back, ordered the valuables to be removed from the ships and stones to be loaded on[3] and trees to be cut with projecting branches to serve as scaling ladders for boarding the dreki. They surprised the fleet before the break of morning, scaled the dreki, killed its crew, Oddr himself slaying Hálfdan, upon which the rest of the fleet surrendered. Oddr spent the remainder of the summer off the Norwegian coast, where he secured freedom from molestation to (*friðaði fyrir*) merchants. The other version (chap. 26) introduces the supernatural element. Oddr and Hjálmarr found among the Elfarsker two large ships with black tenting spread upon them. Oddr asked the name of the commander and learned that it was Qgmundr Eyþjófsbani. After proclaiming his own name, Oddr was challenged to an encounter. He and Hjálmarr made preparations, loading stones upon their ships. Qgmundr is described as a typical *blámaðr* with black face and a mat of black hair (*flóki svartr*). He had eight comrades of his own ilk, all were invulnerable to iron (as was also Oddr through the protection of the magic shirt made him by Qlvǫr) and more like trolls than men in stature and general villainy. The fight lasts until only the three *fóstbræðr* are left on the one side and the nine *blámenn* on the other, when they agree to stop. This episode has, as will be seen, varied considerably from the type, but it is interesting as showing certain new features corresponding both to the account in the Griplur and to the two versions in the Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar.

The first version of the Þorsteins saga[4] is a sort of preliminary to

[1] Chap. 18, 8.

[2] Cf. also *Friðþjófs saga*, chap. 11, 1 and *Fas.*, III, 596.

[3] Cf. here the note in Boer's Halle edition.

[4] Chap. 20; *Fas.*, II, 440 ff.

the second, which has been elaborated to a considerable episode. In the first episode the *fóstbræðr* Þorsteinn and Beli are conducting a summer viking-campaign with seven ships. They anchor at Elfarsker and Þorsteinn and Beli land, cross over a promontory (*nes*) and see on the other side twelve ships lying with black tenting over them. There were also tents on the land, where cooking was going on. These they approached in disguise and ascertained that the leader of the fleet was *Slisa-Úfi, son Herbrands ens hǫfuðmikla*, brother of *Ǫtunfaxi*. They attacked in the early morning, the fight lasted three days; on the third day they succeeded in boarding the dreki on which the leader was; Þorsteinn killed him with his good sword, *Angrvaðill*, but gave his followers *grið*. The next summer they extend their foster-brotherhood to Angantýr (chap. 21) and the summer after all three with thirty ships (chap. 22) carry on activities on the coast of Sweden, killing all evil vikings, but leaving peasants and merchants unmolested. At the *sker* known as the *Brennieyjar*[1] they anchor, land, and meet the peasant Brennir, who warns them of Ǫtunfaxi víkingr. The latter was at the other side of the island, thirsting to avenge his brother's death. He had forty ships, was large as a troll and invulnerable to iron. Brennir advises them to seek the assistance of Sindri the dwarf, which they do. The latter counsels them to leave their valuables on land and load up their ships with stones and trees and to attack before the crews awake in the morning; he gives them further a knife and Brennir gives them a club, against neither of which weapons was Ǫtunfaxi invulnerable. The attack was begun with a shower of stones before Faxi's men had awakened. The fight lasted two days, various of Faxi's ships were boarded with success, only not his own dreki, *Elliði*, as it was too high. The fight continued through the night of the second day, as it was the season of light nights. Finally the three *fóstbræðr* succeeded in boarding Elliði, Angantýr and Beli were wounded, Þorsteinn however struck Faxi a couple of blows with his club, so that he fell into the water. Þorsteinn leaped in after him; Faxi came to land and began hurling stones at Þorsteinn. The latter had left his club behind on the ship, and his two comrades now attacked Faxi with that and with stones until he again fell into the water.

[1] So Rafn; evidently the Brenneyjar at mouth of Gautelfr.

Þorsteinn attacked him in the water and after a terrific struggle killed him with the knife presented by the dwarf.

The Sǫrla þáttr[1] alludes merely (pp. 276 f.) to a battle at Elfarsker fought by the two brothers *Sǫrli* and *Erlendr*, sons of *Erlingr*, king of *Upplǫnd* in Norway, against *Sindri víkingr*, son of *Sveigir*, son of *Haki sækonungr*, in which Sindri fell, as did also Erlendr. Afterward Sǫrli is said to have performed a variety of exploits in the *Eystrasalt*, which are not however related.

The death-song of Ásbjǫrn prúði contained in the Orms þáttr Stórólfssonar[2] appears also to contain allusion to an exploit in the Elfarsker (st. 5), if it be not misunderstood or in fact corrupt.

Other viking-contests of the fornaldarsǫgur, though not localized definitely at Elfarsker, appear to be referable to the same literary tradition. That of the Hjálmtérs saga ok Ǫlvis[3] is taken directly from the Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, as Gould has already proven.[4] In the Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar[5] the contest between Ásmundr and Hrólfr (chap. 10) introductory to the establishment of *fóstbræðralag* between them shows strongly the influence of this same tradition, but much more strongly is it evident in the conflict (chaps. 16–18) between Hrólfr and Grímarr at a small island on the coast of *Sjóland*, which has nearly all the characteristic features, mostly in their pristine form. That Ásmundr pursues Grímarr swimming through the sea and that the latter having reached land hurls a stone at his still swimming pursuer, but is then killed with a club, shows clearly a transition to the version of the Þorsteins saga, where to this episode (Faxi being clubbed, but not killed) the submarine battle is appended.

Now in comparing with these numerous versions the account of the *Griplur* it is to be borne in mind that this account may not in all respects be an exact duplicate of that of the original Hrómundar saga. It would be indeed strange if in the course of a century or a century and a half the story had not experienced an influence from others presenting the same episode, so especially in respect to the supernatural powers of the opposing chieftain, which are not at all sug-

[1] *Flat.*, I, 275 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, 528.

[3] Chaps. 4–5; *Fas.*, III, 458 ff.

[4] *Modern Philology*, VII, 207 ff., 1909.

[5] Ed. Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, Halle, 1891.

gested by the *Hrǫngviðr víkingr* of the Sturlunga. To attempt to establish relationships of these versions to each other is for our immediate purpose unnecessary; it is enough to have pointed out the common underlying tradition. The Griplur retain (I, 12) the feature that King Ólaf's vikings concentrate their energies upon the punishing of evil men, that they do not molest merchants. At Elfarsker they anchor off an island. Kári and Qrnólfr are sent across the island to bring back a report of possible vikings on the other side. They see six viking-ships lying at anchor, one of them a dreki. In a verse Kári defiantly asked the name of the leader. A fiend (*dólgur*) upon the deck of the dreki gave his name as *Hrǫngviðr*. Mutual threats are exchanged and Hrǫngviðr furnishes the information that his viking-career has lasted sixty years with uniform success. The two scouts return and report progress and the king orders preparations for the mêlée to be made. In the fight Kári does horrible execution; Hrǫngviðr leaps upon Olaf's ship and is met by Kári, whom he kills as he does directly afterward Qrnólfr. He then demands surrender, but Gripsson attacks him with a steel-club (Hrǫngviðr was invulnerable to sword, spear, or arrow). The hero has for some unexplained reason disguised himself with a goat's beard, the standard method of passing oneself off as a *stafkarl*[1] ("old, infirm person, beggar," Vigfússon, cf. Dan. *stakkel*, Norw. *stakkar*) and wears a slouch hat.[2] He snatches up the king's standard and the enemy withdraw before his blows to Hrǫngvið's ship. Hrǫngviðr asks scornfully after his name; Hrómundr proclaims his identity, and kills his adversary with the club. Hrǫngvið's followers surrender.

None of these several versions of the viking-battle at Elfarsker can lay claim to especial antiquity. Of them all, in the forms preserved, that contained in the Færeyinga saga shows all of the typical and original features and may well be the oldest. This is found only in the version of the Flateyjarbók and is, as even Finnur Jónsson admits,[3] hardly historical. The date of original composition of the

[1] Cf., e.g., *Flat.*, I, 210; II, 128.

[2] This disguise does not appear in any other version of the battle of Elfarsker, except as it is made use of in the first episode of the Þorsteins saga, which has it from another source (cf. *Flat.*, II, 128). For the participation of masked men in a fight cf. *Fas.*, III, 321.

[3] *Lit. hist.*, II, 650.

Færeyinga saga is according to F. Jónsson[1] the beginning of the thirteenth century, according to Golther[2] 1220–30; the viking-episodes appear in large part to be due to a later redaction.[3] That this was the direct source of the episode of the Hrómundar saga is possible, but it is at least conceivable that the reverse may have been the case or that the relationship may have been of a still different nature. The Qrvar-Odds saga does not take the episode farther back; on the contrary, if the allusion in the verses of this saga be taken into account, they contain no mention of Elfarsker. Stanza 46, alluding to the fight with Qgmundr Eyþjófsbani, locates it "*í Elfarsund, at Trǫnuvágum.* The Trǫnuvágar (*trana.* f. = "crane") are entirely unknown and the name probably fictitious, and Elfarsund is very questionable. The only occurrence of the same I can find is in one MS of the Sverris saga,[4] where it occurs as a variant to Áleyjarsund (=Atleyjarsund now Granesund; cf. *Fms.*, XII, 262) on the western coast of Norway. The exploit with Hálfdan the verses localize at the Svíasker by Stockholm (st. 45) and that with Hlǫðvér (st. 44; cf. chap. 25, 7–10, but also version M of saga, Boer, Leyden ed., p. 86) at Skíða (=Skien in southern Norway). Of these three stanzas Boer regards forty-six[5] as a part of an older ævidrápa from the eleventh century, the other two[6] as from the first half of the twelfth century. While so great an age of these verses is highly improbable, not to say inconceivable,[7] they are at any rate older than the prose-episodes in the Qrvar-Odds saga corresponding to them, and in so far their place-names are more reliable. They contain, as has been noted, no allusion to Elfarsker. There has recently, it is true, been rescued from the Danish popular ballad[8] dealing with the *hólmganga* on Samsø, an allusion to Odd's contests at Elfarsker;[9] there is, however, no reason to suppose the source of the ballad in this particular to have

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 652, 1901.

[2] *Germanistische Abhandlungen zum LXX. Geburtstag Konrad von Maurers*, p. 13, 1893.

[3] F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 651.

[4] *Fms.*, VIII, 187.

[5] Halle edition of *Qrvar-Odds saga*, p. xii.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

[7] Cf. Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica Minora*, pp. xlvii, lxiv.

[8] Grundtvig, *DgF.*, No. 19.

[9] Cf. K. Aubert in *Sproglige og historiske Afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges Minde*, 1908, pp. 20 ff.

been older than the Qrvar-Odds saga preserved to us. The tradition of the battle at Elfarsker cannot then be followed farther back than the beginning of the thirteenth century, in fact not so far, and belongs solely to the type of the fornaldarsǫgur and the fictitious sagas modeled after them. It does not even appear in the older forms of the fornaldarsǫgur, as for example in those used by Saxo. Nor does the name, Elfarsker, itself appear, so far as I know, in historical sources, where Elfr (Gautelfr), the Elfarkvíslir, the island Hísing, and the Brenneyjar are not infrequently mentioned. Even the name then appears to be inseparably connected with this tradition of the viking-fight, which as we have seen is not an especially old one. If it be correctly identified with the islands at the mouth of the Gautelfr, as it seems beyond question to be, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suspect that a historical contest at this place may be the basis of it, or may at any rate have contributed to its localization there. As a matter of fact it is related of Guthormr, one of Haraldr hárfagri's sons, that he was set to defend this frontier of the Norwegian kingdom, and that he fell in the Elfarkvíslir in a fight with Sǫlvi klofi.[1] Whether this be historical or not, the conflict in the Elfarkvíslir of the year 1159, in which King Ingi with Grégóríús Dagsson and Erlingr skakki defeated King Hákon, must have been well known through living tradition and the *Elfarvísur* composed by the scald Einarr Skúlason commemorating it. Snorri gives in the Heimskringla[2] in chaps. 5–11 of his Hákonar saga herðibreiðs a detailed account of this battle, which is merely alluded to in Fagrskinna.[3] It should be said that it was preceded in the summer of 1158 (chaps. 2–3) by a contest at Konungahella on an arm of the Gautelfr, which should be reckoned with the other, if an influence of the kind assumed is to be established. Grégóríús Dagsson was stationed by King Ingi to protect the frontier at Konungahella on the Gautelfr. Hákon appears with a superior force and Grégóríús gets away with two ships to Vík seeking reinforcements. He returns with eleven ships, which force is still inferior to Hákon's, and makes the attack. Hákon has put his naval force under the command of Þorljótr skaufuskalli,

[1] *Hkr.*, I, 144 ff.; cf. *Fms.*, X, 196; *Flat.*, I, 576.

[2] III, 402 ff.

[3] Ed. F. Jónsson, p. 358.

who is described as a "*víkingr ok ránsmaðr*," quite as the adversary of the hero in the Elfarsker-episode. Grégóríús was completely victorious over a force on the ships and decks ten times as strong as his own. The next summer Ingi set out for the Gautelfr, rowed into its northern arm and anchored off the island Hísing, from which place he sent out scouts to ascertain the position of Hákon's forces. These saw Hákon's ships attached to piles, outermost two large *austrfarar-knerrir* with high *húnkastalar* forward. This time the forces of Ingi are superior. King Ingi himself is persuaded not to participate in the battle. The enemy have taken on an abundance of stones and missiles to hurl from the vantage-point of the *húnkastalar*. The battle begins: the ship of Grégóríús runs aground and is attacked by Ívarr, son of Hákon magi. Grégóríús is wounded and his ship is about given up for lost, but is hauled free in the nick of time, whereupon he attacks and captures Ívar's ship. Ívarr himself is seriously wounded, but Grégóríús sees that he is brought to land, and they were afterward friends. King Ingi, seeing the predicament of Grégóríús, enters the fray, and things are soon going badly with Hákon's fleet. His crews desert the smaller ships for the *knerrir* or the land. Erlingr skakki, who had directed his attack upon these larger ships, orders his *stafnbúar* to scale King Hákon's ship. They reply that the feat is attended with difficulty, especially as timbers set with iron (spikes?) barred the way. Erlingr himself entered the prow of his ship and directed the scaling-operations, which were crowned with complete success. Hákon and some of his crew escaped to land. Ingi left for Vík.

Now while I acknowledge that the connection of the battle of Elfarsker in the fornaldarsǫgur with the historical battle of 1159 can be no more than a hypothesis, it will be seen from the above sketch that the main features of this historical battle bear a certain resemblance to features contained in one or another or all versions of the legendary battle. That the popular tradition of this battle or combination of two battles in the Elfarkvíslir, in which Icelanders according to Snorris' testimony took a creditable part, should have taken on a form admitting of its use in fornaldar or lygisǫgur with change of names of persons, etc., is entirely credible and corresponds, so far as the Hrómundar saga is concerned, entirely with the way in which

this saga is shown to have made use of material from other literary traditions. The Elfarvísur, which, as Snorri's citation shows, must have been known in Iceland, are lost except for two stanzas, but it is by no means impossible that they may have been known to the author of the Hrómundar saga, as were the songs dealing with Ásmund's experience in the burial-mound and with Svanhvít and her lover. There is another reason for supposing that the author of the Hrómundar saga may have been the one making direct use of this tradition of events narrated in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, and that is in addition to the magnanimous way in which Grégóríús spares the life of his adversary Ívarr, which suggests the treatment accorded by Hrómundr to Helgi enn frœkni, the brother of Hrǫngviðr, the fact that this battle is followed in the Hrómundar saga by a battle on the ice, which is the case also in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs. Grégóríús himself was killed on the ice of the river Befja (Bävferån in Sweden),[1] and King Ingi was defeated and killed by Hákon's forces in a battle on the ice of the Christiania fjord by Ósló.[2] That the author of the Hrómundar saga has localized his battle on the ice of Vænir, following the tradition of another well-known legendary battle on the ice, does not at all invalidate this analogy. In the same connection it may be said that Ólaf's men after this conflict repair to Bergen.[3] Now if comparison again be made with the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, it will be noted that the (not always peaceful) incidents filling in the intervals between the conflicts mentioned are especially connected with Bergen.[4] Bergen did not come into prominence until the latter part of the eleventh century,[5] and it is a significant fact that it is not elsewhere mentioned in the fornaldarsǫgur. If my hypothesis be then right, that the author of the Hrómundar saga has made use of the tradition of historical events which are recounted to us in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, he is the originator of the legendary battle of Elfarsker, and the Færeyinga saga as well as other later versions have taken it directly or indi-

[1] *Hkr.*, III, 419 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, 421 ff.

[3] *Griplur*, III, 61; that the reading of MS *a* is here correct we have already had occasion to demonstrate.

[4] Cf. *Hkr.*, III, 402, 414, 415, 416.

[5] Cf. Munch, *Historisk-geographisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge i Middelalderen*, pp. 30 f.

rectly from his saga, which must have become widely known before the close of the thirteenth century.

The question remains why the name Hrǫngviðr was chosen for the leader of the opposing viking-force. This name is not preserved elsewhere so far as I know; it might, however, from its makeup be understood as a typical giant's name[1] like the names Þrymr and Hrungnir, which latter is apparently a derivative from the same root as Hrǫngviðr,[2] and would mean "noise-maker," *Lärmer*. It need not however have been thought of at the outset as a giant's name, for names of similar meaning were often enough applied to boisterous human beings, to inveterate fighters, etc.[3] In fact *hrungnir* itself is known as a person's by-name.[4]

The next incident, that of the contest with Helgi enn frœkni, is loosely connected with the first through the account[5] that Hrómundr finds Helgi wounded upon the hostile ship, that the latter upon being asked his name declares himself to be Helgi enn frœkni, brother of Hrǫngviðr and that in spite of his defiance Hrómundr has him healed and allowed to go scot-free. In the statement (II, 18 f.) that he became *stafnbúi* of the two Swedish kings, both named Hadding, lies the first evidence of the contamination of Helgi enn frœkni (or hvassi?) of the original Hrómundar saga with Helgi Haddingjaskati. There is then no further reference to Helgi until the episode of the plundering of Þráin's mound has been entirely disposed of and the love-story of Hrómundr and Svanhvít introduced. Then[6] comes a repetition of the statement that Helgi was *stafnbúi* of the two Swedish kings, both named Hadding. These challenge Ólafr to a contest in the winter upon the ice of Lake Venern (*á Vœnis*[7] *ís*). Hrómundr is disinclined

[1] Cf. *hrang, hrǫng*, n. "noise," Fritzner, *Ordbog*, II, 48, and Falk and Torp, *Etymologisk Ordbog*, II, 93 under substantive *rangle;* the name is already correctly explained by Sv. Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum*, 386, *hraung*, 1860.

[2] Cf. Weinhold, *Riesen*, in *Sitz. ber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien., phil. hist. Cl.*, XXVI (1858), p. 272, *Anm.;* Gering's explanation of this name ("der Träger der Keule," *Die Edda*, p. 357, n. 3) is hardly correct; cf. the horse's name *Slungnir*, and the shield-name *Gungnir* with the explanation given by Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 167, 210, 1903.

[3] Cf., e.g., The Víga-Styrr known to several of the Íslendingasǫgur, *Eyrb.*, chap 12, 8 with note.

[4] *Landnáma*, ed. F. Jónsson p. 214 (cf. p. 101): *Þorsteinn hrungnir.*

[5] *Griplur*, II, 9 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, 23.

[7] *a* has corrupted *Vœnis* to *vœnan*, but is correct in IV, 33 and VI, 27.

to take part in this battle because of his dissatisfaction at the undue influence of Bildr and Váli at court, but is persuaded by Svanhvít, who gives him, as already mentioned, a shield, to at least accompany the expedition, where he sulks in his tent, but upon ascertaining that all his brothers have been slain, he is persuaded somewhat late, like Achilles,[1] to join in the fray, in which he soon proves the deciding factor. To follow farther the description of the battle is unnecessary, as it is in the main typical enough, nor is it easy to separate out just what belonged to the original conflict with Helgi enn frœkni and what may have come in with Helgi Haddingjaskati. To the saga of the latter belongs at any rate the episode of the valkyrie Kára, to the Hrómundar saga undoubtedly most of the rest. The episode of the fight upon the ice was, as we were inclined to think, suggested by the tradition of the series of events told in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs,[2] the localization of it upon the ice of Lake Venern is due to the influence of a legendary tradition, viz., that of the contest between Áli, king of Upplǫnd in Norway, and Aðils, king at Uppsala. This tradition was according to the express statement of Snorri[3] included in the now lost Skjǫldunga saga from about 1200,[4] and this statement of Snorri is confirmed by excerpts made by the Icelander Arngrímur Jónsson in his "Rerum danicarum fragmenta" (finished 1597) from a later redaction of the Skjǫldunga saga dating from shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century.[5] The same tradition is again mentioned by Snorri in chap. 44 of the Skáldskaparmál[6] and is alluded to in the still older Kálfs vísa (Alsvinsmál).[7] In the Skjǫldunga saga the tradition was brought into connection with the legend of Hrólfr kraki, in that Aðils sent to Hrólfr for assistance, the latter responding by sending his twelve *berserkir*, who were successful in gaining the day, but were cheated out of the

[1] The story of the Trojan war was known in Iceland through the Trójumanna saga (*Hauksbók*, pp. 193 ff.) dating according to F. Jónsson (*Lit. hist.*, II, 867) from the middle of the thirteenth century or somewhat earlier.

[2] The fornaldarsǫgur present, it is true, other fights on the ice; cf., e.g., Saxo, p. 138 ff., *Fas.*, II, 412 ff.

[3] *Ynglinga saga*, chap. 29 = *Hkr.*, I, 56.

[4] Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 666.

[5] Cf. Olrik, *Aarbøger*, 1894, 155; the episode in question is found in the Latin of Arngrímur Jónsson edited by Olrik in the same volume of the *Aarbøger*, p. 116.

[6] *Sn. Ed.*, I, 394.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 482.

reward promised by Aðils. The late Hrólfs saga kraka of the fourteenth century[1] has completely lost the episode, the Bjarkarímur, on the other hand,[2] relate it in essentially the same way as the Skjǫldunga saga.[3] From the same source originated the name of Helgi's shield, *Finnsleif*, which[4] was the name of the coat-of-mail invulnerable to weapons constituting one of the three treasures promised by Aðils to Hrólfr, if he render him the desired assistance.

Before killing Helgi, Hrómundr receives[5] from the point of Helgi's sword a slash that lays open his abdomen[6] and leaves his bowels hanging out. After disposing of Váli[7] and resting a bit Hrómundr returns to his tent and kindles a fire (V, 21) and with the help of his knife and some bast-fibers undertakes the necessary surgical operation (V, 23 f.). Here Svanhvít finds him (V, 26). He requests her (V, 27) to nurse him back to health, which she in the original Hrómundar saga in all probability did;[8] the *Griplur* show here the interpolation from the saga of Helgi Haddingjaskati, in that she refers him to Hagall and his wife (V, 28), to be nursed by them back to strength. Here follows the most considerable interpolation, readily recognizable and including most of the remainder of the *Griplur* (V, VI). The topography of this part of the story causes Boer[9] considerable trouble, it is however in *Griplur* V, 25 expressly stated that the two sisters accompanied their brother to the scene of conflict, nor should it be forgotten that the sisters were originally valkyries.[10] In fact a stanza contained in *W* and *d* (V, 27*a* in critical apparatus), which is evidently misplaced and should follow V, 25, expressly alludes to supernatural powers possessed by Svanhvít:

Ferðast skal að frelsa hal,
ef finnast mætti tiggi;
eg kann val með vizku tal
vigja svó hann liggi.

[1] Ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1904.
[2] VIII, 14 ff., ed. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.
[3] Cf. on this episode Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 202 ff, 1903.
[4] *Sn. Ed.*, I, 394. [5] *Griplur*, IV, 60.
[6] He had upon being taunted by Helgi cast aside the shield given him by Svanhvít (*Griplur*, IV, 55 ff.).
[7] *Griplur*, V, 15.
[8] Cf. the evidence of the Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga. *Fas.*, III, 363.
[9] *PBB*, 22, 386, 1897.
[10] Cf. also Kölbing, *Beiträge*, 176, 1876.

The source of this surgical operation I am not prepared to give with certainty, but would call attention to the episode related by Saxo[1] of Starcatherus' contest with the nine berserkir, which according to Axel Olrik[2] rests upon Danish, not Icelandic legends. After disposing of all nine of his adversaries, with seventeen wounds[3] and his bowels hanging out, he crept on his knees to a rock upon which he leaned to rest.[4] Not even the great hero, Starcatherus, is able to sew himself up however, as does Hrómundr, but must seek assistance. He refuses assistance proffered by persons of unworthy station in life, allows finally however a youth, who declares himself to be the son of a peasant, to replace his intestines and bind them in with withes (*nexili viminum complexione*). Now there is, it must be confessed, no complete agreement in these episodes and the features which Olrik rightly recognizes as Danish in the Starcatherus episode are certainly lacking in that of Hrómundr; but one is inclined to question whether of the tales of Starkaðr told in Iceland there may not have been a corresponding one, which may well have been the source of this particular feature of the Hrómundar saga. The Gautreks saga[5] contains too an allusion to difficulties between Starkaðr and twelve berserkir at Uppsala without detailing the almost inevitable conclusion; then also the statements of the same saga[6] about Starkað's wounds after the conflict with Sísarr of Vænir are to be noted. That abundant remains of the Starkað-legends and songs survived in Icelandic tradition until well into the fourteenth century is certain.[7] Our episode is in every way worthy of an Icelandic tradition of Starkaðr, or for that matter of one of the original elements in the Starkað-legends, which may have been known in the whole Scandinavian North.[8] To appreciate the primitive barbarity of the heroic ideal presented in the narration of this episode one has

[1] Pp. 194 ff.

[2] *Sakses Oldhistorie*, II, 222 ff.

[3] Hrómundr had (*Griplur*, V, 17) according to *W* 14, according to *a* 15, according to *d* 17 wounds.

[4] Hrómundr sat down upon the ice to rest (*Griplur*, V, 16).

[5] Ed. Ranisch, pp. 32 f.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 20; cf. also Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, p. 356, 1908.

[7] Cf. besides the Gautreks saga Olrik, *Sakses Oldhist.*, II, 78.

[8] For the chronological development of the legends of Starkaðr cf. Axel Olrik in *Sproglige og historiske Afhandlinger viede S. Bugges Minde*, pp. 268 ff., 1908; *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 1910.

but to compare it with the account of a similar operation furnished by the Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar,[1] which with its needle and silk-thread, its ointment, and its healing wash (*heilivágr*) brings us almost within sight of the modern operating room. This latter saga dates according to F. Jónsson[2] already from the thirteenth century; it gives however rather the impression of the early fourteenth.

Hrómund's adversary in the battle on the ice is called in the Griplur Helgi enn frœkni with a very common by-name; Hölgi Kvass of the Norwegian ballad would indicate an Icelandic Helgi enn hvassi as its prototype. As this person is unfortunately not mentioned in the Sturlunga, it is impossible to say which of the two is to be accepted as the by-name given in the original Hrómundar saga, though the Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga confirms that of the Griplur. As a matter of fact Helgis with both by-names are referred to elsewhere in Icelandic sources: Helgi enn frœkni in the Þorleifs þáttr jarlaskálds,[3] Helgi en hvassi in Snorri's Hálfdanar saga svarta.[4] The þáttr is in the opinion of F. Jónsson[5] from about the close of the thirteenth century. Helgi enn frœkni was according to this source an Icelander, the second son of Ásgeirr rauðfeldr, and the þáttr informs us that he played more of a rôle in other sagas. The statement that he was a son of Ásgeirr is confirmed however neither by a comparison with the Svarfdœla saga[6] nor with the Landnáma,[7] where the other sons of Ásgeirr are mentioned. The other sagas referred to must then in all probability have been fictitious ones and a contamination of some sort is probably responsible for his introduction into the þáttr. Helgi enn hvassi is made out by Snorri to have been the father of Sigurðr hjǫrtr, legendary king in Hringaríki in Norway and husband of Áslaug, a grand-daughter of Ragnarr loðbrók; his great-grandson was then the Norwegian king, Haraldr hárfagri. The meagre information furnished us of these two legendary, or at any rate not historical personages, contains nothing whatever bearing

[1] Chap. 28, ed. Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 45 f.
[2] *Lit. hist.*, II, 822.
[3] *Flat.*, I, 208 ff.
[4] *Hkr.*, I, 90.
[5] *Lit. hist.*, II, 760.
[6] *Íslenzkar fornsögur*, III, 40 f.; cf. also footnote and p. xxx.
[7] Pp. 73 and 194.

upon the Hrómundar saga or anything therein narrated and must be dismissed as for our purpose valueless. An ostensibly historical Norwegian Helgi hvassi from the beginning of the thirteenth century is mentioned as a *forn Birkibeinn* in the Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, chap. 6 (*Icelandic Sagas*, II, 12; *Fms.*, IX, 243; *Flat.*, III, 10; *Cod. Fris.*, 393 f.; *Eirspennill*, 246 f.), but to demonstrate a relationship between him and the Hölge Kvass of the Norwegian ballad is likewise impossible.

There are still a few minor incidents referable in all probability to the original saga, whose direct sources are hard to demonstrate and which may well in their essential features have been invented by the author of the saga. Such is, for example, the meeting with the peasant Máni.[1] The scene of this is laid in the Hebrides, if *suðr til eyja* in *Griplur*, II, 21 is to be thus understood, which seems very probable.[2] Here Hrómundr and his men harry and plunder. While driving down on one island horses, goats, and cows they are addressed defiantly by a *kall*, who gives his name as Máni ("Moon") and informs them that the plundering of the homes of simple peasants is a small business compared with the possibility of plundering Þráin's mound. His cattle are returned to him on condition that he furnish the necessary information about this mound and its whereabouts, which he accordingly does. The episodes in which the fornaldarsǫgur-kings are brought into contact with peasants are numerous and varied and need not be further commented on here. An episode which may well have suggested this incident to the author of the Hrómundar saga occurs in the Jómsvíkinga saga.[3] The essential features of this episode upon which all versions are approximately agreed are that the Jómsvíkingar on their expedition up Norway's western coast, having passed the peninsula of Stað, sought provisions in the way of fresh meat at the island of Hǫð. Here they met a peasant driving cows and goats, who said his name was Úlfr. Vagn

[1] *Griplur*, II, 20 ff.

[2] *Suðreyjar* was the Old Norse name of the Hebrides; cf. further *vestr um haf* in the preceding line.

[3] Original version, dating according to Jónsson (*Lit. hist.*, II, 664 f.) from the beginning of the thirteenth century. As the different versions of this saga preserved vary somewhat, I cite them all: *Hkr.*, I, 327 f.; *Flat.*, I, 186 f.; *Jómsvíkinga saga*, ed. Cederschiöld, Lund, 1875, p. 27; ed. C. af Petersens, Lund, 1879, pp. 67 ff.; Copenhagen, 1882, pp. 106 f.; Latin translation by Arngrímur Jónsson, ed. A. Gjessing, Kristianssand, 1877, p. 41.

Ákason ordered his cattle driven to the boat; the peasant asks the name of the leader, and upon ascertaining it informs them that there is better game than cows or goats (a bear according to Snorri and ed. Petersens 1879) within close reach (Hákon jarl's fleet was in the Hjǫrungavágr near by unbeknown to the Jómsvíkingar). Vagn promises to return his cattle if he will furnish information as to Hákon's whereabouts and the size of his fleet. He does so, giving false information in the latter particular and is ordered on board to act as guide. Upon coming within sight of the Norwegian fleet he jumps overboard, but is killed by a spear cast by Vagn. One is further reminded of this episode by words reputed to have been directed by King Sveinn of Denmark to King Haraldr harðráði of Norway;[1] *"ok mun yðr þetta vera nǫkkoru meiri frami, þótt konungr sé eigi mikill fyrir sér, at beriaz við hann heldr enn taka kálfa eða kið eða gripi manna, sem þér hafit jafnan gǫrt hér í Danmǫrk.*[2] The name of the peasant, Máni, needs no special comment: it was a common Old Norse name, appearing in runic inscriptions and other historical sources; it need only be stated that it does not occur elsewhere in the fornaldarsǫgur.

Another minor episode has caused some little misunderstanding because so corrupted in the seventeenth century Hrómundar saga, viz., the episode connected with the dog, Hrókr,[3] already alluded to. In this is related that after Hrómund's return from the viking-expedition culminating in the exploit at Þrain's mound he was greatly celebrated and a certain man, *Grundi þegn*, gave him a dog Hrókr, in return for which Hrómundr presented him a very valuable gold ring. Váli killed the dog at night, for which malicious deed Hrómundr vowed vengeance. The purpose of this not very complex episode is to illustrate the general villainy of Váli and its exact counterpart need hardly be sought elsewhere. Rings as gifts are as common in Icelandic as in other mediaeval literatures. Among the somewhat remarkable exchanges of gifts related of Gjafa-Refr in the Gautreks saga it is told that he gave King Ella of England a gold ring and

[1] *Morkinskinna*, ed. Unger, p. 56 f.; cf. *Flat.*, III, 340.

[2] Cf. also Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, I, 118, 436, though I am unable to subscribe to the relationship of sources suggested by Neckel.

[3] *Griplur*, IV, 3 ff.

received in return two dogs and a ship besides.[1] Grundi is again a not uncommon Old Norse name.

The villainy of Váli is further characterized, and his supernatural powers as well, in the episode connected with the loss of Hrómund's sword in the depths of Lake Venern.[2] After the conclusion of the battle with Helgi, Hrómundr catches sight of a large man standing upon the ice and notes that this man has surrounded himself with a magic circle scratched in the ice and concludes that the man must be Váli. He leaps accordingly over this magic ring and attacks Váli, who blows the sword out of his hand, so that it goes flying over the ice until it falls through a crack into the water and sinks to the bottom. Hrómundr, though handicapped by the loss of his good sword, attacks none the less and succeeds in breaking his adversary's neck. The recovery of the sword,[3] though transferred in the rímur to the part interpolated from the saga of Helgi Haddingja-skati, may be postulated for the original saga of Hrómundr, in that any supernatural powers here attributed to Hagal's wife were there certainly attributed to Svanhvít. A fisherman (in this case the peasant Hagall) catches one day a pike (*gedda*), in whose belly the sword Mistiltein is found. That valuable objects thrown into or otherwise lost in the water are recovered by a feat of diving is elsewhere related. Detter[4] compares an incident in the Hrólfs saga kraka, as we have already noted in another connection, a gold ring being thus recovered, and Boer[5] an incident of the Ásmundar saga kappabana,[6] where it is told how the hero, Ásmundr, with the help of a peasant succeeded in bringing up from the bottom of the water at Agnafit a sword sunk there by King Buðli. If the episode of the Hrómundar saga is related to either of these two, it is to the latter, but the whole circumstances of the two cases are so entirely different, as are also the methods employed to secure the sword, that there really remains no point of contact.[7] With reference to

[1] *Gautreks saga*, ed. Ranisch, pp. 40 f.; cf. p. lxiv.

[2] *Griplur*, V, 8 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, 32 ff.

[4] *PBB*, 18, 99 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, 22, 385, footnote.

[6] Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 83, 87 ff.

[7] Cf. further the account of Angantyr's recovery of the sword Tyrfingr in the Hervarar saga, Bugge, *Norrøne Skrifter*, p. 345.

Váli's evil spell upon the ice it should be noted, if a connection of the Hrómundar saga with the historical events narrated in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs is to be maintained, that the ice upon which Grégóríús Dagsson met his death had been tampered with by his enemies, that they had made holes in it, whose presence was concealed by new snow. This feature may well have suggested an incident of the Hrómundar saga which has reached us through the *Griplur* in the episode here related of Váli. The only other feature of this episode requiring accounting for is the power of Váli to cast a magic spell upon a portion of the ice and to blow the sword from his adversary's hand, supernatural powers as will be at once noted belonging to the realm of the lower mythology. In just this same way does Grímr ægir of the Gǫngu-Hrólfs saga[1] disarm his adversary; so does also Flóki in the Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar.[2] For the spell which Váli casts upon the ice surrounding himself I know no exact Old Norse parallel, though it is entirely of the sort made possible by magic and it is expressly stated that Hrómundr recognizes in it the work of "*Voli galdra kallinn*," i.e., Váli who was versed in incantations. In fact the citations which Fritzner[3] gives of *reitr* in its original meaning of "rids, fure, fordybning som gjøres med et skarpt redskab ved at *ríta*" all show a certain ceremonial relation: in the first case[4] to legal procedure, in the second,[5] to the *hólmganga*, in the third[6] as a magic means of securing the presence and help of the devil, while in the fourth[7] it is a means employed by Þrándr to summon back the souls of certain dead by way of ascertaining the means of their death. In both of these last cases the number of scratches is 9, as opposed to 2 in the first and 3 in the second case cited. The *Griplur* have reitr here only in the singular and as it is also called[8] *hringur*, we must here at least conceive of it as circular. The special advantage gained by Váli through this magic circle is not wholly clear, but as it is previously stated[9] that his comrade Bildr was killed in the battle, but

[1] *Fas.*, III, 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, 459.
[3] *Ordbog*, III, 69 f.
[4] *Grágas*, ed. Finsen (1852), I, 72[32].
[5] *Kormaks saga*, ed. Möbius (1886), p. 20[33].
[6] *Maríu saga*, ed. Unger, pp. 147 f., 730, 737.
[7] Færeyinga saga, *Flat.*, I, 556.
[8] *Griplur*, V, 10.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV, 35.

that no one saw Váli, it may perhaps be inferred that he had thus made himself invisible, a trick not uncommon with those versed in Norse magic. As the battle ceases he again renders himself visible and Hrómundr, angered by his cowardice, attacks him. That the magic ring was conceived of as otherwise protecting Váli from attack is rendered improbable by the fact that Hrómundr leaps over it with impunity, while the blowing of the weapon out of his hand is another of Váli's resources for self-defense quite independent of the magic circle.

There remains yet to be considered the nature of the poetic portions of the original saga, borne witness to alike by the statement in Sturlunga and the explicit reference to such in the Griplur. The latter references are noted by Kölbing.[1] The allusions noted are *Griplur*, I, 30: *vísur margar;* I, 39: *vísur nógar;* II, 26: *kvæða rœður.* To these is to be added IV, 7: *Vella Týr til vísu tók.* The first case has reference to the vituperations exchanged between Kári and Hrǫngviðr, the second to similar verses exchanged on the occasion of the ensuing conflict, the third to verses exchanged between King Ólafr and the peasant Máni, the fourth to a single stanza directed by Hrómundr at Váli after the latter had killed the dog, Hrókr. This is already enough to confirm the *margar vísur* assigned to the saga by the Sturlunga,[2] but there were doubtless many more. Using the general nature of these as a key, it is entirely safe to infer that at least other similar exchanges of defiance are based likewise upon groups of lausavísur: so, e.g., the remarks exchanged between Hrómundr and Þráinn, III, 11 ff., and those passed between Hrómundr and Helgi on the occasion of their conflict, IV, 50 ff., as perhaps also much of the rest of what appears as direct discourse in the Griplur. There is every reason to suppose that these vísur found by the author of the Griplur were essentially the same as those referred to by the editor of the Sturlunga, i.e., that they with perhaps some exceptions, date from the original composition of the Hrómundar saga of the last half of the thirteenth century. That they are older than this is precluded not only by the statement of the Sturlunga, which seems to imply that they were composed by the author of the saga, but also

[1] *Beiträge*, pp. 162 f., 165.

[2] P. 22.

by their own nature, as they were lausavísur, either single or in groups, having no meaning except in connection with the saga.

If we may recapitulate briefly the results of our investigation of the sources of the Hrómundar saga, they are the proof that the Hrómundar saga is a lygisaga as it is styled by the editor of the Sturlunga, that its author had no heroic tradition of Hrómundr before him, that starting from a historical or quasi-historical tradition of Ingólfr, the reputed great-grandson of a Norwegian Hrómundr Gripsson, he decked out this meagre suggestion with the help of an older song dealing with Ásmund's experience in his foster-brother's burial-mound, added a love-story suggested by an old song about Svanhvít and her lover and further incidents perhaps inspired by traditions of the battle described in the Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, a reminiscence of a Starkað-legend and lesser motifs, names, etc., furnished him in abundance by Scandinavian literary traditions and popular superstitions. With this the general features of its style are sufficiently indicated. The elements of chivalry introduced into later lygisǫgur from the translated literature of European chivalry are lacking, as are also the many European and other foreign names of this latter class. These features correspond chronologically with the other grounds which influenced us to regard it as a work of the latter half of the thirteenth century. It corresponds in fact stylistically and in its contents very closely with the Friðþjófs saga and may with this saga[1] be regarded as one of the first-fruits of the Icelandic literary direction which produced the lygisǫgur norðlanda on the model of the later fornaldarsǫgur.

In concluding it is a sincere pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. Kr. Kålund, curator of the Arnamagnaean collection of manuscripts in the University Library in Copenhagen, who has very kindly rendered me various assistance in the use of manuscripts and otherwise, and to Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, curator of the Fisk Icelandic Library of Cornell University, who has read my manuscript and offered me various suggestions.

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[1] Cf. Olrik, *Sakses Oldhist.*, I, 12, 1892.

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